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EDITED BY
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The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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No. 1.—THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The inscriptions edited here occur on a steatite casket which comes from **Shinkot** in **Bajaur** territory. The place is about twenty miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and Swat rivers, beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province, where the casket was discovered by some tribal people while digging the foundations of a new fort. The territory of Bajaur, representing a part of the ancient province of Udyāna, is practically an unexplored country, and the present find is therefore of unusual interest. The only other mentionable object discovered in this region is the seal of Theodamas which was first published by Senart[1]. The steatite casket is said to have encased a casket of silver, which in turn contained a gold reliquary and some ashes; but the silver and gold articles are no longer traceable. The outer casket together with some fragments of its lid has been recovered through the efforts of Mian Afzal Shah, son of Khan Bahadur Mian Rahim Shah, C.I.E., of Ziarat Kaka Sahib in Peshawar District. At the request of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, Mian Afzal Shah has very generously presented the casket to the Archæological Department and it has been lent for exhibition to the Indian Museum, Archæological Section, Calcutta. I am deeply obliged to Rao Bahadur Dikshit for having permitted me to edit the inscriptions and also for the help I have received from him in manifold ways.

The **casket** is a flat, bowl-shaped vessel of dark steatite having a flanged base all round, 1·3″ in width. The diameter of the casket at the mouth is 8·8″ and at the base 11·3″, and the diameter of the lid is also, 11·3.″ The depth of the bowl is 1·9″, and the casket including the lid measures 3·3″ in height. Excepting a few indented lines in the form of concentric rings encircling the body of the casket and its lid at six different places, it bears no other decoration.

The **characters** appearing on the casket are Kharōshṭhī, as may be expected in the locality from which it comes. The inscriptions are engraved along the rim of the lid (A), around its centre (A¹ and C) and on its inner face (A²), also in the concave portion of the casket (B and D) and on its back (E). The longest one of the inscriptions is marked D, the lines of which are disposed of in the form of a spiral, as in the case of the Relic Casket of the year 303 from Charsadda.[2] As only a few fragments of the lid have been recovered it has not been possible to restore the entire text of Inscriptions A, A¹, A² and C. The rest of the inscriptions, however, have been completely made out, as the bowl of the casket, although slightly cracked, is in a fair state of preservation.

The **engraving of letters** has not been carried out in the same uniform style throughout, and from this point of view the inscriptions may be classified under two distinct groups In A, A¹, A² and B the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in C, D and E the

[1] *Journal Asiatique,* VIII, xiii (1889), pp. 364 ff; and Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 6.
[2] See pp. 8 ff. below.

writing is shallow, the letters are comparatively small and the strokes in many places no better than superficial scratches. A similar example of superficial engraving of Kharōshṭhī letters is afforded by the Charsadda Casket inscription of the year 303.

The grouping of inscriptions as suggested above can be justified also on grounds of **palæography**. Inscriptions A-B have in all the instances *ṇ* with a rounded head, but in C-E it shows definitely an acute angle. In the former inscriptions *n* has a long sweep in its top curve, resembling the letter in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Edicts of Aśōka. In the latter inscriptions this curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance, akin to the type occurring in the inscriptions of the Kushān period. Significant also are the varying shapes of the letter *s* which in A-B is generally of the closed type as in the Asokan inscriptions and Indo-Greek coins, while in C-E it shows in all cases a definite gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop, although in the majority of examples its lower vertical slightly extends upward, beyond the point where it meets the loop. The latter feature is characteristic of the *s* as found in the inscriptions of the Śaka period, while the upward extension of the vertical is absent in the letter occurring in the Kushān inscriptions.[1] While, therefore, Inscriptions C-E are referable to the period of the Śaka Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā, Inscriptions A-B must be referred to a somewhat earlier date. This date is suggested by Inscription A which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Minadra,** *i.e.*, the Greek King Menander, who ruled sometime in the 2nd century B. C. To the same date must also be assigned Inscriptions A¹, A² and B which exhibit palæographic features identical with those of Inscription A. The difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years, so that we may suppose that the additional inscriptions C, D and E were engraved sometime in the 1st century B. C.

Apart from the evidence of palæography and the technique of engraving, there is another point in favour of the assumption that some of the inscriptions were incised at a later date. The **position of Inscriptions** A¹ and C on the casket shows that A¹ existed already when C was engraved. Had it not been so the engraver of C would have commenced his writing from a point further to the right. Similarly, Inscription B must have existed prior to D; otherwise there would be no need for the engraver of D to leave so much space between lines 1 and 2, just where Inscription B occurs on the casket. This spacing was evidently intended to avoid overlapping of the inscriptions.

The **language** of the inscriptions is the North-Western variety of Prākrit as in the post-Asokan Kharōshṭhī documents. Linguistically, the earlier group of inscriptions on the casket cannot be differentiated altogether from the later group; the only mentionable difference is in the case of the word *Śākyamuni* which is rendered as *Śakamuni* in Inscription A². The word appears in this form in the Taxila plate of Patika, Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions and the Tirath Foot-print inscription.[2] It occurs also in a Jauliã inscription which, according to Konow, is a copy of an older record.[3] In the Kurram and Wardak Vase inscriptions[4] the name is Sanskritized as *Śakyamuni*. It is spelt, however, as *Śakimuṇi*[5] in Inscription D. Such a difference in the spelling of the all-important word denoting the Buddha's name cannot be without significance and must be attributed to the circumstance that Inscription D was composed by a different man at a date later than Inscription A². Other points concerning the language will be noted where each individual text is discussed.

[1] Majumdar, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 171.

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 28, 48 and 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 97, No. 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 155 and 170.

[5] The letter *mu* in A² is also of an earlier form as compared with that in D.

The question arises why these two sets of inscriptions were engraved on one and the same casket, but at two different dates. This can be answered after we have considered the **purpose** of the inscriptions and also analysed their individual contents. The earlier portion of the record represented by A, A[1], A[2] and B refers to the establishment or consecration of (the corporeal relic) of the Buddha in the reign of *Mahārāja* **Minadra,** on **the 14th day of the month of Kārttika** of a certain year which is lost. The donor of the casket was a person named **Viyakamitra.** The later portion of the record represented by Inscriptions C-D also refers to the establishment of the corporeal relic of the Buddha, and of the bowl, but by a person named **Vijayamitra,** on **the 25th day of Vaiśākha of the 5th regnal year.** Inscription E of this later group mentions the name of the scribe **Viśpila.** Further details of the inscriptions will be clear from our analysis of the contents as given below.

A.—This inscription must have opened with a mention of the year of consecration of the casket The portion specifying the year is lost. So also is the concluding portion of the text which probably contained a reference to *śarīra* after the word *praṇa-sameda.* As mentioned already, the inscription refers itself to the reign of King Menander whose name is spelt here as *Minadra,* allied to the Pāli form *Milinda.* The Pāli text *Milindapañho.* or 'The Questions of King Menander', contains a number of imaginary dialogues between this king and the Buddhist sage Nāgasēna. The king's name appears as *Menadra* on his coins, while on a relief from Gandhāra the name of its donor, who is also a Menander, is spelt as *Miṇaṁdra.*[1] In the present record the title *maharaja* occurs after the name of the king. Similar instances are found also on some of his coins, the Kharōshṭhī legend on which reads as *Menadrasa maharajasa tratarasa.*[2] The word *kaṭiasa* is equivalent to Sanskrit *Kārttikasya.* The change of *rt* into *ṭ* occurs also in the Prākrit of Asokan inscriptions. The day of the month of Kārttika is expressed as 4 4 4 1 1, *i.e.*, 14. This notation is rather unusual, since the customary way to express the number 14 would be to write 10 4. The third digit, *viz.*, 4, which is engraved below the line, appears to have been added later.[3]

The words *praṇa-sameda,* i.e., *prāṇa-samēta,* which occur twice, in A and in A[2], seem to have been used in reference to the *śarīra, i.e.*, the corporeal relic of the Buddha. The Buddhist conception regarding his corporeal relic is thus explained in the *Mahāvaṁsa* :[4] "If we behold the relics we behold the Conqueror" *i.e.*, the Buddha. Regarding the deposit of his relics in the Thūpārāma-chetiya in Ceylon the Buddha is supposed to have observed: "If my pure relics, filling a doṇa-measure, are laid............, they shall take the form of the Buddha, and rising and floating in the air, they shall take their place after having wrought the miracle of the double appearances."[5] Thus in regard to the relic consecrated in the Thūpārāma-chetiya it is stated that when it was brought to the place on the back of an elephant and was being watched by the people from every side, it "rose up in the air from the elephant's back, and floating in the air plain to view, at the height of seven tālas, throwing the people into amazement, it wrought that miracle of the double appearances, that caused the hair (of the beholders) to stand on end, even as (did) the Buddha under the Gaṇḍamba-tree".[6] In view of such powers attributed to

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 134.

[2] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 77.

[3] The second symbol for 1 is longer than the first. A similar example occurs in the Fatehjang inscription of the year 69 (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, Plate IV, 1).

[4] Geiger's *Mahāvaṁsa* (*Translation*, P. T. S.), p. 116.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

the corporeal relic of the Buddha the significance of the expression, *prāṇa-samēta, i.e.*, 'endowed with life', becomes clear. The relic was no doubt looked upon as a living organism, as animated as the body of the Buddha before Nirvāṇa. As in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the donor here also must have been actuated by the same belief: "By these relics of his body the Master of the World, being already passed into nibbāṇa, truly bestowed salvation and bliss in abundance on mankind."[1]

A[1].—The text here consists of remnants of two letters followed by a *ta*. Traces of a horizontal line are discernible in the first two, which enable us to restore the word as *thavita*, the complete word being *pratithavita, i.e.*, 'established'. This must have reference to the deposit of the relic in a stūpa.

A[2].—There are wide gaps here between the words which were probably four in all and arranged in a circle. The first and the last are clear, *viz.*, *praṇa-sameda*................*Śakamunisa*. Before *Śakamunisa* there is just a trace of the letter *t* or *r*. If it is *t*, as is more likely, we are perhaps justified in restoring the missing word here as *bhagavato*. The entire inscription would then read: *praṇa-sameda śarira bhagavatō Śakamuniso, i.e.*, 'the corporeal relic of the *bhagavat* Śākyamuni, which is full of life'.

B.—There is no difficulty about the reading of B which runs as *Viyakamitrasa apracha-rajasa.*[2] It should be noted here that the two dental sibilants are of the later semi-open type, although technically speaking the inscription should be assigned to the date of Inscription A, that is the reign of King Menander. As our analysis shows, in the earlier group the closed type of *s* predominates, while in the later group the predominant form is of the semi-open variety. The first part of the name *Viyakamitra* may represent *Vīryaka*, or *Vijjaka* which appears as a personal name in later times. The title *apracha-raja* perhaps corresponds to *a-pratyag-rāja, i.e.*, 'one who has no royal adversary.' It may be compared with such phrases qualifying the king's name as *apadihata* on the Indo-Greek coins and *apratihata-chaka* on those of the Indo-Parthian king Gondopheres. The genitive case ending in *Viyakamitrasa*, which has no complementary word after it, shows that here the word *dana* has to be supplied, that is to say a gift of Viyakamitra is to be understood. Similar examples are well known from early Indian inscriptions. The gift was no doubt the casket itself containing the relics. Viyakamitra, who must have been a vassal chief under King Menander on the North-Western Frontier of India, is not known from any other sources.

C.—It records the name of Vijayamitra in the first line. The second line reads as *pate pradithavide*; the word *pate* no doubt stands for *pātra, i.e.*, the bowl, referring to the steatite casket. How much of the inscription is missing cannot be guessed from the fragmentary condition of the lid.

D.—This is the principal record that was engraved subsequent to A-B. The opening words *ime śarira* are familiar to us from other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, but there is no analogy elsewhere of what follows. The words *paluga-bhudao* correspond to Pāli *palugga-bhūto*,[3] meaning 'which has broken or has been shattered.' The words following, *na sakare atrita*, may be taken to represent *na satkārē ādṛita*.[4] The verbal form *śariat(r)i* may correspond to Sanskrit *śīryatē*, Pāli *sarati* from the root *śṛī*, meaning, 'to be worn out, to decay', etc. The subscript *r* stroke in the last

[1] Geiger's *Mahāvaṁsa* (*Translation*, P. T. S.) p. 121

[2] The additional stroke at the foot of the letter *sa* in *Viyakamitrasa* cannot be explained.

[3] *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), *s. v. palugga.*

[4] *Cf.* the expressions *pūjesi sādaro* 'worshipped with zeal' and *sakkāra-ṭhāna*, 'place of worship' used in reference to the Buddha's relic. Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa* (Text), 31. 29 and 31. 62.

letter is superfluous but might have a phonetic significance. It appears several times in this inscription in places where it is not at all expected, *e.g.*, in *griṇayat(r)i*, *Veś(r)akh(r)asa*, *paṁchaviś(r)aye*, *prat(r)ithavit(r)e* and *bhag(r)avatu*. Similar examples frequently occur in the Mathurā Lion Captial Inscriptions.[1] The word *kalad(r)e* may stand for *kālataḥ*, 'in course of time,' and *śadhro* for *śraddhaḥ*, 'venerated'. The word *piṁḍoyakeyi* would correspond to *piṇḍ-ōdakaiḥ*, *i.e.*, 'with alms and water,' and *pitri griṇayat(r)i* would correspond to *pitṛīn grāhayati*, *i.e.*, 'makes the ancestors or manes accept,' or 'propitiates the ancestors'. The inscription means to say that as the relic was damaged, it was no longer zealously worshiped. In course of time it had begun to decay and was not venerated, and the distribution of alms and water for the propitiation of the dead ancestors was no longer taking place. It is further stated that even the receptacle of the *śarīra* (*tasa ye patre*) was *apomua*, i.e., *apamuktaḥ* or 'abandoned'. The offering of *piṇḍōdaka* to the ancestors was no doubt the usual practice even among the Buddhist laity. The regular offering of *petadakkhiṇā*, *i.e.*, 'gifts to dead ancestors,' is enjoined in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* as one of the principal duties of a house-holder.[2] Offerings to *pubba-petas* are referred to also in the *Milindapañho*[3] and in the *Petavatthu*.[4] In the present case the idea probably is that these offerings used to take place so long as the corporeal relic together with the casket which contained it was deposited in a *stūpa* in an undisturbed condition. But subsequently before Inscription D was written, the relic and the casket had become desecrated and unfit for worship. The inscription goes on to say that in the fifth (regnal) year the same relic was established (in a stūpa) by Vijayamitra,[5] who has the title *apracha-raja* like his predecessor Viyakamitra of Inscription B. Vijayamitra appears to have belonged to the same family and to have re-consecrated the relic, a record of which he was naturally anxious to perpetuate on the casket itself. A similar example of the re-establishment of a corporeal relic of the Buddha occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika (*apratiṭhavita bhagavata Śakamuṇisa śariraṁ pratiṭhaveti*).

E.—Finally, on the back of the casket is recorded the fact that the writing (that is of C and D) was carried out by one Viśpila. The word *aṇaṁkateṇa* qualifying *Viśpilena* corresponds to *āṇakṛitena*, i.e., *ājñākṛitēna*, 'who was ordered'. It refers of course to his having executed the work under the orders of Vijayamitra. In Central Asian Kharōshṭhī documents an *anusvāra* is often substituted for a long vowel, *e.g.*, in *viṁñavayaṁmi* for *vijñāpayāmi*. In these documents *aṇa* regularly stands for *ājñā*.[6] In the Shahbazgarhi recension of Aśōka's edicts *jñ* is rendered by the lingual *ṇ*, as in literary Prākrit.[7] The compound *śp* in *Viśpila* represents Sanskrit *śv*. A similar name *Veśpaśi* occurs in the Māṇikiāla inscription[8] of the reign of Kanishka.

From Inscription D of Vijayamitra we can understand why the two sets of inscriptions came to be incised on one and the same casket at two different dates. **The relic casket was conecrated twice**: the original consecration was done by Viyakamitra in the time of King Menander and the re-consecration was carried out later by Vijayamitra, who, as the title shows, must have been a descendant of Viyakamitra. Inscription A, which gives the date, the 14th day

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 33-34.
[2] B. C. Law, *The Buddist Conception of Spirits*, 1936, pp. 8-9.
[3] Ed. by Trenckner (Royal Asiatic Society's Reprint, London, 1928), p. 294.
[4] Ed. by Minayeff, *e.g.*, I. 4, I. 5.
[5] The year no doubt refers to the reign of Vijayamitra.
[6] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 250, No. 663 and p. 300.
[7] Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. lxxxviii.
[8] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 148.

of Kārttika of some year, refers no doubt to the original consecration, while the 25th day of Vaiśākha of the fifth (regnal) year mentioned in Inscription D represents the date on which the re-consecration took place. Both the months Kārttika and Vaiśākha are auspicious from the Buddhistic point of view. As pointed out by Fleet,[1] the Sarvāstivādins held that the Buddha attained Parinirvāṇa in the month of Kārttika. On the other hand, according to the Ceylonese tradition, the event happened in the month of Vaiśākha. The former view, which is based on a statement of Yuan Chwang, perhaps represents an earlier tradition. In any case it would be quite natural for a Buddhist to consecrate the corporeal relics of the Great Master on the anniversary of his demise.

As mentioned already, Viyakamitra must have been a ruling prince under Menander. The latter, who belonged to the house of Euthydemus, had his capital at Sākala as stated in the *Milindapañho*. Sākala is said to have been situated in the country of the Yonakas and is usually identified with Sialkot in the Punjab between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. According to the *Milindapañho* Menander was born in Alasanda, identified with the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus between the Panjshir and the Kabul rivers. From the finds of his coins, which are distributed over a very large area, from the Kabul Valley to the United Provinces, there remains no doubt that his empire was an extensive one. According to some scholars the passage in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali regarding the siege of Sākēta (in the United Provinces) and Madhyamikā (in Rājputāna) by a Yavana king refers to an invasion of Menander.[2] The discovery of the present record in Bajaur[3] proves conclusively that it was included within his territory and was under the governorship of Viyakamitra, who, as the name shows, must have been a prince of local origin.

As regards Vijayamitra, Rao Bahadur Dikshit has kindly drawn my attention to a number of coins discovered in the Śaka-Palhava City of Sirkap in Taxila during the excavations of 1931. These are rectangular copper pieces bearing the legend *Vijayamitrasa*, written in Brāhmī on one side and Kharōshṭhī on the other, along with the *svastika, triratna,* hill and other symbols. The Brāhmī legend, which is the clearer of the two, shows characters of the 1st century B. C.[4] There is another coin in the British Museum ascribed to 'Vijayamitra's son' (Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle,* 3rd series, Vol. X, 1890, p. 127 ; and Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum,* Vol. I, p. 168 and Pl. XVII, *iii*). It is an imitation of the Indo-Parthian type (King on horse-back and standing deity), the Kharōshṭhī legend on which reads *Vijayamitra(sa) apacha*........ The lower portions of the letters *apacha*........ are cut away. It is probable that these are the remnants of the legend *apracha-rajasa.* This coin, however, must be attributed to the middle of the first century A. D.

Vijayamitra of the Taxila coins may be identified with Vijayamitra of the present casket. His connection with the North-West Frontier is thus independently attested by numismatic

[1] *J. R. A. S.,* 1909, p. 14.

[2] On Menander see *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, pp. 549-552.

[3] In the *Buddhavaṁsa* (P. T. S.), p. 68, v. 8, the bowl relic (*pātra*) of the Buddha is supposed to have been deposited at a place called Vajirā. This name might be identical with Bajaur and it is not impossible that the author of the text had actually heard of the story of the consecration of a bowl or relic casket like the present one in a stūpa in that country. Its capital might have been Vajrāvatī 'in Uttarāpatha' mentioned in the *Bōdhisattv-āvadāna-kalpalatā* (B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays,* 1937, Vol. I, p. 46).

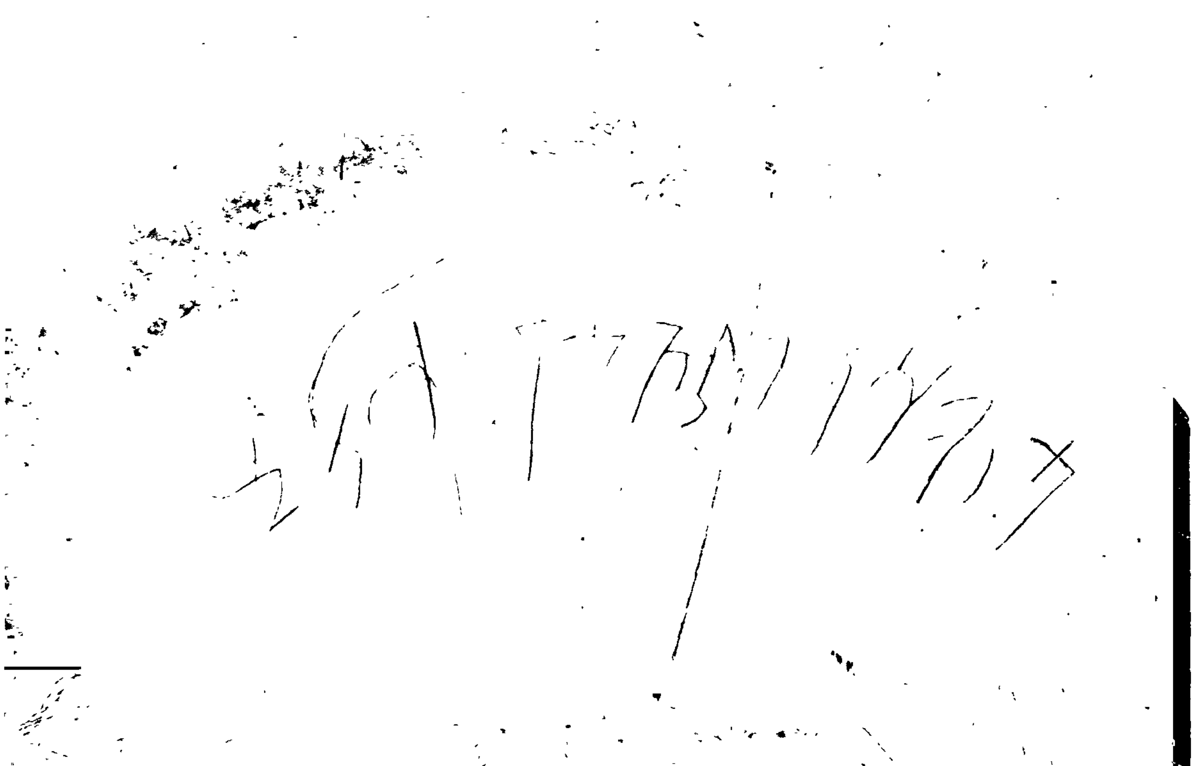
[4] Along with the coins of Vijayamitra was found a rectangular, bilingual copper piece of an identical type, which belongs to a king named Vīrayaśas. The Brāhmī characters of this coin also are assignable to the first century B. C. This king should be identified with the *Kulūta* Vīrayaśas who is known from a round copper coin in the British Museum (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India,* 1936, p. 158), found by Cunningham in the Northern Punjab beyond Lahore.

a. Relic Casket from Bajaur.



SCALE: THREE-SEVENTHS.

b. The same showing Inscription E on back.

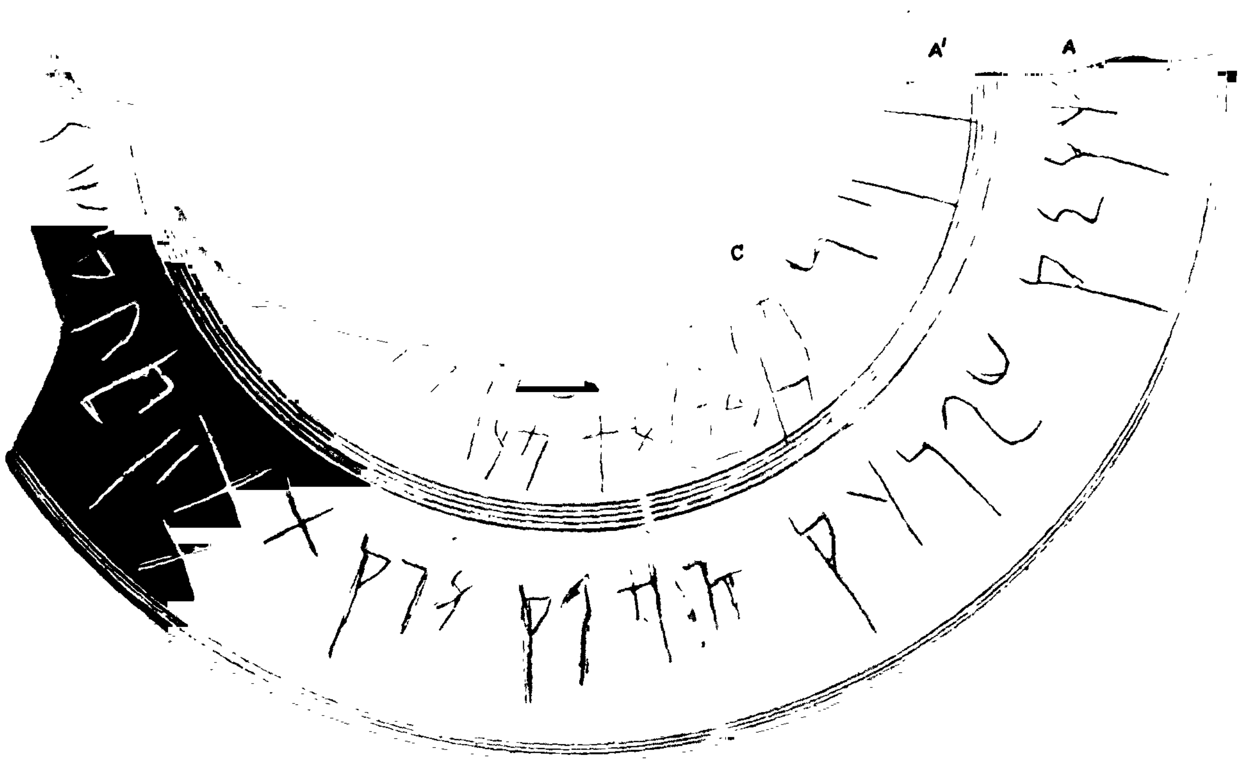


SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

Part of lid showing Inscription A2 on the inner face.



Part of lid showing Inscriptions A, A1 and C.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER—(II).

Inside view showing Inscriptions B and D.



SCALE : ONE-HALF.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

evidence. The British Museum coin must belong to a later prince, most probably of the same dynasty, as appears from the continuity of the epithet *apacha-(rajasa)*.

TEXT.

A. *Rim of Lid.*

. . . . . **Minadrasa**[1] maharajasa **Kaṭiasa divasa 4 4 4 1 1** pra[ṇa]-[sa]me[da].......

A[1]. *Centre of Lid.*

. . . . . (prati)[thavi]ta

A[2]. *Inner face of Lid.*

praṇa-same[da]................[to] **Śakamunisa**[2]

B. *Inside of Casket.*

Viyakamitrasa apracha-rajasa

C. *Centre of Lid.*

1 **Vijaya[mit]ra** ....
2 pate pradithavide

D. *Inside of Casket.*

1 Ime śarira paluga-bhud(r)ao[3] na sakare atrita [|*] sa śariat(r)i kalad(r)ena śadhro na piṁḍoya-keyi pitri griṇayat(r)i [|*]
2 tasa ye patre apomua [|*] **vashaye paṁchamaye 4 1 Veś(r)akh(r)asa masasa divasa-paṁchaviś(r)aye** iyo
3 prat(r)ithavit(r)e **Vijayamitrena** apracha-rajena Bhag(r)avatu **Śakimuṇisa** samasa[ṁ]budhasa[4] śarira [|*]

E. *Back of Casket.*

Viśpilena *aṇaṁkatena likhit(r)e* [|*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

On the 14th day of Kārttika, in the (*reign*) of *Mahārāja* **Minadra,** (in the year . . . . .), (the corporeal relic of the Buddha), which is endowed with life.......

A[1].

. . . . . has been established.

A[2].

(The corporeal relic) of **Śakamuni** (*i.e.*, Śākyamuni), which is endowed with life . . . .

B.

(*The gift*) of **Viyakamitra,** 'who has no king as his adversary'.

---

[1] There is a scratch looking like the *e* stroke in *n*, which seems to have been due to a flaw in the stone.
[2] For a proposed restoration see above p. 4.
[3] The superfluous *r* stroke has been put within brackets in every case.
[4] The word *saṁbudhasa* is quite clear in the original.

C.

Vijayamitra ....the bowl has been established.

D.

This corporeal relic having been broken is not held in worship with zeal. It is decaying in course of time, (*and*) is not honoured; (*and here*) by the offering of alms and water ancestors are no longer propitiated; (*and*) the receptacle of that (*relic*) has been cast aside. (*Now*) in **the fifth year** and on **the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha,** this has been established by **Vijayamitra,** 'who has no king as his adversary',— (*namely*) the corporeal relic of the lord **Śakimuṇi** (*i.e.*, Śākyamuni), the one who is truly enlightened.

E.

Written by **Viśpila** under orders.

No. 2.—INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO RELIC-CASKETS FROM CHARSADDA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The **two caskets** (marked respectively I and II) on which the subjoined inscriptions are engraved were acquired by Mr. Dilawar Khan, Curator, Peshāwar Museum in April, 1935, from a man of **Charsadda** in Peshāwar District. The latter had discovered them some time ago in an ancient mound called Kula-ḍherī near Charsadda, while removing earth for the manure for his fields. The contents of the caskets are however lost, and from the vague reports that reached Mr. Khan he was not able to ascertain the exact nature of the deposits. In May, 1935, the caskets were sent for examination to the Director General of Archæology in India who kindly placed them at my disposal for study and permitted me to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The caskets are of blue schist and on the whole well preserved, each bearing a **Kharōshṭhī inscription.** The letters, which are made by superficial scratches, often show irregular shapes, due partly to careless engraving, but to a greater extent to the cursive nature of the script itself. The letters being extremely shallow it has not been possible to take estampages. The accompanying plates are based on photographs taken of the caskets in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1.—Inscription of the year 303 on Relic-Casket I.

The **casket** on which this inscription is engraved has a diameter of 5·1″ and is 1·5″ high, with a circular cavity in the centre ·7″ deep. The **writing** is disposed of throughout in circular lines according to the shape of the casket. It begins on the rim and is continued inside, covering the base of the hollow, from where again it is carried on to the outer face of the wall of the casket.

The **characters** are Kharōṣhṭhī of the Kushān period. Some remarks are called for regarding the forms of individual letters. The letter *t* in *pradiṭhaveti* and *rahatana* is distinguished from *r* by the shortness of its stem. In *thubao* the letter *b* is angular and does not present the top curve. Similar examples of *b* occur also in the Jauliã inscriptions[1] and in the Loriyān Tangai inscription[2] of the year 318. The sign for letter *r* in *sagharamu* which more resembles a *b* is rather unusual, although the reading is certain. The ligature read as *ts* in *sabatsa* (*i.e.*, *sambatsara*) is exactly similar to the sign occurring in the Pājā inscription.[3] Sten Konow prefers to read it as *tś* which

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part 1, Pl. XVIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 1.

he finds also in the Kharōshṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. But this reading has not been generally accepted.[1] The letter *y* in this inscription is in most cases distinguished from *ś* by the curvilinear slanting stroke it shows on the left-hand side : also the head of *y* is more or less conical while that of *ś* is rectangular. In one instance at least (*pracha-Budhaṇa puyae*) there is a slanting top bar added to the two uprights of *y*.

The **language** is a form of Prākrit as found generally in the Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions of the Kushān period. The word *etaka* in the expression *etak-eta-mite* corresponds to Pāli *ettaka,* meaning 'so much' (*cf.* Prākrit *ettia, ettiya* and *ettika*). The same form *etaka* is well known from the Asokan inscriptions. In *rahataṇa*, which stands for *arahataṇa*, *a* is elided as a result of euphony. The verbal form *sthapapema* represents Sanskrit *sthāpayāmaḥ* (*cf.* Pāli *ṭhapāpeti*).[2] The use of nominative singular for accusative singular in *thubao* (*thubako*) is irregular (for which *cf. dhramo* for *dhramaṁ* in Aśōka's Rock-edict XII at Shahbazgarhi). Attention may be drawn to a dialectic peculiarity which the language of this inscription bears in common with that of the Kharōshṭhī *Dhammapada* as preserved in the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript.[3] This is the *u* termination in *sagharamu* (*saṁghārāmaṁ*) that has its parallels in such forms as *magu* for *maggo, dhamu* for *dhammaṁ* and so on of the *Dhammapada*. The Dutreuil de Rhins Ms. has been referred by Senart to the second century A. D., but probably is of a somewhat later age. It may be suggested that the Charsadda casket inscription also belongs to this period. The words *se yema* may be taken to represent *tad yad=idaṁ*, meaning 'as follows'. The three letters following *yema* I read as *ṇariga*(*navaka*. 'a Buddhist novice').[4] In *Śaravaraṇasi* we have evidently an example of the locative singular with *-asi*.

The inscription records the consecration of a reliquary or casket (*dona*, i.e., *drōṇa*)[5] in a place called **Śaravaraṇa**. Another place **Avaśaüra** is also mentioned in the locative case (*Avaśaüṇami*) in connection with the donation. The former was probably the name of the particular locality where the gift was made and the latter that of the town of which it formed part. The casket is stated to have been deposited by the 'novice' **Vesa,** who for this purpose also erected a *stūpa* and a *saṁghārāma*.

The concluding portion of the inscription mentions a personage named **Avakhajhada** to whom honour (*pūjā*) is shown. He is described as *chhatrava* (*kshatrapa*), and also as *grama-sami* (*grāma-svāmin*), *i.e.*, 'the lord of villages,' serving under a *mahaaya* (*mahārāja*) that is an independent ruler.[6] The town Avaśaüra must have been included within the jurisdiction of Avakhajhada. The inscription is dated in **the year 303** of an era which is not specified. Probably it should be referred to the same reckoning to which the year 318 of the Loriyān Tangai inscription must be attributed. If referred to the Mālava era of 58 B. C. the year 303 corresponds to A. D. 245, a date that agrees well with the language and palæography of the inscription.

I now place below the text and translation of the record. It should be noted, however, that my transcript of the portion following the date, which occurs on the rim of the casket, is not entirely free from doubt. But at present I am unable to offer a better reading.

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[1] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions,* Part III, Oxford 1929, p. 314.

[2] *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), *s. v.*

[3] Senart, *Journal Asiatique,* 1897 ; also revised edition by Barua and Mitra, *Prakrit Dhammapada,* Calcutta University, 1921.

[4] *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), *s. v. navaka.*

[5] *Drōṇa* is a vessel or measure of capacity ; *cf. doṇadhātu* cited in Childers, *Pāli-English Dictionary,* from the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The expression *sattadoṇāni dhātūnaṁ, i.e.,* 'seven *drōṇas* full of relics,' occurs in *Mahāvaṁsa,* 31.22. This is the special sense in which *dona* is used in the present inscription.

[6] The official title *gāmasāmiko* is mentioned in the *Milindapañho* (Roy. As. Soc. reprint), p. 147, l. 12.

TEXT.

On rim.

Sabatsa 111 100 111 [|*] etak-eta-mite tu dona[1] sthapapema [|*] se yema ṇaviga **Vesa Śaravaraṇasi** [sa]-thuba[o][2] sagharamu pradiṭhaveti

On inner side, outer circle.

Avaśaūrami mada-pidu puya[e*] sarva-Budhaṇa puyae sa-

On inner side, inner circle.

rva-Pracha[ga*]-Budhaṇa puyae sarva-rahataṇa puya[e*]

Along outer face of wall.

putra-darasa puyae mitra-ñadi-salohidaṇa puya[e*] **maharayasa** gramasamisa[3] **Avakhajhadasa** puyae **Chhatravasa**

TRANSLATION.

The year 303. And in such and such (*year*) as here specified a reliquary is caused to be consecrated by us. Thus the 'novice' **Vesa**, establishes a *saṅghārāma*, together with a *stūpa*, at **Śaravaraṇa** in **Avaśaūra**,[4] in honour of parents, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of all Pratyēka-Buddhas, in honour of all *Arhats*, in honour of wife and son (or sons), in honour of friends, kinsmen and blood-relations, and in honour of the *Mahārāja's* village-lord, the Satrap **Avakhajhada**.

2.—Inscription on Relic-Casket II.

This casket is 2·9″ in diameter, 1·1″ in height and its central cavity is ·6″ in depth. It bears only one line of inscription in Kharōshṭhī **characters**, engraved along the outer side. The letters are formed by shallow incision as on Casket I. As regards the forms of individual letters, the only point to note is that the letter *y* in *puyae* has the top bar as in *ś*. The two caskets are similar in shape and execution and palæographically there is no difference between this and the foregoing record.

The inscription records the deposit of a corporeal relic (*śarīra*) by a person named **Trami.**

TEXT.

Tramisa daṇamu[khe*] ime śarira presthevida Budhaṇa puyae

TRANSLATION.

The gift of **Trami.** This corporeal relic is deposited in honour of the Buddhas.

[1] The letter *na* was omitted at first and added later above the line.

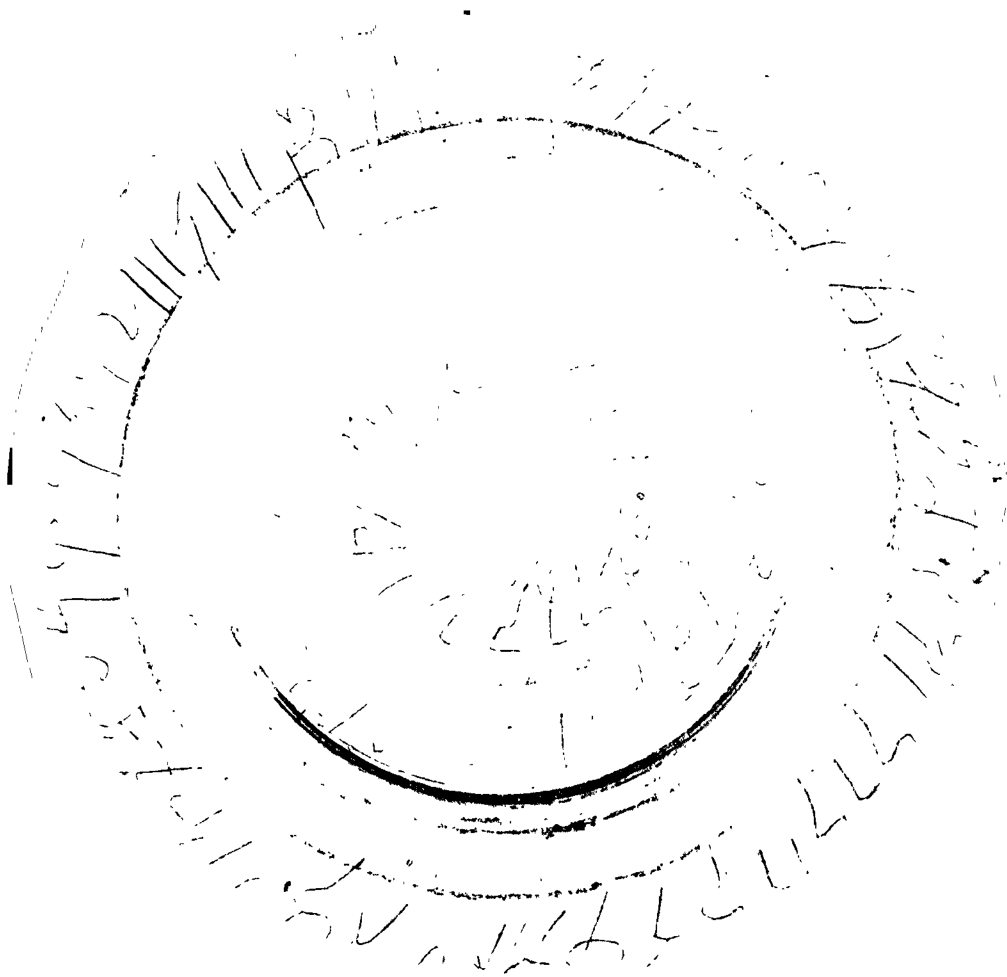
[2] At first the letter *ha* was engraved, which was later changed to *o*.

[3] The first *sa* has an additional flourish below, which may have been an attempt to write *sva*.

[4] The syllable *-ura* probably stands for *pura*. Cf. *ateura* for *antaḥpura* in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription No. A. 9.

Inscriptions on two Relic-Caskets from Charsadda.

Casket I (Rim and inner side).



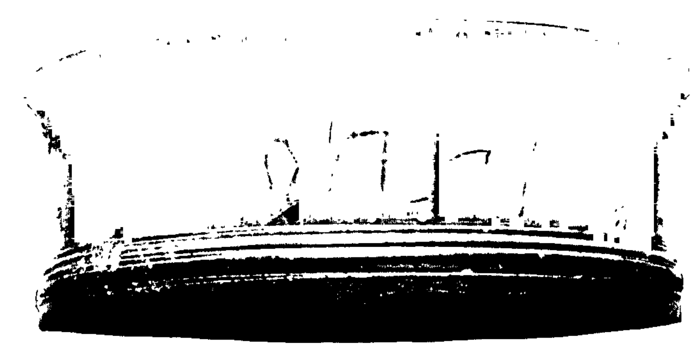
Casket II.



a.



b.



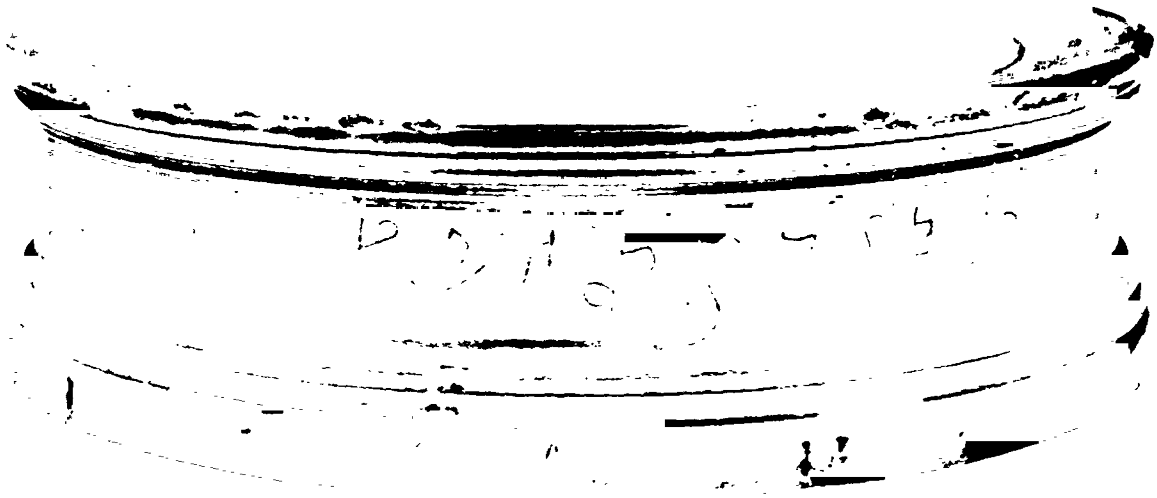
c.

N. P. Chakravarti.

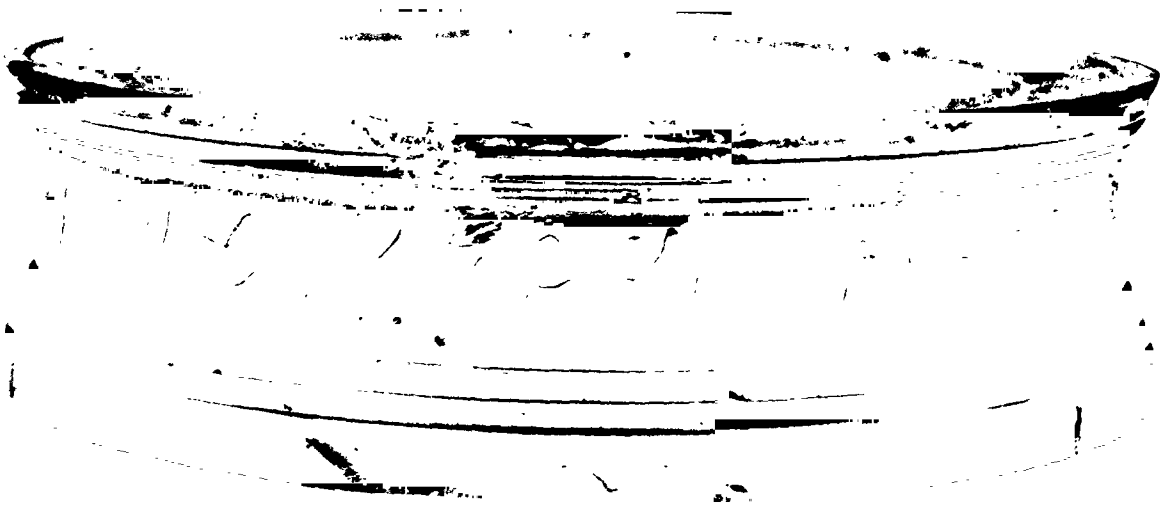
SCALE : ACTUAL SIZE.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

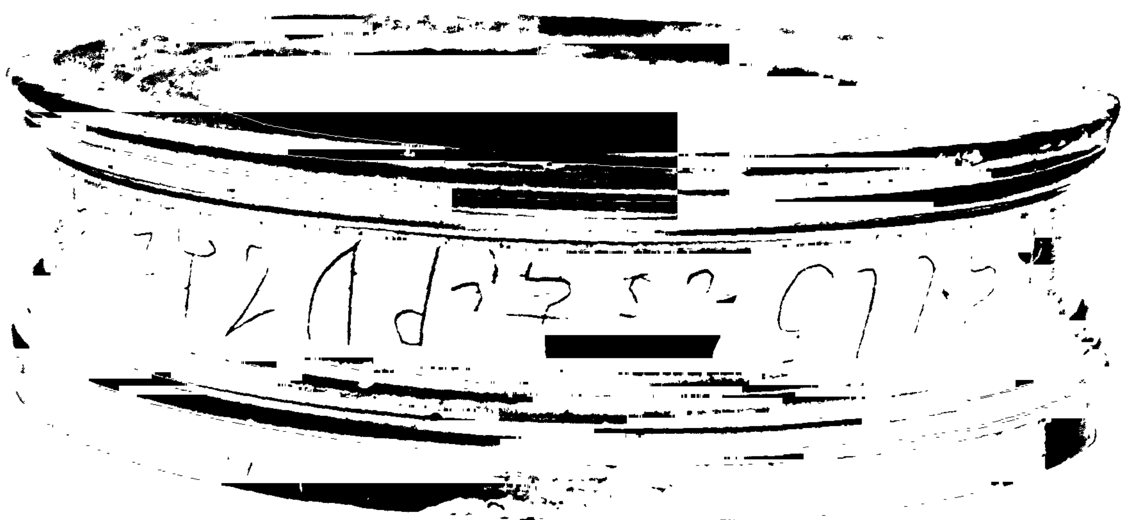
Casket I (Outer side).



a.



b.



c.

No. 3.—PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

Pauni is an old town situated on the right bank of the Waingaṅgā about thirty-two miles south of Bhaṇḍārā, the headquarters of the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces. The ancient name of the town is said to be Padmāvatī. The town is surrounded on three sides by a moat and a mud-wall, covered in some places with stone battlements, and on the fourth by the river Waingaṅgā. A mound on the south, outside the moat, which was dug some years ago for building a temple, is said to have yielded a stone-box containing some relics and small images, but none of them can now be traced. The present inscription was brought to my notice by Mr. Ichchhapuri Goswami, a retired teacher of Pauni, while I was halting with some friends for a short time at the place on our way to see the inscribed slab at Deoṭēk, in October 1935. The slab on which the present inscription is incised is now lying in a pit two or three furlongs to the west of the main gate of the town. We were told that it was originally lying flat on the ground, but some years ago some persons dug under it in search of the treasure which they thought was buried under it. They made a large pit, in which the slab is lying now with one end of it stuck into the ground. We could not then take out the massive slab, but we were informed that the underground end of it contained no inscribed letters. At a short distance from the place we found a mound, which, being situated in the midst of a plain, appeared to be artificial.

As already stated, the present inscription is incised on a massive slab. The inscribed portion measures 3′ 1″ by 4″, and consists of a single line containing fifteen *aksharas*. The size of letters varies from 2½″ to 3½″. They were deeply incised, but parts of them have now become worn, being exposed to weather for several centuries. For instance, the lower portion of the vertical of *rā*[1] and the upper one of *ya* in *rāyasa* and the middle horizontal stroke of *j* in *pājugā-* have left only faint traces. Some other letters, again, like *d* in *Bhagadata*, *pa* and the medial *ī* of *paṭī* show partial effacement. The **characters** belong to the early Brāhmī alphabet. They exhibit an admixture of earlier and later signs. The medial long *ī* of *ṭī* in *paṭī*, for instance, occurs exactly in this form in a Girnar rock-edict of Aśōka,[2] but in other respects the letters show a marked development over the Asokan alphabet. The broadened forms of *bh*, *g* and *t*, the form of *s* in which the right prong of its fork is raised to the same height as the left one, the angular *p* with a shortened left limb and the sign for the medial *u* in *ju*—all these denote a later age. The letters are not, however, so broad or angular as those of the Kushān inscriptions, nor even as those of the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta. I would, therefore, refer the inscription to the beginning of the Christian era. The **language** is early Prākrit. Double consonants are entirely absent. There is also no elision of inter-vocalic mutes except in *-rāyasa* where we have *ya-śruti*. In *pājugā* (for Sanskrit *pādukā*) we see two changes: the substitution of the palatal *j* for the dental *d*, *cf.* the Śaurasēnī *chiṭṭhadi* for *tishṭhati*, and the softening of *k* into *g*, cf. *mugha* for *mukha* in No. 1217 of Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.*

The **object** of the inscription is to record the dedication of a slab with foot-prints (*pājugā-paṭī*) by **Bhagadata** (Bhagadatta) **king of the Bhāra (clan)**. The slab on which the inscription

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[1] The *akshara* cannot be read as *dā*, for the existing vertical stroke is too long to be the upper portion of *d*. Compare the form of the letter in *Bhagadatasa*. I, therefore, read it as *rā*, its lower portion being effaced like the vertical of the next *akshara ya*. In the present record there are several instances of partial effacement of letters owing to exposure to weather.

[2] See Table II, IX, 18 in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie.*

is incised contains, however, no carving of foot-prints, which suggests that it was put up at a shrine where a slab with foot-prints was installed. If this conjecture is correct, the adjoining mound may contain ruins of that shrine. We have an analogous instance in the Deoṭēk slab, the later of the two inscriptions on which was intended to record the construction of a temple (*dharmasthānaṁ*) at Chikambari, near Deoṭēk, by Rudrasēna I, a Vākāṭaka king[1]. The word *dānam* which usually occurs in connection with the dedication of foot-print slabs[2] is again missing in the present record. Its absence can, however, be accounted for on the ground that the present inscription is not a votive tablet recording the gift of a private individual such as would have necessitated the use of the word *dānam*. Bhagadatta, as became his royal position, must have erected a magnificent shrine over the foot-print slab. It must have, therefore, been thought unnecessary to record that it was a *gift* made by him. It was sufficient to mention his name in connection with it. The wording of the Vākāṭaka inscription on the Deoṭēk slab,[3] which is similar, would also support this conjecture.

We are not told whose foot-prints were carved on the slab, the dedication of which is recorded in the present inscription. *Primâ facie* they must have been those of the Buddha. But we must not forget that it was also the custom to install slabs with foot-prints of Hindu deities. We have, for instance, in the Paṭṭan plates[4] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, and the Poḍāgaḍ stone inscription[5] of the Nala king Bhagadatta, clear evidence of the worship of the foot-prints (*pāda-mūla*) of Vishṇu. It is true that these inscriptions belong to a later age, but the custom they evidence may go back to earlier times.[6] The question as to whose foot-prints are referred to in the present inscription cannot, therefore, be definitely answered in the absence of further proof. But the Prākrit language of the dedicatory inscription, the general prevalence of the custom of dedicating slabs with the foot-prints of the Buddha in the period to which the present inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds and above all, the discovery of a relic stone-box in a mound at Pauni, to which a reference has already been made, point to the conclusion that the foot-prints were probably intended to symbolize the Buddha.

Another question, which presents itself in connection with the inscription is whether the Bhāra clan to which Bhagadatta belonged, was identical with the Bhāraśivas whose glorious achievements are recorded in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The identification *primâ facie* may appear unlikely ; for the Bhāraśivas, as their name signifies, were devotees of Śiva. In Vākāṭaka inscriptions their royal family is said to have been created by Śiva who was pleased by their carrying the Śiva-*liṅga* on their shoulders. On the other hand Bhagadatta the king of the Bhāra clan was

[1] See my article ' New Light On Deotēk Inscriptions ' (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.).

[2] See Nos. 1209, 1217, 1219, 1225 and 1286 in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

[3] Compare the wording of the Vākāṭaka inscription [वाकाटक*]वंश[जा*]तस्येदं रुद्रसेनरा[ज्ञ:] धर्मस्थानं with that of the present record भाररायस भगदतस पाजुगापटी.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 85 ff. The words रामगिरिस्वामिन: पादमूलात् ... ... in the Riddhapur plates of Pravarasēna II indicate that the shrine on Rāmagiri (modern Rāmṭek near Nāgpur) also contained foot-print of Vishṇu. *Cf.* also Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (v. 12) वन्द्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु । with reference to Rāmagiri.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 156.

[6] [In this connection attention may be drawn to Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 202f.—Ed.]

probably a Buddhist as shown above. Besides, according to the researches of the late Dr. Jayaswal[1] the Bhāraśivas, who belonged to the Nāgavaṁśa, had their home in the North. It was only when they were pressed by the Kushāns that they migrated to the Central Provinces, where they ruled for half a century before the expansion of their power in the North. It would, therefore, seem that the Bhāras mentioned in the present record were different from those that became known in later history as Bhāraśivas.

Such a conclusion does not, however, appear to be convincing: for, the possibility of the Bhāra clan changing its religion in later times is not altogether excluded. When the Bhāras became staunch devotees of Śiva, whose *liṅga* they always carried like modern Vīra-Śaivas (Lingāyats), they may have become known by the name of Bhāra-Śivas. It is not again definitely proved that the Bhāraśivas belonged to North India. Dr. Jayaswal's theory that there was a confederacy of Nāga states under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas rests on a slender basis. For, though it is known from epigraphic records that there were several Nāga families ruling in North India before the rise of the Guptas, they are nowhere distinctly said to have been united under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas. From the Vākāṭaka inscriptions in which alone the name and achievements of the Bhāraśivas are specifically mentioned we know, of course, that they were crowned with the water of the Ganges which they obtained by their valour and performed ten *Aśvamēdhas*, but this description itself suggests that they were a southern power that successfully raided the North for obtaining the water of the Ganges[2] for their coronation. As for their ten *Aśvamēdhas*, they appear to have been performed in the South[3]; for, it is only the southern Āndhra, Pallava, Ikshvāku, Vākāṭaka and Vishṇukuṇḍin kings that are known to have performed several Vedic sacrifices such as the *Agnishṭōma*, *Vājapēya*, *Aśvamēdha*, *Āptōryāma*, *Ukthya*, etc., in the early centuries of the Christian era. It may again be noted that in the Gupta records Samudragupta is said to have revived the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice which had long been in abeyance,[4] evidently in North India. If the ten *Aśvamēdhas* of the Bhāraśivas had been performed in the North, the palpable falsehood of such a boast would not have escaped notice even in a *praśasti*. The relationship of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas also suggests that the former had, like the latter, their home in the South. That the Vākāṭakas were by origin a southern power can be easily shown. All their early inscriptions[5] are found to the south of the Narmadā. From the Purāṇas we learn that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā[6]. The latter has not been satisfactorily identified, but from the *Harivaṁśa*[7] we learn that Purikā, was situated at the foot of the Ṛikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain. Again the phraseology of the formal part of the Vākāṭaka grants bears a striking resemblance to that of

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[1] *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A. D.*, pp. 16, 29, 40, etc.

[2] In this connection attention may be drawn to the somewhat analogous instance of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa Rājēndra Chōla I.

[3] The statement in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions does not substantiate Jayaswal's view that the *Aśvamēdhas* were celebrated on the bank of the Ganges (See *History of India*, etc., p. 5). The wording in the Vākāṭaka grants is पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य, etc.

[4] See Bilsaḍ Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff. A similar statement may have occurred in the Mathurā fragmentary stone inscription as shown by Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 27.

[5] The inscriptions at Nachnā and Ganja of a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas has been referred on palæographic grounds to the reign of Pṛithivishēṇa II, by Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. I have corroborated this view elsewhere. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp.172 f.).

[6] See *History of India*, etc., p. 16 n. 3.

[7] *Harivaṁśa, Vishṇuparvan, adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22. Jayaswal identifies Purikā with Hoshangābād in the Central Provinces, *History of India*, etc., p. 40.

the early Pallava records[1] and this is no matter for surprise, since an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder has been discovered on a pillar at Amarāvatī in the Āndhra country.[2] It may again be noted that the earliest Vākāṭaka inscription known so far was discovered at Deoṭēk which lies only about twenty miles south-east of Pauni. The proximity of that inscription to the present one accords well with the close relationship which we know from epigraphic records to have existed between the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas. It seems probable, therefore, that the **Bhāras mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the same clan which came to be known in later times as Bhāraśivas** when its members became staunch followers of Śaivism.

TRANSCRIPT.[3]

भारदायस भगदतस पाजुगापटो

Remarks.

(1) The dots over *bha* and *sa* and the curve on *ga* are due to faults in the stone. Similarly the curve which seems to join the two lower limbs of *ta*, thus making the letter look like *va* is due to an accidental depression in the stone. (2) The right limb of *pā* appears to be lengthened by an accidental scratch. Near the top of the left vertical of *pa* in *paṭī* there is a round hole in the surface of the stone, which in some estampages gives the letter the appearance of *pā*. Similarly the horizontal scratch near the top of its right hand curve which makes the letter look like *ha* is unintentional.

TRANSLATION.

A slab with foot-prints of (*i.e.*, dedicated by) **Bhagadata** (Bhagadatta), **the king of the Bhāras.**

The usual technical name for a slab with foot-prints is *paduka-paṭa* (Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭa*). See Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1217. For *paduka* (Sanskrit *pādukā*) the variants *patuka* and *pātuka* are also met with in Amarāvatī inscriptions. The *pājugā-paṭī* of the present inscription corresponds to Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭī*. In an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we have *patipadā*, evidently in the sense of foot-prints on a slab, which Dr. Vogel traces to Sanskrit *pratipadā*[4]. But the latter word nowhere conveys that sense. It must evidently be taken to correspond to Sanskrit *paṭṭī-pada* (foot-prints on a slab). In *pati-padā*, where one would expect *paṭi-padā* there is a dental letter used for the corresponding lingual as in *anuthitaṁ* for *anuṭhitaṁ* in another inscription (No. H. 1. 14) at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

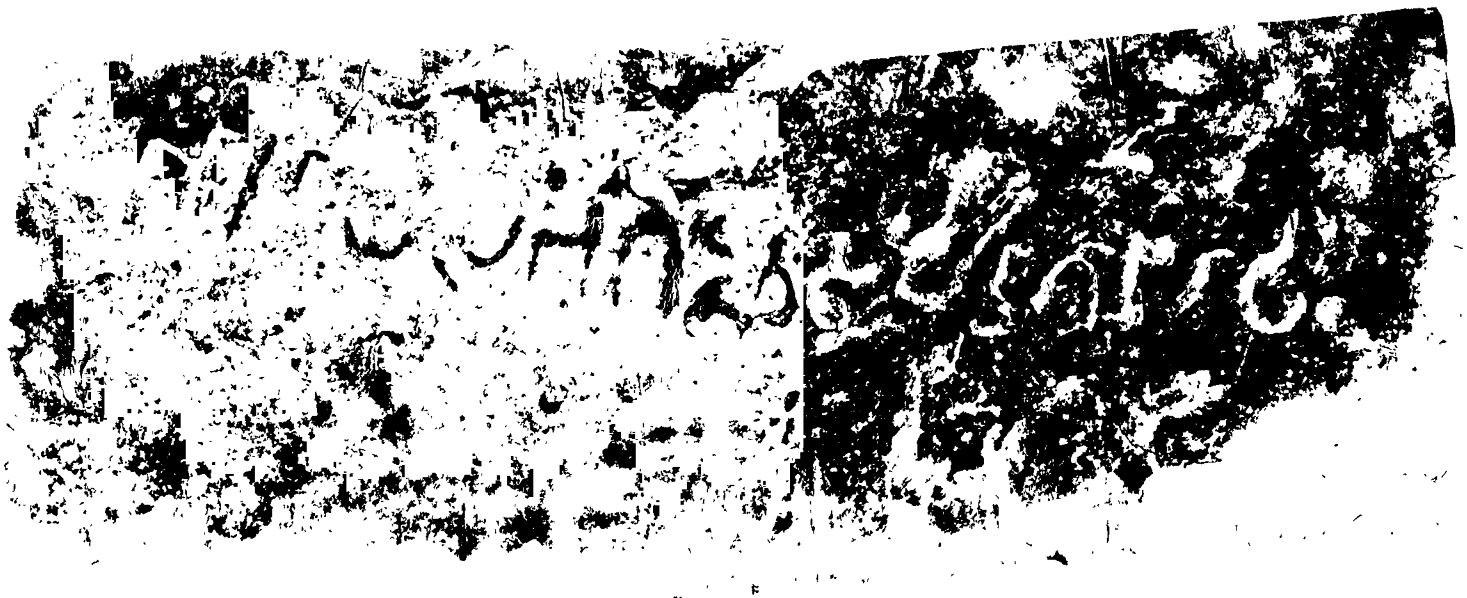
[1] In this connection attention may be drawn to the following points of similarity: (1) Like the Pallava grants Vākāṭaka plates begin with *drishṭam.* (2) In the beginning of both there is an enumeration of the Vedic sacrifices performed by the donor or his ancestor. (3) There is a close similarity in their phraseology. Compare, for instance, the following Prākrit expressions in the formal parts of Pallava grants (above, Vol. I, pp. 5-6 and Vol. VI, p. 87) with their Sanskrit counterparts noticed in the Vākāṭaka grants (above, Vol. XXII, p. 173) *viz.*, *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhanike* with *dharmm-āyur-bbala-vijay-aiśvaryya-vivṛiddhayē*; *a-dūdha-dadhi-gahaṇaṁ* and *a-haritaka-sāka-pupha-gahaṇaṁ* with *a-pushpa-kshīra-sandōhaḥ*; *a-loṇa-gula-cchhobhaṁ* with *a-lavaṇa-klinna-krēṇi-khanakaḥ*; *apāraṁpara-balivadda-gahaṇaṁ* with *apārampara-gō-balivardaḥ*, etc., Notice also the close similarity between *amha-pesaṇa-ppayutte saṁcharantaka-bhaḍa-maṇusāṇa* with *asmat-santakāḥ sarvādhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitā bhaṭāś=chhātrāś=cha*; and also between *sayam=āṇataṁ* and *ājñā svayaṁ* (contrary to the construction I have proposed, above, Vol. XXII, p. 174). The draftsman of the Vākāṭaka records has evidently borrowed some expressions from the Pallava grants as the writer of the latter had done from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. (See Nasik inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4 and Karle inscription No. 19.)

[2] Above, Vol. XV, p. 260.

[3] From the original stone and ink-impressions.

[4] Above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

REG. No. 1515 E'37. 275

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 4.—THE JURADA GRANT OF NETTABHANJADEVA.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription was first brought to light in December 1927 when a resident of **Phulsara,** a village in the Aṭhagaḍa taluk of the Ganjām District, while digging for the foundations of a kitchen-room for the Svapnēśvara temple at the neighbouring hamlet of Deula-Pēḍi, discovered a pot containing two sets of copper-plates, each containing three plates strung together on a ring of the same metal. The plates were subsequently preserved in the local temple of Chandraśēkhara. They were obtained on loan from their owner Sjt. Madhava Patro by Pandit Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, a teacher of the Raja's Sanskrit College at Parlakimedi and published by him in the monthly journal called *Vaiśya-Vāṇī* of the same district. Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru subsequently examined the two sets and published[1] an article on them giving only the text of one of them under the caption ' The Phulasara copper-plate grant of Kīrtirājadēva'. Subsequently Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagadeb, Rajah of Tekkali, edited the present grant giving the text in a rather indifferent manner.[2] This article is not accompanied by any facsimiles and thus provides no basis for verifying either his transcript or his conclusions. I, therefore, requested the Collector of Vizagapatam to secure both the sets for my examination. At his instance the Deputy Tahsildar of Kodala, Ganjām District, forwarded the two sets to me in December 1934. They have been included and reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1935, as Nos. 15 and 16 of Appendix A. The purpose of the present article is mainly to deal with the latter. My reading of the inscription is based on an examination of the original plates and their ink-impressions which have been prepared in my office. As there are also some inaccuracies in the readings of the other grant published by Mr. Rajaguru (No. 15 of App. A), I shall deal with it in a separate article.

The set under review consists of **three plates** measuring 6″ by $2\frac{7}{8}$″ with slightly raised rims. A thin copper ring, about $3\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter, holding the plates together, passes through a ring-hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter at the left hand margin. The ends of the ring are pressed together loosely into the tubular bottom of a circular seal $1\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter. On the surface of the **seal** is carved in high relief the figure of an *amṛita-kalaśa* which Sri Jagadeb takes to be a *pūrṇa-kumbha.*[3] The plates with the ring and the seal weigh 79 *tolas.*

The **palæography** and **orthography** of the plates do not call for any special remarks. Mistakes in the latter are corrected in the foot-notes accompanying the text. The following points may, however, be observed : *s* is used for *ś* as in *saṅkha* and *sabda* in line 4, etc., *kusalinaḥ* (l. 8), *srī* for *śrī* (ll. 4, 6 and 7), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *samaśta,* in l. 9. *V* is employed instead of *b* as in *vriṁhita* in l. 6 ; *prativaddha* in l. 8. The inscription employs the forms *āmvra* (l. 11) and *tāmvra* (ll. 19 and 34) for Skt. *āmra* and *tāmra.* The consonant following *r* is generally doubled as in earlier inscriptions, *e.g., varjjita* (l. 11), *arkka* (l. 13), etc. The use of the form *paurṇavāsī* (probably colloquial) for *paurṇamāsī* in l. 19 and of *nṛipti* for *nṛipati* (twice in l. 21) deserves notice.

The inscription belongs to the king *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Nēṭṭabhañjadēva** (not Nētṛibhañjadēva as has hitherto been read by several scholars) and registers the gift, by the king, of the

[1] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Vol. III, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 109.

[3] *Loc. cit.,* p. 111. It may be recalled here that one of the earlier Bhañja kings bears the surname or title ' Kalyāṇakalaśa ', see above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295 ff. and Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions,* No. 1497. Vidyādharabhañja of this dynasty bore the title ' Amōghakalaśa ' (*ibid.,* No. 1500).

village **Jurāḍā** in **Gaḍa**-*vishaya*, which was a subdivision of **Khiñjali**-*maṇḍala* to *Pātra* śrī-**Vā[ppa]nna**, who was the son of Bhaṭṭa Guhēśvara and grandson of Bhaṭṭa[1] Santōsha of the Viśvāmitra-*gōtra*, the Kaṇva-*śākhā* and the Yajur-*vēda* and who was an immigrant from **Gaṅgavāḍi**. The donee is undoubtedly identical with Vāpanna, the donee of the grant of Kīrtirājadēva, which mentions him, however, without the title *Pātra*. The latter grant refers also to the *tryārshēya-pravara* and the *pañchārshēy-ānupravara* of the donee which are omitted in our grant. The identity of the donee suggests that Nēṭṭabhañjadēva and Kīrtirājadēva were either contemporaries ruling over adjacent principalities or one of them succeeded the other to the throne of the same principality.[2]

The king's genealogy is given thus :—

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nēṭṭabhañjadēva (I)
|
Raṇabhañjadēva
|
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nēṭṭabhañjadēva (II) (king) *m.* Santōsha-Mādhavī
|
Rāyabhañja (*Yuvarāja*)

The king is described as a *parama-vaishṇava* and appropriately enough the grant commences with an invocation to god Nārāyaṇa, who is stated to be the family deity (*kula-dēvatā*) of the Bhañja kings.[3] He is also mentioned in very respectful terms by the addition of the honorific suffix *pādāḥ* to his name, which is also the case with Kīrtirāja of the other grant. The charter was issued from **Kumārapura** and was addressed to the *sāmanti* (corrupt form of *sāmanta*), *sāmavāji* (corrupt form of *sāmājika* or *sāmavāyika*) and all the residents of the concerned country (or district). *Sāmanta* must refer to the feudal lord of the territory and *sāmājikas* to his councillors. The gift was made with the knowledge and cognizance (*āparijñāna*) of the chief queen (*mahādēvī*) śrī-Santōsha-Mādhavī, the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*) śrī-Rāyabhañja, the minister (*pātra*) śrī-Yaśōdhara, the *akshapaṭala* śrī-Ajānanda, the *pratihāra* śrī-Bhāvilla and the *vāguṇi* śrī-Rāṇīkāvāsa. The inscription was engraved on the copper(-plates) by the merchant (*vaṇik*) Malaka or Kamalaka. The two expressions *rājaki-pralayā rupyā* and *khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā* are not intelligible. They probably refer to the amount of silver coins meant to be paid (annually) into the royal treasury and to the local (police ?) officers respectively. The symbol or ligature following the expression *rupyā* is perhaps meant as an abbreviation for *rupyā*.[4]

The record is **not dated** but the occasion of the gift was Phālguna full-moon, and lunar eclipse (*sōma-grahaṇa*), which fact alone is not helpful for determining the exact period of the inscription.

The king Nēṭṭabhañja of the present inscription evidently belongs to a later period, as evidenced by its palæography which resembles closely that of the Antirigam[5] plates of Yaśabhañjadēva

[1] In Kīrtirāja's grant Santōsha is styled *Bhaṭṭaputra*.

[2] Sri Jagadeb thinks that Nēṭṭabhañja conquered Kīrtirāja and succeeded him ; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 110.

[3] Other Bhañja kings of the Vaishṇava persuasion are mentioned in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 1491 (Śatrubhañja), 1492 (Raṇabhañja) and 1493 (*Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja).

[4] [See p. 20 n. 1 below.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, pl. opposite p. 298.

and the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva.[1] He undoubtedly comes of the Vaishṇava branch of the Bhañjas who were mostly lords of the Khiñjali- or Ubhaya-Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* and issued the earlier grants from Dhṛitipura.[2] A close study of the genealogy of the family would suggest that Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa of Nos. 1497 to 1499 of Bhandarkar's *List*, who was the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja is identical with Nēṭṭabhañja I of our grant.[3] Nēṭṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharabhañjadēva, the donor of the Dasapalla grant (called also Chakradharpur plates, see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 266) is styled *Mahārāja* and *parama-vaishṇava*. The latter epithet might suggest a possible identity of Nēṭṭabhañja I of our plates (who calls himself, a *parama-vaishṇava* but only a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) with Nēṭṭabhañja of Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1502. But the title *Mahārāja* borne by the latter precludes this identity.

In attempting a satisfactory genealogy of the several kings of the family the chief factor to be borne in mind is that the various branches had a special *lāñchhana* or seal, *viz.*, a lion in certain cases, a bull in others and a *kalaśa* in still others.[4] We may therefore tentatively look upon the kings of the present record as belonging to a junior branch on account of the absence of sovereign titles. The expression *Matta-mayūra-tūrya*, etc., occurring in the eulogy of the kings of our grant seems very strongly to connect the origin of the Mayūra-Bhañja family with this branch. I shall, under the circumstances, suggest the following tentative genealogy for the present and await future discoveries for its confirmation.[5]

Mahārāja Raṇabhañja
- Digbhañjadēva
  - Śilābhañjadēva
    - *Mahārāja* Vidyādharabhañjadēva *alias* Amōghakalaśa or Avā[r]yakalaśa (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1500 and 1501; *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 136).
      - *Mahārāja* Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa; worshipper of Vishṇu (same *List*, No. 1502).
    - *Rāṇaka* Śatrubhañja (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1490 and 1491).
      - *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja (same *List*, Nos. 1492 to 1495 and 2055.)
        - Nēṭṭabhañja (same *List*, Nos. 1497 to 1499) [probably identical with *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nēṭṭabhañja I of this grant].
          - Raṇabhañja
            - *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nēṭṭabhañjadēva (donor of this grant) *m.* Santōsha-Mādhavī
              - Rāyabhañja (*Yuvarāja*).

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 44.

[2] *Vide* Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1490 to 1495 and 2055.

[3] He would appear to be a solitary devotee of Mahēśvara in this branch. It should be noted that his grants were issued from Vañjulvaka and not from Dhṛitipura. The change in faith might have been caused by some unknown political causes which also must account for the shifting of his capital from the family city Dhṛitipura to Vañjulvaka. Similar change of faith from Śaivism to Vaishṇavism is suggested in the case of Jayabhañjadēva of the Antirigam plates (see above, Vol. XIX, p. 43, text, verse 3).

[4] See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18, p. 136, para. 12.

[5] [With the materials at our disposal it is almost impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the genealogy and the chronological position of the different Bhañja families. See *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff., R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 161 ff, and Bhandarkar's Genealogical Lists in p. 379 of the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.—Ed.]

Though I had tentatively suggested in my *Report* for 1934-35 the identity of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nēṭṭabhañja I of the present inscription with Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa of the above table, on further consideration of the reasons given above, I herein suggest the alternative identity shown in the above table.

The reading 'Nētṛibhañja' has till recently been adopted in almost all publications dealing with this dynasty.[1] In the Ganjām plates the reading is clearly Nēṭṭa- and not Nētṛibhañja as wrongly adopted. That the second letter in the name is not *tṛi* (cf. *tṛi* in *pitṛi* of line 11 of the grant) but is *ṭṭa* will be clear from a comparison of this letter with *ṭṭa* in *bhaṭṭa* of line 24 of the grant.[2] Thus in all cases it will be seen that the original reads only Nēṭṭa. Even in the imperfect lithograph of the Gumsur plates of Nēṭṭabhañja[3] the reading 'Nētṛibhañja' cannot strictly be justified. In his article on the 'Two Bhañja grants from Dasapalla,'[4] Mr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, however, suggests that the king's name might be Nēṭabhañja or Nēṭṭabhañja. But he is not definite. Dr. Bhandarkar, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions* adopts the several forms indifferently.[5] But from a close study of all the concerned grants it will be seen that Nēṭṭabhañja is the correct name and not Nētṛibhañja or Nēṭabhañja. Pandit Binayak Misra, however, read the name correctly.[6]

The names of the *akshapaṭalin* and *pratihāra* respectively read as Ājñā and Bhāviṇṇa by Sri Jagadeb must be correctly read as Ajānanda and Bhāvilla.

Kumārapura, the place from which the charter was issued, must be identical with the village of that name in the Berhampur taluk of the Ganjām District. **Khiñjali**-*maṇḍala* is already known from other records of this dynasty. **Gaḍa**-*vishaya* in which the gift-village Jurāḍā was situated is evidently identical with the Khiñjalīya-Gaḍa-*vishaya* of the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva.[7] **Jurāḍā** may be identical with Jaraḍā, a Zamindari village in the Kodola taluk of the Ganjām District.[8]

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Siddham[9][||*] Yasmāch=chakra-gad-āsi-śaṅkha-dhanushaḥ Śrīvatsa-tārkshāv=api|[10]dyōntē yē

2 Ditiadhināthа[11]-vanitā-vaidhavya-dīkshā-kṛitaḥ [|*] sō=yaṁ bhakta-janā[ya*] mōksha-pha[la*]-da[ḥ*]

3 śrī-**Bhañja**-va[ṁś-ō]dbhavān pāyād=vaḥ kula-dēvatā pratidinaṁ Nārāyaṇō bhūbhujaḥ||

4 Svā(Sva)sti [|*] Srī(śrī)-**Kumārapurāt** parama-vaishṇava[ḥ*] sa(śa)ṅkh-aika-savd(śabd)-ābhinandita-

[1] *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 135 and above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283 f.

[2] See above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 292.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 669.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 266.

[5] Nos. 1497 to 1499 and 1502.

[6] See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 42.

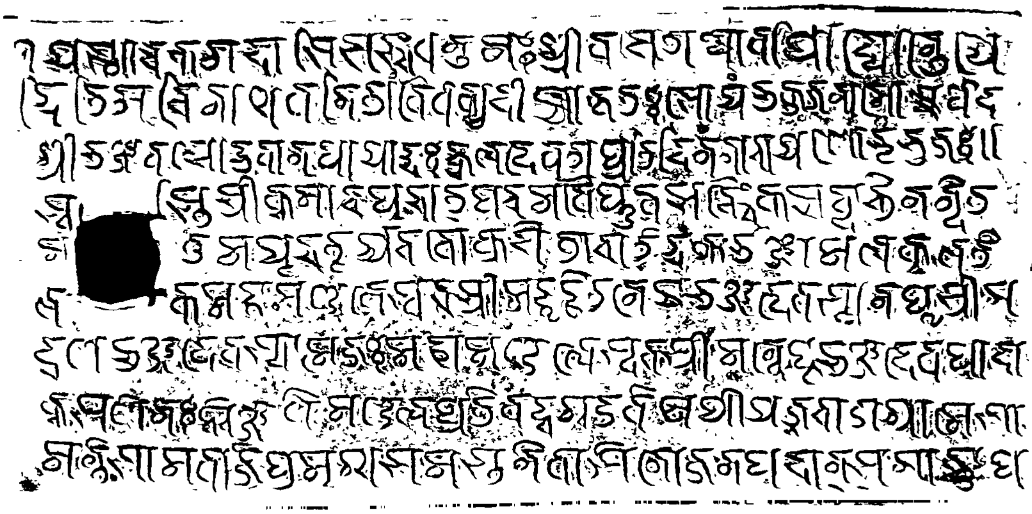
[8] It is also possible that Surada, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Ganjām District represents the Jurāḍā of the inscription.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

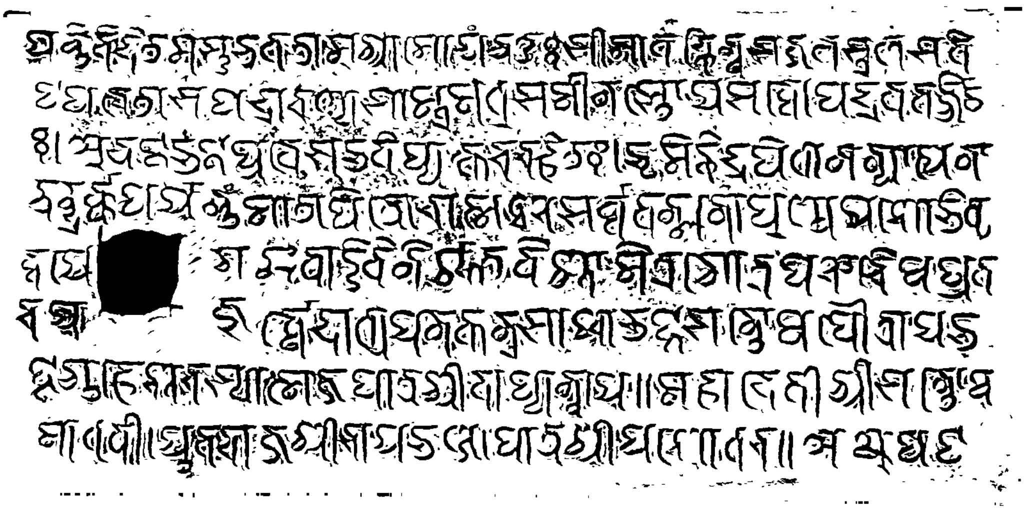
[10] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[11] Read *dyōtantē Ditij-ādhi°*.

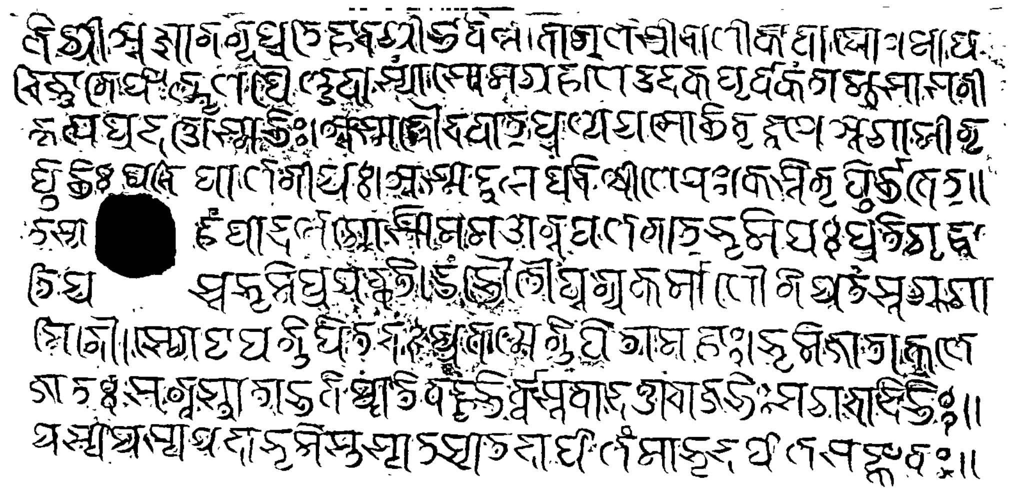
i.



iia.

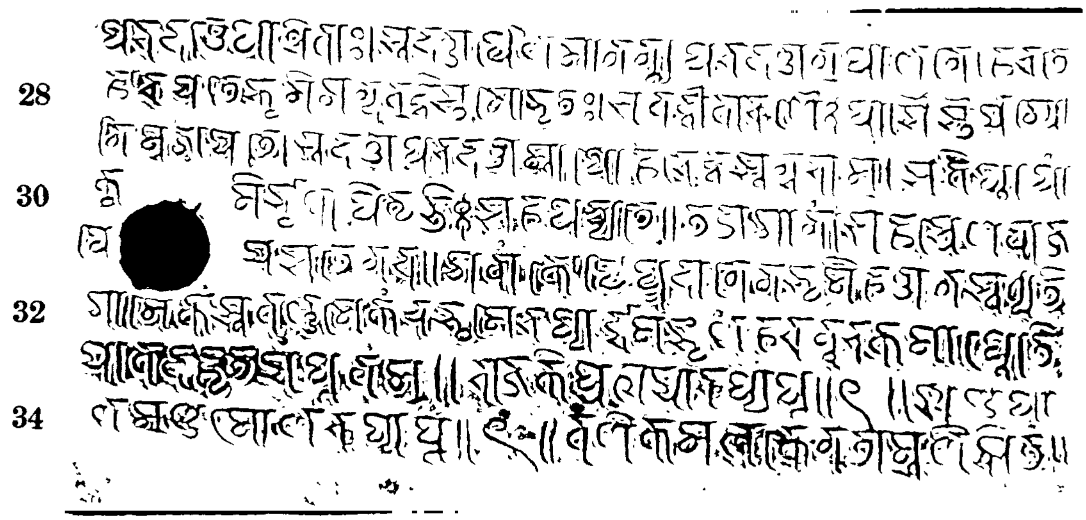


iib.



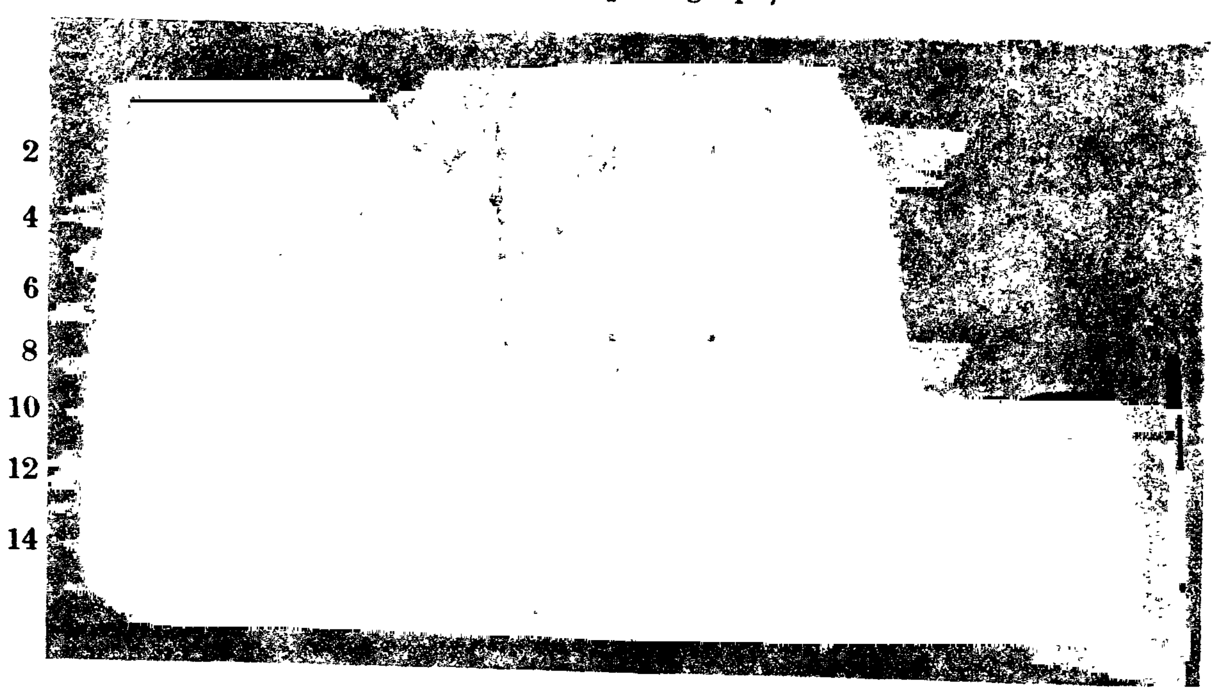
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: NINE-TENTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii.



AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

(From a photograph).



SCALE: ABOUT ONE-THIRD.

5 matta-mayūra-tūrya-rav-ō[t*]krasi(śi)t-ārāti-chakra-Bhañj-āmala-kula-ti-
6 laka-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-srī(śrī)mad-vṛi(bṛi)[ṁ*]hita-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēvasya** naptṛi(ptā) srī(śrī)ma-
7 d-**Raṇabhañjadēvasy**=ātmajaḥ Mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ra-srī(śrī)man-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēva-**pādā[ḥ*]
8 kusa(śa)linaḥ **Khiñjali**-maṇḍala-prativa(ba)ddha-**Gaḍa**-vishayīya-**Jurāḍā**-grāmē sā-
9 manti-sāmavāji-pramukha-samaśta(sta)-nivāsinō janapadān samājñāpa-

Second Plate : First Side.

10 yanti viditam=astu bhavatām grāmō=yaṁ chatuḥ-śām(sīm)-āvachchhinna[ḥ*] sa-jala-sta(stha)la[ḥ*] sa-vi-
11 ṭapa-latā-sa-padr-āraṇya[ḥ*] s-āmvra(mra)-madhu[ḥ*] sa-mīna-stō(tō)ya[ḥ*] sa[r*]vv-ōpadrava-varjjita-
12 ḥ (|) achaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēsa(śaḥ) bhavishyat-kara-rahitaḥ bhūmi-[ch*]chhidra-pi(vi)dhāna-nyāyēna
13 chandr-a(ā)rkka-paryantaṁ mātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha sarvva-va[nnā](rṇṇā)nāṁ [pu][1]-ṇya-yaśō-bhivṛi-
14 ddhayē **Gaṅgavāḍi**-vinirggata-Viśvāmitra-gōtra-pañch-ārisha-(ārshēya)-prava-
15 ra-Ya[ju]rvvēd-ādhyayana-Ka[nva](ṇva)-sā(śā)khā-Bhaṭṭa-Santōsha-pautrāya Bha-
16 ṭṭa-Guhēśvarasy=ātmaja-Pātra-śrī-Vā[ppa]nnāya || Mahādēvī śrī-Santōsha-
17 Mādhavī | yuvarāja[ḥ*] śrī-Rāyabhañja[ḥ*] | Pātra[ḥ*] śrī-Yaśōdhara[ḥ*] || Akshapaṭa-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

18 li(lī) śrī-A[jā]nanda[ḥ|*] Pratihāra[ḥ*] śrī-Bhāvilla[ḥ*] | Vāguṇi[2] srī(śrī)-Rāṇīkāvā[sō=tr=ā]pa
19 rijñānē **Phālguṇa(na)-paurṇṇavā(mā)syāṁ sōma-grahaṇē** udaka-pūrvakaṁ tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)sanī-
20 kṛitya pradattō=sma(ā)bhiḥ | Asmad-gauravāt puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē a(ā)gāmī(mi)-nṛi-
21 pti(pati)bhiḥ paripālanīyaḥ Asmad-vatsa(vaṁśē) parikshīṇē yaḥ kēs(kaś)=chi[n*]=nṛipti(pati)r=bhavēt ||(|)
22 tasy=a(ā)haṁ pāda-[lagnō]=smi mama [da*]tt-ānup[ā]lanāt [||*] Bhūmi[ṁ*] yaḥ pratigṛi-hnā(hṇā)-
23 ti yas(ś)=cha bhūmi[ṁ*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya(ṇya)-karmāṇau niyataṁ svagga-(rgga)-gā-
24 minau || [Ā*]sphōṭayanti pitaraḥ prava[lga]nti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-jā(dā)tā kulē
25 jātaḥ sa nna(na)s=trātā bhavishyati [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ ||(|)
26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-sa(śa)ṅkā vaḥ ||[3]

Third Plate.

27 para-datt=ē[ti*] pārthivāḥ | sva-dattāt=phalam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-datt-ānupālanē Haratē
28 hārayatē(yēd) bhūmi[ṁ*] manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamō-bhṛi(vṛi)taḥ | sa va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=te(ti)ryag-yō-

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[1] The *u*-sign is indicated more like the one for *r* ; cf. also *gu* in l. 18 below.

[2] [We may have to read *Vāguli*= *Vārgulika* of the Ganjām plates of Vidyādharabhañja.—Ed.]

[3] *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

29 nishu jāyatē |(||) Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēd(ta) vasundharām ! sa vishṭhāyāṁ
30 kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || Taṁ(Ta)ḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa Vāja-
31 pēya-śatēna cha ||(|) gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-ha[r*]ttā na [śu]dhyati [||*]
32 Gām=ēkāṁ suva(sva)rṇṇam=ēkaṁ cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam)[|] haran=narakam=ā(|)pnōti
33 yāvad=āhṛi(bhū)ta-saṁ[plava]m || Rājaki-pralayā [ru]pyā[1] || ||[2] khaṇḍapā-
34 la-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā || ||[2] Vaṇika(g)-Malakēna[3] tāmvra(mrē) likhitaṁ ||

No. 5.—AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The brick containing the present inscription was found in 1936-37 from the core of a votive *stūpa* attached to the Main Stūpa of Nālandā (Site No. 3). It was recovered in fragments which have been pieced together, but a portion of the upper right corner of the brick is missing. The size of the complete brick is 18″×10″×1½″.

The **inscription** is on one side of the brick and runs to 15 lines. The letters were evidently engraved with a stylus when the brick was still wet, so that the clay thus displaced adhered to the surface of the brick and hardened when the brick was burnt. **Palæographically**, the inscription may be referred to the **sixth century A. D.** The letters are in the cursive style and present much the same features as the other brick inscriptions of Nālandā, two of which have already been published by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti[4]. Some points of difference, however, may be noted here. The vowel *i* (l. 14) does not consist of three dots, but of two dots placed one above the other and of a third member resembling the letter *d*. The triangle representing *ē* (ll. 7 and 13) has its apex pointed to the left. The letter *k* shows the earlier unlooped form when it is an independent member; but both looped and unlooped forms occur indiscriminately when the letter is the second member of a ligature, *cf.* l. 9, where *saṁskāra* occurs twice. *Y* is tripartite with an additional curve to the left hanging downwards, but occasionally, *e.g. ayam* in l. 13, the curve turns inwards, thus producing the more common form. An important feature is that, unlike those of the published brick, both *sh* and *s* of the present record are of the looped variety, which since Hoernle's time has come to be known as the eastern variety.[5]

As regards **orthography**, the use of *anusvāra* for the final *n* in *bhagavāṁ* (l. 2), *asmiṁ* (l. 4), etc., and the doubling of *m* in *dharmma* (l. 3 *et passim*) may be noted. Rules of *sandhi* have not been regularly observed. Two punctuation marks are found, the first consisting of a short horizontal line (ll. 4, 9, and 13) and the other of two vertical lines (ll. 8 and 15).

[1] [Reading seems to be *-pratyayā rupyā*. The symbol after '*rupyā*' in this line and the next appears to represent a numerical sign and may have to be read as 70.—Ed.]

[2] There is a symbol between the two pairs of *daṇḍas*.

[3] This might also be emended as *Vaṇik-Kamalakēna*.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.

[5] Hoernle, *Bower Manuscript*, pp. xxvii ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 30 ff. For criticisms see Altekar *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 405 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff. A very early example of looped *s* occurs in a Saheṭh-Maheṭh brick inscription containing the word *pavarikasya* [*An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pl. xi(*a*)]. The roundish shape of *p* and *v* shows the priority of the inscription to the angular development of the Kushāṇa period.

A unique interest is attached to the inscription in view of the fact that it is **dated in the year 197,** which its palæography allows **to be referred only to the Gupta era,** thus bringing its date to A. D. 516-17. This fact leads to some important conclusions about the date of the Main Stūpa at Nālandā. In its present form the monument is the result of seven successive accumulations, each integument being placed upon the ruins of the earlier one, with the result that each time the size of the Stūpa greatly increased both horizontally and vertically. The *stūpa* of the fifth period, with its four corner-towers and eastern façade decorated with rows of niches containing well-modelled stucco figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas[1] was more carefully constructed, or, at any rate, is better preserved now, than any other. The votive *stūpa* from the core of which the present record has been found belonged to this period of the Stūpa and was subsequently covered up by the eastern outer wall of the sixth period. It appears, therefore, that we can now ascribe the fifth period of the Stūpa occupation to *circa* A. D. 500 with much greater certainty than was possible with the help of the images mentioned above.[2]

The inscription gives the text of the *Nidānasūtra* or the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* together with the *nirōdha* portion,[3] called here the *āchaya* and *apachaya* of *dharmma.*[4] Except the two bricks published by Dr. Chakravarti, which give the *sūtra* together with its *vibhaṅga*, every brick inscription of Nālandā gives either this *sūtra* (with or without the *nirōdha*) or the famous creed *yē dharmā*, etc., which no doubt refers to this *sūtra*. One brick recovered in two pieces (Site No. 3, Reg. Nos. 230 and 236) repeats the *sūtra* and *nirōdha* thrice; each time the *sūtra* finishes with the sentence *iyaṁ mithyā-prakṛitiḥ saṁskṛita-vartinī* and the *nirōdha* with *iyaṁ samyak-prakṛitir=asaṁskṛita-niyām-āvakkrāntiḥ*. The same votive *stūpa* which yielded the present record contained another brick (Reg. No. 278B), elliptical in shape, rather carelessly inscribed with five lines of the text of the *sūtra*. For some reason or other the record was never completed.

The following text is transcribed from the original which is now preserved in the Nālandā Museum :—

TEXT.

1 Namaḥ [|*] Ēvam=mayā śrutam=ē[ka]sm[i]n=samayē Bhagavāṁ(ñ)=chChhrāvastyāṁ viharati [sma] [Jētavanē Anātha*]-[5]

2 piṇḍadasy=ārāmē [|*] Tatra Bhagavāṁ(n) bhikshūṇ=ā[ma]ntrayatē[6] s[ma]. . . .vō bhikshava . . . .[7] [dēśa*]-[5]

3 yishyāmy=apachayaṁ cha [|*] Tach=[chhṛiṇ]uta sādhu [cha*] sushṭhu cha manasi kuru[ta bhā]shishy[ē] dha[rmmāṇām=āchayaḥ katamaḥ |*][5]

4 Yad=ut=āsmiṁ(n) sat=īdaṁ bhavaty=a[s]y=[ō]tpā[d]ād=idam=utpadyatē | Yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṁskā[rāḥ saṁskāra-pratyayaṁ vijñānaṁ vijñāna*]-[5]

5 pratyayaṁ nāma-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya[ṁ] shaḍ-āyatanaṁ shaḍ-āyatana-pratyayāḥ sparśāḥ[8] [sparśa-pratyayā vēdanā*][5]

[1] For illustrations see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, pl. xlix; 1926-27, pls. vii and viii.

[2] These images are referred to the 7th or 8th century A. D., *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 103.

[3] This all-important *sūtra* occurs in many Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. For references see Chakravarti, *loc. cit.*, p. 195, n. 2.

[4] [The text of the *sūtra* here is the same as that found in the Kasia copper plate and the inscribed brick from Gopalpur. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 76 f and *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.]

[5] This portion of the text is lost.

[6] Same as the text of B published by Dr. Chakravarti. The correction to *bhikshūn=āmantrayatē* now appears to be better than *bhikshūṇām=āmantrayatē*, as the letter *mā* could not have been inadvertently left out in both cases.

[7] The lacuna may be filled up as *dharmmāṇāṁ vō bhikshava āchayaṁ cha dēśa*.

[8] There is no doubt that the word is in the plural.

6 vēdanā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayam=upādānaṁ [u]pā[dā]na-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā [jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā*][1]

7 jjarā[2]-maraṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmma[nasy-ō]pāyāsāḥ [saṁ]bhavanti [|*] Ēvam=asya k[ēvalasya mahatō duḥkha*]-[1]

8 [skandha]sya samudayō bhavati [|*] Ayam=uchyatē dharmmāṇām=āchayaḥ [||] Dharmmāṇām=apachayaḥ [katamaḥ | Yad=ut=āsmin*][1]

9 sat=īda(daṁ) na bhavaty=asya nirōdhād=idaṁ nirudhyatē | Yad=ut=[ā]vidyā-nirōdhā-[t=sa]ṁskāra-nirōdhaḥ saṁskāra-[nirōdhād=vijñāna-nirōdhaḥ*][1]

10 vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhaḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhā[ch=chha(t=sha)]ḍ-āyatana-nirōdhaḥ shaḍ-āyatana[3]-[nirōdhāt=sparśa-ni*][1]rōdhaḥ

11 sparśa-nirodhād=vēdanā-nirōdhaḥ vēdanā-[n]irōdhāt=trishṇā-[ni]rōdhaḥ[4] trishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhaḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-

12 nirōdhaḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=jāti-nirōdhaḥ jāti-nirōdhāj=jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmmanasy-ōpāyāsāḥ

13 nirudhyantē | Ēvam=asya kēvala[sya*] mahatō duḥkha-ska[ndhasya] ni[rōdhō] bhavati [|*] Ayam=uchyatē [dharmmāṇām=apachayaḥ |*] Dharmmāṇām vō bhikshava

14 āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaṁ ch=ēti iti [mē] yad=uktam=[i]dam=ē[tat*] pratyuktaṁ [|*] Idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=ātta-

15 manasas=tē cha bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhāshitam=abhyanandan || **sa 100 90 7 Māgha di 20 5.**

No. 6.—SENDAMANGALAM INSCRIPTION OF MANAVALAPPERUMAL; 5TH YEAR.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription[5] is engraved on the south base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at **Sēndamaṅgalam**[6] in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District. Though exposed to weather, the record is in a fairly good state of preservation.

It is engraved in the **Tamil** language and script of the 13th century A.D. with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and end. In incising the record, certain scribe's mistakes have crept in and these have been corrected in the text given below. The text of the record has been published in *South-Indian Inscriptions.*[7]

The **orthography** of the inscription does not call for any special remark. The word *vāṇilai* (l. 3) requires some explanation. In the Tamil classical work *Puṟapporuḷ veṇbāmālai* of Ayyaṉ Āritaṉār, *vāṇilai* forms the subject matter of one of the twenty-one divisions in the chapter *Vañjippaḍalam.* It is there explained as referring to the act of sending in advance, at an auspicious moment, the sword of a king who intends to march against his enemies. This is described under

[1] This portion of the text is lost.

[2] Read *jarā.*

[3] Between *ta* and *na* intervenes the *ka* of the ligature *skā* of the previous line.

[4] These three letters had originally been dropped out by the scribe, who subsequently corrected the omission by putting a cross above the letter *shṇā* and inscribing the necessary letters below the line, slightly to the left of *tri.*

[5] No. 73 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[6] This village must be distinguished from the village of the same name in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the same district.

[7] Vol. VIII, No. 350.

the name *vāṇmaṅgalam*[1] in the *Tolkāppiyam.*[2] The historical implications of this word and its bearing on our inscription will be discussed in the sequel.

The present inscription is dated in the **5th year** of **Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ** and it registers a gift, by this chief, of the village **Mōgaṉār Māṟaṉār**, as a tax-free *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, for conducting the service called *Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ-śandi* newly instituted by him, for celebrating a festival in the month of Puraṭṭādi (September-October) and for burning ten perpetual lamps in the temple of the god Vāṇilaikaṇḍīśuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṉār set up by him at Śēndamaṅgalam after converting it into a military camp.

The importance of this record to South Indian history has not so far been recognised. It is the only record, so far known, issued by Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ under this name as an independent chief. Who this chief was and what his position was in South India, when he assumed independence and how long he continued to be in power are points which have not been satisfactorily explained till now. An attempt is now made to elucidate them.

For this enquiry, the present record gives a good start by stating that Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ garrisoned his forces at Śēndamaṅgalam and thus made it an important centre. From the Tiruvēndipuram inscription[3] and the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-71) commencing with the words '*pūmalar vaḷar*', etc., we know that this place was the stronghold of the later Pallava chief Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva II. A record from Vṛiddhāchalam[4] in the South Arcot District mentions our chief in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. It further states that he was a native of Kūḍal in Kiḻāmūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Tirumuṇaippāḍi in Mēṟkā-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu.

This inscription gives Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ the following titles :—

1 **Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ,**
2 **Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ** and
3 **Rājarājak-Kāḍavarājaṉ.**

The first name indicates that Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ was the father of Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ. This would explain why Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ instituted a service called *Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ-śandi*. The god Vāṇilaikaṇḍīśuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṉār consecrated by Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ at Śēndamaṅgalam must have been so called after the second name. In this case it may be said that Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ of our inscription is identical with Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ. The third appellation was probably assumed about the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III after the name of the crown-prince Rājarājā.

This chief also figures in a record of the 29th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III at Tiruvadi[5] as donor with the additional title *Achalakulōttaman.*[6] Further it may be inferred that he had also the title '**Aḻagiya-Pallavaṉ**,' because the deity in the Perumāḷ temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr constructed by his wife was named Aḻagiya-Pallava-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ.[7] It will thus be clear that Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ *alias* Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ was a Kāḍava chief belonging to Kūḍal in Tirumuṇaippāḍi, that his capital was Śēndamaṅgalam and that he was a subordinate of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III about the latter's 29th year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1207.

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[1] See also *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 115-16.
[2] *Poruḷ-adhikāram, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, sūtra* 68.
[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.
[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317.
[6] *Achalakulōttaman* would indicate his connection with the Malaiyamāṉ chiefs. *Achalakulōtbhavaṉ* was also a title of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kannaradēva (No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).
[7] No. 484 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

No regular genealogy of the Kāḍava chiefs in the Tamil country has so far been attempted,[1] but from a few records available, a tentative one can be drawn up, at least for a period of a century and half commencing from the second half of the 12th century A.D.

Two lithic records from Vṛiddhāchalam[2] and Tiruveṇṇainallūr[3] which contain the same text furnish the following genealogy except No. (6) :—

(*a*)

(1) Vaḷandāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar.

|

(2) Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar (A. D. 1158).[4]

|

(3) Ēḷiśaimōgan Kāḍavarāyan,' who conquered the four quarters'[5] (A.D. 1152).

(4) Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan.[6]

|

(5) Āḷappiṟandān Vīraśēkhara *alias* Kāḍavarāyan, ' who destroyed Kūḍal belonging to Kaṟkaṭakamārāyan and Adiyamā-nāḍu '.[7]

(6) Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kachchiyarāyan[8] (A.D. 1184).

Three other records give the following genealogies :—

(*b*)[9]

Kūḍal (Ēḷiśaimōgan) Āḷappiṟandān *alias* Kāḍavarāyar.

|

Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar or Vīrar Vīran Kāḍavarāyar, ' Conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam '.

(*c*)[10]

(Ēḷiśaimōgan) Manavāḷap-perumāḷ.

|

Kāḍavarāyar.

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[1] [A genealogy of these chiefs has been given by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri on p. 161 of Vol. II of *The Cōḷas* which was issued after this article was sent to the press.—Ed.]

[2] No. 74 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 463 of 1921, *ibid.*

[4] No. 486 of 1921, *ibid.*

[5] No. 423 of 1921, *ibid.*

[6] Nos. 254 of 1919 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 121.

[8] Nos. 413 of 1909 and 157 of 1906, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; also *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 85. Ēḷiśaimōgan No. (6) was another son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachchiyarāyan.

[9] Nos. 296 of 1912 and 178 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[10] No. 484 of 1921, *ibid.*

(*d*)[1]

Jīyamahīpati *m.* Śilāvatī.

|

Mahārājasiṁha (*i.e.*, Kōpperuñjiṅga) of Kūḍal.

One point connecting the four sets given above is that all the members belonged to Kūḍal. Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar mentioned in the second set is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ in two inscriptions from Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam[2] and Atti[3]. There are two persons with the name Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ in the first set given above, one the elder brother of Araśanārāyaṇa who flourished about A.D 1152[4] and the other, his son who figures in inscriptions of about A.D. 1184[5]. Considering the proximity of the latter date to the period of Rājarāja III, the Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ mentioned in that year seems to have been the father of Pallavāṇḍār mentioned in the Atti record. The conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam claimed by Pallavāṇḍār could not have been an independent achievement, for then he would have issued records in his own name in this region ; it, therefore, seems probable that this conquest was undertaken on behalf of his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. But since Conjeeveram, the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was under the Chōḷas in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I,[6] Vikrama-Chōḷa,[7] Rājarāja II[8] and Rājādhirāja II[9], we must presume that it must have been lost to the Chōḷas during the later portion of the reign of Rājādhirāja II or during the beginning of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, for the latter says, in a record[10] of his 19th year, that he entered Kachchi ' after prostrating to the ground the kings of the North '. The conquest of Kachchi is definitely included in his record from Tirukkōyilūr,[11] dated in the 24th year. Just as another feudatory chief of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, *viz.*, Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* Rājarāja Śambuvarāyaṉ styled himself ' the conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country'[12] for assisting the Chōḷa king in his Pāṇḍya war, Pallavāṇḍār must have called himself ' the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam ' for a similar help rendered to his overlord in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region.

The third genealogy noted above helps us further in the identification of Pallavāṇḍār. It has been pointed out that Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ, a native of Kūḍal in Kiḷāmūr-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III about the latter's 28th[13] or 29th[14] year, *i.e.*, 1206 A.D. He was called Aḷagiya-Pallavaṉ and had also the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ. Since the word *vāṇilai* refers to the despatch of arms in advance of an invading army, evidently under a trusted officer, the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ assumed by this chief would indicate his service to his overlord. Since Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ (*i.e.* Aḷagiya-Pallavaṉ), was an important Kāḍava chief under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about the latter's 35th year[15], we may identify him with Pallavāṇḍār ' the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam ' of the second set. This identification receives further support

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1 No. 202 of 1905, *ibid.*
2 No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.*
3 No. 296 of 1912, *ibid.*
4 Nos. 166 and 170 of 1906, *ibid.*
5 No. 413 of 1909, *ibid.*
6 *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 813 and Vol. III, No. 68.
7 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 80.
8 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 822.
9 *Ibid.*, No. 820.
10 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217 ; also No. 164 of *Pudukkottai Inscriptions* dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.
11 No. 2 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
12 Nos. 167 and 176 of 1918, *ibid.*
13 *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.
14 *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317.
15 Nos. 63 of 1919 and 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

from the fact that Pallavāṇḍār, like Maṇavālap-perumāḷ, is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Āḷappiṟandāṉ.[1]

We have seen that Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ of the third set was known as Aḻagiya-Pallavaṉ and since Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva was also called Aḻagiya-Pallavaṉ, the identification of Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ and Pallavāṇḍār ' the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam ' with Jīyamahīpati of the fourth set is easily established. The whole genealogy can, therefore, be tentatively given thus :

(1) Vaḷandāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar.

(2) Āṭkoḷḷiyār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar (A. D. 1158).

(3) Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Kāḍavarāyaṉ, ' who conquered the four quarters'[2] (A. D. 1152).

(4) Araśanārāyaṇaṉ Kachchiyarāyaṉ *alias* Kāḍavarāyaṉ of Kūḍal[3] (A. D. 1186).

(5) Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandāṉ Vīraśēkhara *alias* Kāḍavarāyaṉ, ' who destroyed Kūḍal belonging to Karkaṭakamārāyaṉ and the country of Adigaimāṉ '[4] (A. D. 1186).

(6) Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ *alias* Jananātha Kachchiyarāyaṉ[5] (A. D. 1184).

(7) Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar[6] ' conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam ' also known as Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ,[7] Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāḷ, Aḻagiya-Pallavaṉ, Jīyamahīpati,[8] Kōpperuñjiṅga I (highest regnal year so far known is 11 probably corresponding to A. D. 1243).

(8) Kōpperuñjiṅga II (acon. A.D. 1243).

Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ, whom we have identified with **Jīyamahīpati** of the Tripurāntakam[8] inscription, was a subordinate under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about A.D. 1211.[9] He strengthened his position in the country and gradually made Śēndamaṅgalam in the South Arcot District his capital, garrisoned it with forces and declared his independence by issuing records in his own name. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja III was captured and imprisoned in this place and was released only when the Hoysaḷa forces marched against this city threatening destruction. An unpublished record from Villiyanūr in the French territory near Pondicherry, dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva II, refers to an audit of temple accounts from the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, *i.e.*,

[1] No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.* The name Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ means Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ, son of Ēḷiśaimōgaṉ.

[2] Nos. 423 of 1921 ; 166 and 170 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] Nos. 391 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

[4] No. 463 of 1921. It cannot be stated definitely which of the two brothers Nos. (5) and (6) was the elder.

[5] No. 413 of 1909, *ibid.*

[6] No. 296 of 1912.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 350.

[8] No. 202 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[9] No. 63 of 1919, *ibid.*

Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III to the 11th year of Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva (I).[1] **Probably 11 was the last regnal year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I,** *i.e.*, **Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ**, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōḷa power by imprisoning Rājarāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam in A.D. 1232 and that Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva II came to the throne in A.D. 1243.[2] He was a quasi independent chief roughly from the 37th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III to A.D. 1232 when he assumed the role of an independent ruler and continued to be in power till the accession of his son in A.D. 1243. He assumed the title 'Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ' which was exclusively adopted in inscriptions by his son Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva II. Some of his records are found at Vailūr, Chidambaram and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ, the signatory to the present record, may be identified with the chief himself in whose regime this inscription was issued.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the record, **Śēndamaṅgalam** is identical with the village of the same name where the present inscription is found. **Geḍilam** is the river that rises in the Kallakurchi taluk of the South Arcot District and flows into the Bay of Bengal under the ruined bastions of Fort St. David near Cuddalore in the same district.

TEXT.

1 Svasti[3] śrī[4] [||*] [4]**Sakalabhuvaṉachcha[kkara]vattigaḷ** Śrī[3]-**Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ-Uḍaiyāṟ**[kku]

2 yāṇḍu **añchāvadu Śēndamaṅgalattu** ūrum paḍaivīḍu śe[y*]du U[ḍaiyār]

3 [Vā]**ṉilaikaṇḍīśuram-udaiya-Nāyaṉāraiyum** eḻundaruḷap-pa[ṇ*]ṇi iṉ-ṉāyaṉārkku nām kaṇḍa **Eḷiśaimōgaṉ-śandikkum** Puraṭṭṭādi(Puraṭṭādi) tirun[āḷu*]kkum tirinundā-viḷakku pattukkum **Geḍilattu[k]ku** vaḍa[k]ku kurukāl-vaḻikku mēṟkku **Mōgaṉār Māṟaṉār**[5] nāṉ-

4 [g-e]llaikku utpaṭṭa nañjai puñjai uḷḷiṭṭa payiru maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa aṉaittāyamum utpaḍa tirunāmattukkāṇi iṟaiyiliyāga tandōm[||*] ippaḍikku Chandirādittavar śella ivūr nāṉg-ellaiyilum natta[t*]tilu[m*] tiruchchūla-tāpana[m]-

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[1] This is No. 186 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. The relevant portion of the record reads :—

1. Svasti śrī [||*] Sakalabuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Śrī Avaniāḷappiṟandār Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvaṟkku yāṇḍu 6-vadu ā-
2. ṟāvadu * * * *
3. * * * * muppaduvaṭṭattu-kkāṇiuḍaiya śivappirāmaṇa-
4. rōm tiṭṭukkuḍutta pariśāvadu[||*] iṉ-ṉāyaṉār kōyil Tirubuvanavīradevaṟkku muppattēḻāvadu mudal Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgadēvaṟkku padiṉoṉṟāva-
5. du varai i=kōyil nīkki nilai kāśum nellum āḍum māḍum āṟāvadu Tai(y)- mādattu Uḍaiyār Perumaṅgalam uḍaiyār Udaiya-
6. pperumāḷāṉa Kāḍuveṭṭigaḷ kaṇakku kēṭṭu * * *

This record confirms the view expressed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* as early as 1906 as to the existence of two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva. But Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam has laboured in vain to refute this theory in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 293ff.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, p. 165.

[3] Engraved in Grantha.

[4] The letters *Sakalabhu* are in Grantha.

[5] The length of *ṉā* is indicated, unnecessarily, by a secondary sign. It is possible that the letter *ṉā* was intended to be engraved.

5 paṇṇi kal[li*]lum śembilum veṭṭi[k*]kolga [|*] i[vai]
6 Māṇavā[la*]ṉ-pe[ru*]māḷ eḻuttu [|*] paṇmāgēśura raiksha[1](rakshai) [|*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! Prosperity! (*In*) the **fifth year** (*of our reign*), (*we*) **Sakalabhuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ**, the prosperous **Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ-Uḍaiyār**, made the village **Śēndamaṅgalam** a military camp, installed (*therein*) god **Vāṇilaikaṇḍīśuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṉār**, (*and, for conducting in this shrine*), the (*service called*) **Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ-śandi** (*which*) we (*have*) instituted to this god, (*for celebrating the*) Puraṭṭādi festival, (*and for maintaining*) ten sacred perpetual lamps, endowed, as a tax-free *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, (*lands*) within the four boundaries of (*the village*) **Mōgaṉār Māṟaṉār** (*situated*) to the north (*of the river*) **Geḍilam** (*and*) to the west of the *kurukāl-vaḻi* (pathway marked by *kurukāl* trees), together with (*all the*) wet and dry crops and other incomes.

(Ll. 4-6) Let the (*stones bearing the emblem of the*) sacred trident be fixed in the four boundaries of this village (*including*) dwelling sites, and (*the deed*) engraved on stone and copper, so that (*the gift*) may continue in this wise (*as long as*) the moon and the sun (*last*). This (*is*) the signature (*of*) Maṇavāḷaṉ-perumāḷ.

(*This shall be under*) the protection of all *Māhēśvaras*.

No. 7.—REGULATIONS OF THE SABHA FROM TWO UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The early inscriptions of Uttaramallūr in the Chengleput District are found to start from the time of the Pallava king Dantivarman and cover the reigns of this king[2] and of his successors, *viz.*, Nandivarman,[3] Nṛipatuṅga,[4] Kampavarman[5] and Aparājita[6] and of the Chōḷa kings Parāntaka I. and Rājakēsarivarman Āditya who is reported to have captured the Pallava country and extended his dominions into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after defeating and killing its last king Aparājita. The *sabhā* of the place is referred to in almost all the inscriptions of these kings. And as six records earlier than the time of Parāntaka I., *viz.*, one of Dantivarman,[7] one of Nṛipatuṅga,[8]

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[1] The letters *raiksha* are in Grantha.

[2] They are dated in the 7th, 9th, 10th and 21st years of his reign. See Nos. 365, 359, 334 and 344 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 356 which is dated in the 24th year of reign. This record was written by Vāstuvidyāmayaṉ Nakkaṉ, son of Kāriśvara. No. 333 is in praise of a renowned architect named Paramēśvara, a carpenter of Pāḍagam. The palæography of this record resembles that of an inscription of Paramēśvaravarman II at Mahābalipuram which shows that it might be earlier than the time of Dantivarman. The mention of Paramēśvara-vadi made in some of the earliest inscriptions of this place would carry the antiquity of Uttaramallūr to the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman II. A Vāstuvidyāmayaṉ figures as signatory in a record registering a grant made by a certain Malliyaṉ Kārāṇai. The latter figures in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in the 8th year of reign. It is worthy of note also that another record of the same date is said to have been written by Pāḍagattu Peruntachchaṉ Muḷḷūraṉ.

[4] There are 4 inscriptions of Nṛipatuṅga dated in the 16th, 25th and the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 346, 366, 367 and 368.

[5] No less than 13 epigraphs belong to Kampavarman's reign. They range in date from the 6th to the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 347, 285, 287, 288, 370, 290, 294, 314, 325, 375, 348, 371 and 369.

[6] A grant made in the 14th year of a Rājamārttāṇḍaṉ *alias* Aparājita is referred to in No. 350.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 359, dated in the 9th year of his reign.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 346.

three of Kampavarman[1] and one of Rājakēsarivarman[2]—make specific mention of Committees, there is certainty that the *sabhā* and its committees were functioning in the place during the reigns of at least six kings prior to the accession of Parāntaka I. in A.D. 907, in whose 12th and 14th years of reign the regulations relating to the constitution of committees (published in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.), came to be incised. By any modest computation the existence of the *sabhā* of Uttaramallūr and its committees through which it performed its various functions may be taken to at least a hundred and fifty years prior to the said promulgation of the regulations regarding the constitution of the committees. In all fairness, therefore, it may be said that there must have been some kind of regulation to guide the people in their elections and the *sabhā* in discharging its onerous duties, during this long period of 150 years, though at this distant date, we are left entirely in the dark as to what that regulation was. And this is just our position in the case of *sabhās* of all other places also where, according to information supplied by inscriptions, that constitutional body and its committees were functioning. We have every reason to think that the fundamental principles of the working of the *sabhā* as well as other regularly constituted bodies must have been the same, though in details, there might have been some variations suiting the time, place, experience and attainments of the people. It is here enough for our purpose to note that the *sabhā* and some of the committees were in existence at Uttaramallūr long before the publicity given in Parāntaka's time of the committee regulations.

The **two inscriptions** edited below are engraved on the south wall of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at **Uttaramallūr** and they register regulations made by the *sabhā* (village assembly) of the place, one of the time of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, relating to settlement of boundaries, and the other dated in the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, regarding the procedure to be observed in the recovery of fines imposed by the assembly. The texts of these records in Tamiḻ are published in *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts).[3]

A.—Inscription of Dantivarman (circa A. D. 782) detailing Boundary Settlement Regulation.

The first of these inscriptions was copied in 1898.[4] Only five lines of this record are published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts) with the remark that the rest of the inscription is not traceable. To judge only from the penal clauses occurring at the end of the inscription the regulation which it registers seems to be a very important one. It is unfortunate that the epigraph is not fully available but what is missing does not appear to be much.

The inscription under notice is dated in the **21st year** of the reign of the **Pallava king Dantivarman,** and may, therefore, be assigned to the **last quarter of the 8th century** A.D. According to my scheme of chronology[5] the **date** would be A.D. 782.

The record is engraved in the **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet. A few **Grantha** letters are however used, *viz.*, *svasti śrī*, *Dantivikra*, *rmma*, *sabhai*, *vyavasthai*, *bhū* in *bhūmi* and *sā* in *sāmantu* in line 1 ; *sā* and *ntu* in *sāmantu* and *bhū* in *bhūmi* in lines 2 and 3 ; *saṁvatsa* in line 4 ; and *gra* and *ddhyastha* in line 5. The use of the word *agampaḍi* meaning ' within ' is worthy of note. It

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 294, 348 and 369.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 360.
[3] Vol. VI, p. 161, No. 344 and p. 168, No. 362.
[4] No. 61 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 50.

stands for *agattu* or *uḷḷāga* and its antonym would be *purambaḍi*. Both *purambaḍi* and *uḷḷālai* (same as *agampaḍi*) are used in Tanjore inscriptions in the sense of an outer and inner quarter of a village. The phrase *mīḻga-varil* may be construed to mean 'if one returns to redeem'. The proper form of the initial part is *mīṭka*.

The wording of the inscription is not quite satisfactory. There is first the indifferent use of the singular and plural, *e.g.*, *bhūmiyuḍaiya kuḍigaḷ* (l. 1), *kuḍipalavum* (l. 2), *poṉṉiḍādār* (l. 2), *bhūmiyuḍaiyāṉ* (l. 2), *avaṉ* (l. 2) and *uḍaiyāṉ* (l. 3).[1] Secondly *Ūr* and *Sabhā* are used to denote the same body: and this is plain by the employment of the first personal termination *ōm* in *Sabhaiyōm* (l. 1) and *Ūrōmēy* (l. 2). Coupled with these, there is the difficulty of making out the sense implied by the term *Sāmantu-śey*, which though for all appearance is Tamiḻ, is hardly met with in any Tamiḻ work or Lexicon. For the just appreciation of the regulation contained in this epigraph, a correct interpretation of this obsolete phrase is essential and to this we shall give our attention. The initial part of the compound *Sāmantu-śey* suggests that it is a partial Tamiḻ rendering of a Sanskrit original. If this is so, it is easy to say that the Sanskrit form of *Sāmantu-śeydal* must be *Sāmanta-karaṇa*. In this, the ordinary meaning of *Sāmanta*, *viz.*, 'a chief or lord' will hardly suit, applied as it is in connection with a land transaction. The word *Sāmanta* occurs in *dharmaśāstras* in connection with settlements of disputes of lands and villages, and in connection with transfers of properties. Manu says that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes must be examined in the presence of the contending parties and the *Grāmīyaka-kula*[2]; and the settlement thus made must be recorded in writing with the names of the witnesses entered.[3] *Grāmīyaka-kula* is explained by Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa as *grāmika-jana-samūha* which may be taken to mean the assembly of the village. Bṛihaspati declares that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes are to furnish evidence as to how the lands in question were acquired, their extent, the period of their enjoyment, their names and nature.[4] In connection with the settlement of boundaries of fields, wells, tanks, gardens situated in a single village, with which our inscription is concerned, Manu rules :—

> Kshētra-kūpa-taḍāgānām-ārāmasya gṛihasya cha |
> Sāmanta-pratyayō jñēyaḥ sīmā-sētu-viniṛṇayaḥ ||[5]

It is noteworthy that the testimony of the *Sāmantas* determined the boundaries; and there is no doubt that the *Sāmantas* were well acquainted with them. In cases where there is doubt or suspicion as regards boundaries of villages owing to the removal or absence of boundary marks, evidences of witnesses, says Manu, must be considered primarily the deciding factor: and in the absence of such witnesses, adds Yājñavalkya, *Sāmantas*, the residents of adjoining villages,—four, eight or ten—may fix the boundaries.[6] Manu limits the number of *Sāmantas* to four and says that the settlement must be made in the presence of the king (*rāja-sannidhau*). The word *Sāmanta*, it may be noted, is explained in the *Manvartha-muktāvalī* thus :—*chatur-diśaṁ samantād=bhavāḥ sāmantāḥ*.[7] The *Mitāksharā* also gives the derivation *samantād=bhavāḥ sāmantāḥ cha-*

[1] The difficulty of this promiscuous use of singular and plural may be got over to some extent by replacing *avv-avaṉ* and *avv-avuḍaiyāṉ* for *avaṉ* and *uḍaiyāṉ*.

[2] *Manusmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), ch. VIII, v. 254.

[3] *Ibid.*, vv. 255 and 261.

[4] This is cited in the commentary of *Mitāksharā* under v. 152 of ch. II of *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. pp. 233 f.).

[5] *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VIII, v. 262.

[6] *Yājñanvalkyasmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), *Vyavahārādhyāya*, v. 152.

[7] See the commentary under v. 258 of ch. VIII.

tasrishu dikshv=anantara-grām-ādayas=tē cha pratisīmaṁ vyavasthitāḥ.[1] According to Kātyāyana '*grāma*' here means " the *Sāmantas* of the village ".[2] The same authority has

Saṁsaktās=tu Sāmantās=tat-saṁsaktās=tath-ōttarāḥ |
saṁsakta-sakta-saṁsaktāḥ padmakārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||

Sāmantu-śeydal, *i.e.*, the action of the *Sāmantas*, to which our inscription refers, is actually found described in the text of Yājñavalkya[3] thus :—

Sīmnō vivādē kshētrasya sāmantāḥ sthavirādayaḥ |
* * * * * *
nayēyur=ētē sīmānaṁ sthal-āṅgāra-tusha-drumaiḥ |
sētu-valmīka-nimn-āsthi-chaity-ādyair=upalakshitām ||

and as such, we may take the phrase to mean the " settlement or marking out of boundaries of lands, villages, etc., made in the presence of the village assembly, by witnesses, *Sāmantas* (*i.e.*, neighbouring land owners) and others ". The text of Yājñavalkya and the note of Vijñānēśvara cited above show that in respect of every boundary line there used to be appointed or nominated some persons styled *Sāmantas* on account of their being owners of adjacent fields, who had an intimate knowledge of all boundary marks[4] set up in the line whether they be hidden from or open to public view ; and whenever any disputes arose, these *Sāmantas* were requisitioned to give evidence and to determine the boundaries in accordance with such original marks. It is not unlikely that the *Sāmantas* were furnished in writing with a detailed description of boundary marks, such as are found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, Leiden and other grants.

It is said that in cases where no *Sāmantas* or *Maulas* are available to give evidence as to the boundaries in dispute, the evidence of others have to be sought.[5] By *Maulas* are meant the lineal

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[1] *Vyavahārādhyāya*, commentary on v. 151.

[2] Vijñānēśvara quotes the verse
Grāmō grāmasya sāmantāḥ kshētraṁ kshētrasya kīrtitaṁ |
gṛihaṁ gṛihasya nirdishṭaṁ samantāt=parirabhya hi ||
and notes *grāmādi-śabdēna tat-sthāḥ purushāḥ lakshyantē.* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. of *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 232)

[3] *Vyavahārādhyāya*, vv..154-5.

[4] The following verses of Manu name most of the objects used as boundary marks and these are found in many of the land grants :—
Sīmā-vṛikshāṁś=cha kurvīta nyagrōdh-āśvattha-kiṁśukān |
śālmalīn=sāla-tālāṁś=cha kshīriṇaś=ch=aiva pādapān ||
Gulmān=vēṇūṁś=cha vividhāñ=chhamīvallī-sthalāni cha |
śarān=kubjaka-gulmāṁś=cha yathā sīmā na naśyati ||
Taḍāgāny=udapānāni vāpyah prasravaṇāni cha |
sīmā-sandhishu kāryāṇi dēvat-āyatanāni cha || Ch. VIII, vv. 245-248.
Upachchhannāni ch=ānyāni sīmā-liṅgāni kārayēt |
sīmā-jñānē nṛiṇāṁ vīkshya nityam lōkē viparyayam ||
Aśmanō=sthīni gōvālāṁs=tushān=bhasma-kapālikāḥ |
karīsham=ishṭak-āṅgāra-śarkarā-vālukās=tathā ||
Yāni ch=aivaṁ-prakārāṇi kālād=bhūmir=na bhakshayēt |
tāni sandhishu sīmāyām=aprakāśāni kārayēt || *Ibid.*, vv. 249-252.

[5] These are stated by Manu to be :—
Vyādhān=śākunikān=gōpān=kaivartān=mūlakhātakān |
vyālagrāhān=uñchhavṛittīn=anyāṁś=cha vanagōcharān || *Ibid.*, v. 260.

descendants of such persons as had been originally *Sāmantas* but had since emigrated from the place. Regarding them the following text of Kātyāyana may be noted:—

Nishpādyamānaṁ yair=drishṭaṁ tat-kāryaṁ tad-guṇ-ānvitaiḥ |
vṛiddhā vā yadi v=āvṛiddhās=tē tu vṛiddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
Yē tatra pūrvaṁ sāmantāḥ paśchād=dēśāntaraṁ gatāḥ |
tan-mūlatvāt=tu tē maulā ṛishibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ ||
Upaśravaṇa-saṁbhōga-kāry-ākhyān-ōpachihnitāḥ |
uddharanti punar=yasmād=uddhṛitās=tē tataḥ smṛitāḥ ||

We shall now note how the instructions contained in the *dharmaśāstras* had been faithfully carried out in practice as evidenced by epigraphical records.

We learn from inscriptions that in several corners of lands it was usual to set up stones bearing different marks such as *puḷḷaḍi* (Skt. *haṁsa-pāda*), *i.e.*, the mark of interlineation, *śūla*, *i.e.*, a trident, *chakra*, *i.e.*, the discus, plough (*mēḻi* or *chitra-mēḻi*), especially when the lands or any portion thereof had to be sold, assigned or otherwise dealt with.[1] The planting of stones or other distinguishing marks is expressly stated to be one of the observances to precede the actual drawing up of deeds of sale, gift, or assignment and it was used to be done in the presence of many people, the chief among them being the assembly of the village. Invariably in all cases of grants of lands or villages made by kings, we find a royal order issued to the assemblies of the division in which the gift property was situated and the villages under it requiring them (1) to go round the boundaries accompanying a she-elephant, (2) to point out clearly the boundaries and mark them with stone and milk-bush and (3) to draw up and give the deed of gift to the donee. The faithful carrying out of the above order, as we find it described in numerous inscriptions with such minute details that are intended to avoid future troubles, shows clearly the rules followed in all cases of transfers of property. Besides, the village assemblies made the necessary changes in the revenue registers through the village *karaṇattāṉ* or *madhyastha*. The point that calls for special attention is that even when the king made a grant, the cognition of it by the village assembly was considered essential. Secondly, it is seen that due publicity was given to the grant by the members of the assembly not only of the village in which the property lay but also of all surrounding villages, walking round the boundaries and attesting the document drawn up. The third essential was the pointing out of the boundaries and marking them with stones and milk-bush in the presence of assemblies of that and all the surrounding villages. This shows that the cognition by the neighbours was considered essential for the transfer and gift. The long description of the boundaries indicate that there must have been persons whose duty was to be acquainted with the boundary marks of the lands in the village, to point them out when required and to plant fresh ones in missing places; and this presupposes the maintenance of registers to guide them. In fact we learn from the Larger Leiden plates that in the ceremony of walking round the boundaries of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, preceding its grant to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam, two persons of the village went with the procession, and one of them, a *veḷḷāḷa* rode on the back of an elephant and pointed out the various boundaries; and that the assemblies of no less than 27 villages which lay next to the one that was granted, took part in the settlement of the boundaries.[2] From the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla we learn that the person who actually pointed out the boundaries in the ceremony of *kariṇī-bhramaṇa* was called *viyavaṉ*.[3] *Evuvāṉ*, *vayavaṉ* and *vaḻichchelvāṉ* are synonyms of *viyavaṉ*. In the case of

[1] See Nos. 496, 518 and 1290 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 237 f.

[3] The words used here (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, ll. 110 f.) are *nāṭṭu-viyavaṉ śolliya ellai pōy paḍāgai valañ=cheydu kallum=kaḷḷiyum nāṭṭi=kkoḍuttadarkku.*

the grant registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the assemblies of 3 villages that adjoined the gift property took part in settling the boundaries and recording them.[1] Sometimes even Divisional assemblies took part in determining boundaries and getting them marked by stones and the planting of milk-bush.[2] The whole procedure described in these charters, *viz.*, the gathering together of the neighbours, walking through the boundaries, marking them with stones and milk-bush inclusive of drawing up a schedule of boundaries and attesting it may be said to be *Sāmantu-śeydal* or *Sāmanta-karaṇa* in the case of big villages. We have already stated that in the case of lands situated within a single village, the testimony of the owners of the neighbouring lands given in the presence of the village assembly of the place and recorded in writing was considered to be a final settlement of boundaries. It may be of interest to note here that the procedure recorded in inscriptions and noticed above is quite in accordance with the injuction laid in a text of *dharmaśāstra* relating to the formalities to be observed in the transfers of immoveable properties.

Sva-grāma-jñāti-sāmanta-dāyād-ānumatēna cha ।
hiraṇy-ōdaka-dānēna shaḍbhir=gachchati mēdinī ॥

It seems that *grāma* here means 'the village assembly' and *Sāmanta* 'the neighbouring land owners'. The *Mitākshharā* which cites the above text adds "*Grām-ānumatiḥ vyavahāra-prakāśan-ārtham=ēv=āpēkshyatē*", and "*Sāmant-ānumatis=tu sīmā-vipratipatti-nirāsāya*" thus making it clear that the assent of both the *grāma* and the *Sāmantas* was necessary, the one for giving due publicity and the other for the removal of all doubts and trouble regarding boundaries. The use of the word *Sāmanta* is particularly worthy of note and also its connection with *sīmā*. It seems pretty certain that by *Sāmantas* are meant only the neighbouring land owners.

Having made clear what is meant by *bhūmikku sāmantu-śeyya*, and shown also how it was observed in land grants registered in copper plates and stone inscriptions, we may note the further interesting information which our inscription furnishes. It tells us :—

(i) that settlement of boundaries of lands used to be taken up by village assemblies on applications made by owners of lands ;

(ii) that the party applying for it had to pay a fee in gold when the settlement was made ;

(iii) that this fee, if not paid by the party, was to be met by the village assembly (*sabhā* or *ūr*) ;

(iv) that the fee became a charge on the land and was recoverable by the sale of such portions as would cover it ;

(v) that the sale effected in this connection was subject to confirmation only on the expiry of the third year, within which period the defaulting land-owner was given the option of redeeming his land by paying the amount justly adjudged to be due ; this amount perhaps included the original fee *plus* such other charges as would have been incurred in bringing about the sale of the land : hence the use of the phrase "*niyāyattāl koḷḷa-uḍaiya poṉellām*" instead of '*sāmantu-śeyya vanda poṉ*';

(vi) that after the expiry of the third year the sale is to be ratified and the proceeds utilized for the benefit of the village tank ; and

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 437 f.

[2] We read in *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 386 "*ipparišu nāṭṭai-kkūṭṭi nila-naḍappittu=kkalluṅ=kaḷḷiyu*[*m*] *nāṭṭi* * * * * *śāsanañ-cheyvittu=kkuḍuttēṉ*".

(vii) that if any (future) member directed the return of the land, acting contrary to this (the last-mentioned clause), he was to be treated as a traitor to the village and his entire property sold and the amount realised formed into a fund for the improvement of the said tank.

Here it may be noted that the *Sabhā* looked on the transgression of its regulation by its own members and its officials as more heinous than that of the owner of the land in his failure to pay the fee. The offending member was treated as *grāma-kaṇṭaka* and was ordered to be deprived of his immoveable property. The power which the assembly expressly provided itself with to punish any future member that might transgress the regulation herein made, and which is contained in the last clause, it may be observed, is made in conformity with the ancient rule of practice noticed in the text of Kātyāyana "*mukhya-daṇḍanē samūhasy=aiv=ādhikāraḥ*". To provide against the contingency of the assembly's inability to punish such members, some inscriptions go further and insert a clause to the effect that the transgressing member or members could be taken before the *dharmāsana*, *i.e.*, the Royal Court, or the then reigning king (*aṇṛāl-kō*) by certain persons empowered on that behalf and be made to pay a fixed fine or what the empowered persons may deem fit and that, after the payment of such fines, the members and the assembly may be enforced to observe the terms of the assembly regulation. Insertion of such clauses is done in accordance with the laws pertaining to bodies as laid down in the *dharmaśāstras*.[1] The punishment to be meted out to the *madhyastha*, who carried out the order of the offending member, is expressed in the phrase "*veṭṭippōga iḍuvadāgavum*". Though *veṭṭippōga* may denote capital punishment, I think it may simply mean 'dismissal from office', for this phrase, in common parlance, implies 'striking off or cancelling'. Even in Sanskrit, it may be noted, the lexicographers give *pravāsana*, *parāsana*, *nishūdana* and *nihiṁsana* as the equivalents of the synonymous term *vadha*.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Dantivikramaparmma[r*]kku yāṇḍu irubattoṉṟāvadu nāḷ nūṟṟu irubattu iraṇḍu Uttaramērū-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm śeyda vyavasthai [|*] Emm-ūr bhūmi-uḍaiya kuḍigaḷ bhūmi sāmantu-śeyga eṉṟu vandaṉa epperppaṭṭana-

2 vum [sāmantu]-śeyya vanda bhūmiy-uḍaiyāṉ maṉ-niṉṟu poṉṉ-iḍādār bhūmikku sāmantu . . m poṉṉ-iḍa-māṭṭā[da] kuḍi palavum niṟkkamāṭṭādu pōṉamaiyil ūrōmēy poṉṉ-iṭṭu avaṉ bhūmiyil . . poṉṉukku vēṇḍum-aḷavu emm-ūr Vaiyiramē-

3 ga-taṭākattukku bhūmiy-āga sāmantu-śeydu viṟṟu-kkuḍuttu maṇḍagattu kallilē eḻuttu veṭṭuvadāgavum [|*] ipparišēy Vayiramēga-taṭākattukku viṟṟa bhūmi mū-yāṇḍin agampaḍi uḍaiyāṉ miḷga-varil niyāyattāl

4 koḷḷa-uḍaiya poṉ ellām koṇḍu viṭṭu-kkuḍuppadāgavum [|*] mūṉṟu saṁvatsaramum kaḻindāl i-bbhūmiy=i-Vayiramēgattukkē aṟa-viṟṟu aṭṭuvad-āgavum [|*] ippariś-aṉṟi āṟāgilum miḷa-ppaṇippār-uḷarāgil avaṉ bhūmiyum Vayyiramēga(Vayiramēga)-taṭākattukkē mudalāga viṟṟu aṭṭuvadāgavum [|*] ivaṉ grāmakaṇṭakaṉ=āvāṉāgavum [|*] idu miḷa-ppaṇi-keṭṭa maddhyasthaṉ=uḷanāyil avaṉai veṭṭippōga iḍuvadāgavum [|*] i-ppariśu śeydu miḷa-ppaṇiy[2]

[1] *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VIII, v. 41. Also *Bṛihaspati*, *Mukhyais=saha samūhānāṁ visaṁvādō yadā bhavēt | tadā vichārayēt rājā svadharmē sthāpayēch=cha tān* ||

[2] The rest of the inscription is not traceable.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **twenty-first year and one hundred and twenty-second day of** (*the reign of*) **Dantivikramavarman**, we, (*the members of*) the *Sabhā* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam** made this regulation (*vyavasthā*) :—

Whereas all classes of ryots who own lands in our village had come up to have the boundaries of their lands settled, (*Sāmantu-śeyga*) and when the boundaries had been settled, several of the owners had left (*the village*) without coming forward and paying the amount of gold due (*i.e.*, incurred on their behalf), and whereas we, (*the members of*) the Ūr (*i.e.*, the village assembly), had to pay the gold, it had been ruled that (*in such cases*), we should sell so much extent of the (*defaulter's*) land as would be required to cover the (*amount of*) gold (*expended by us*), and give (*the land*) to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka of our village, determining the boundaries of the portions sold, and have (*the transaction*) engraved on stone in the *maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*); that, if any owner of the lands, sold in this manner to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka, should come within three years to redeem the land, it should be returned to him, on receiving from him (*the amount of*) gold justly adjudged to be due: that after the expiry of three years, the lands should remain permanently sold to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka, (*i.e.*, the sale effected before should be confirmed); that, in contravention of this if there should be any (*member*) that order the return of the land (*after three years*), his lands should also be sold and given to the said Vayiramēga-taṭāka as its fund; and he (*i.e.*, the member) should be treated as a traitor to the village (*grāma-kaṇṭaka*); and that if any *madhyastha* carried out such an order of returning the land after three years, he should be removed from office.

B.—Inscription of Kannaradēva (A.D. 964) detailing Fine-recovery Regulation.

The second inscription[1] is in a fairly good state of preservation. It contains nine lines of writing very neatly executed without many flaws of grammar, language or idiom.

The inscription is mainly in the **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet. A few **Grantha** letters are, however, found used in writing words of Sanskrit origin. They are *Svasti Śrī* (l. 1), *chaturvvē-* or *saturvvē* (ll. 1 and 9), *sabhai* (ll. 1, 3 to 6, and 8), *mahāsabhai* (l. 2), *dushṭa* and *vyavastai* (l. 2), *grāma-kārya* (ll. 2 f., 5 and 6 f.), *pursha* (l. 4), *madhyastha* (ll. 4, 9), *nyāya* (l. 8) and *Śivadāsa* and °*lāditya* (l. 9). The word *daṇḍa* is sometimes written in Tamiḻ (ll. 5, 6, 7) and sometimes with the initial letter alone in Grantha.

The **date** of the inscription is the **25th year** of the reign of **Kannaradēva** who took **Kachchi** *i.e.*, Conjeevaram and **Tanjai** or Tanjore, both of which places were, at the time of the record, important cities belonging to the Chōḻas. The identity of this Kannaradēva with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is fairly well established. His rule lasted from A.D. 939 to 966-967,[2] and the 25th year of his reign, to which the subjoined inscription belongs, must correspond to A.D. 964.

The opening sentence of the inscription states that the *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā* of **Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam,** assembled during day time, in the *teṟṟi* of the *pērambalam* of their village, and (agreeing) among themselves (*emmiṟ-cheyda*), made the regulation (*vyavasthai*), which forms the subject matter of the record. Before noticing the clauses of the regulation, it is necessary to say a few words on the terms employed in this introductory sentence and what they lead us to infer.

[1] It was copied in 1898 and registered as No. 77 of the Appendix to the *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for that year. The text of it in Tamiḻ is given in *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 168, No. 362.

[2] See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 261-62.

The words *Sabhā*, *Mahāsabhā* and *Perunkuṟi-Mahāsabhā* occur in a large number of inscriptions of the Tamil country and denote the class of assemblies that were functioning there, and not a few of these epigraphs mention by name the persons that composed them. Judging from their names alone, which have prefixed to them, the *gōtras* to which they belonged such as Bhāradvāja, Kāśyapa, Harita, Vatsa, etc., and the suffixes Kramavid, Sōmayājī, Vājapēyayājī, Sarvakratu-Vājapēyayājī, Shaḍaṅgavid, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājī, Dvivēdī, Trivēdī, Chaturvēdī, etc., it may be said that the members that took part in the deliberations of these organizations were Brāhmans.[1] This fact proves that the qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Archæological Survey Report*,[2] and a few other records of a similar nature, were strictly observed all the time the *Sabhā* lasted. That this class of assemblies had under them several offices and services which were open to other castes of people is quite evident from the numerous inscriptions that register the transactions made by them; and the varied nature of their activities also required their enlistment. In spite of the presence of the people of other castes for carrying out the duties undertaken by the assemblies, there is nothing to doubt that the deliberative body was purely Brahmanical in this case[3]. Similarly also the examination of the transactions of the assembly of the *Ūr* recorded in a number of epigraphs shows that the deliberative body of that institution was purely non-Brahmanical though in the execution of its functions Brāhmans may have been employed for some of the offices and services. The duties discharged by both the classes of organisations were in most cases identical. It seems that the locality and the occupation of the people determined the class of organisation that functioned in the place. A point that is worthy of note in our inscription is that the *Perunkuṟi-Mahāsabhā* referred to in the first person in the headline is later on spoken of as *Sabhā* and *Mahāsabhā*. The *Sabhā* is explained in *Manvarthamuktāvalī* as *grāma-nagar-ādau niyataṁ jana-samūha-sthānam* 'the place of meeting of the assembly of a village or town'.

The statement that the assembly met together generally during day time finds an echo in other epigraphs as well[4] and is suggestive of the fact that, if occasion required it, the body could also meet during nights. It is interesting to find this suggestion proved by an inscription dated in the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. discovered at Kūram which states that the *Sabhā* of the place met together during night in the *kūḍa* of the Tiruvāypāḍi temple in the village.[5] Unfortunately the inscription is so badly damaged that we are not able to understand clearly from what remains of it, the occasion that necessitated the convening of the body in the night. If the fragment in the same script published as a footnote to the inscription[6] is connected with the record in question, this much may be gathered that the misbehaviour of an Accountant of the organization in making wrongful entries in the books which led the assembly to the payment of unnecessary taxes on lands that were lying waste, was the occasion for their meeting in the night. The assembly seems to have decided in this case that no member should render to, or receive from, the guilty accountant any kind of help and that if any one acted contrary to this decision he should be taken by the *Śraddhāmantas* before the *dharmāsana* and a penalty of 108 *kāṇam* of gold be obtained from him. Two other inscriptions, one of the time of Rājēndradēva[7] and the other

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 1003.

[2] *A. S. I., An. Rep.* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.

[3] [For a different view see above, Vol. XXII, p. 206.—Ed.]

[4] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 412 of the time of Rājarāja I. [Pe]ruṅguṟi-sabhaiyōm innāḷāl pagal nammūr brahmasthānattu chaturālai Rājarājanilēy niramba peruṅguṟi kūḍi-yirundu; and No. 549 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, dated in the 6th year of Rājakēsarivarman: pagal ivvūr tiruchchitrakūḍattēy dharmi-śeydu peruṅguṟi kūṭṭa kuṟaivara-kkūḍi-yirundu and Nos. 414 and 423 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[7] No. 180 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

dated in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I,[1] also bear evidence on the practice of holding night sessions of assemblies. The former speaks of a settlement made 'that nobody except the residentiary Veḷḷāḷas of Vākūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village and that those who do so will be considered to have transgressed the Law'. The latter speaks of 'an alteration of classification of land'.

About the meeting-place of the assembly we may also say a word. This inscription states that the assembly met in the *teṟṟi* in front of the *pērambalam* of the village. Though the word *teṟṟi*[2] generally means 'a platform close to the front wall of a house on one or both sides of the entrance', it seems to stand here for a 'hall'. Attached to temples there were put up in ancient times several kinds of halls and pavilions, large and small, befitting the accommodation available and they were perhaps according to their shape and form, variously called *kūḍam*[3] or *chitra-kūḍam*[4], *chaturśālai*,[5] or *chaturālai*,[6] *ambalam*[7] or *pērambalam*[8] and *maṇḍapam*.[9] Besides these, there were also spacious paved courtyards (*tirumuṟṟam*),[10] covered enclosures running all round the main structure (*tiruveḍuttukkaṭṭi*),[11] as well as *sabhā* or *tiruvōlakka-maṇḍapa* and *brahmasthāna*,[12] in most of which places the assemblies used to hold their meetings. The Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* makes *ambalam*, *maṉṟam*, *podi*, *podu* and *sabhai* synonymous, and equates *teṟṟi-ambalam* with *chittira-kūḍam* (*chitra-kūṭa*).[13] Sometimes the members also assembled under trees[14] and water sheds.[15] *Ambalam* or *pērambaiam* as well as *chatuśśālai* are described in inscriptions as forming part of or being built in front of a *brahmasthāna*.[16]

The body framing the regulation is called in the first instance by the term *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā* (l. 1). It is subsequently referred to once by the term *Mahāsabhā* (l. 2), and several times by the term *Sabhā* (ll. 3 to 6 and 8). That all these three terms denoted one and the same body is made certain by the terms having the first personal termination *ōm*. Though it would thus appear that there was no distinction in the use of the three terms as found in this inscription, yet the qualifying terms *mahā* and *peruṅkuṟi* cannot but be said to carry with them some kind of

[1] No. 186 of 1919 of the same Collection.

[2] The Tamil *Śaduragarādi* gives as synonyms for *teṟṟi* both *chittirakūḍam* and *tiṇṇai*.

[3] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 35.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 549.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 440, 1, 17.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 412.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 150.

[8] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 811. *Pērambalam* occurs in the *Periyapurāṇa*, v. 8, 'Śēyavaṉ-ṟiru-ppērambalam śeyya tūya-poṉṉaṇi Śōḻaṉ nīḍūḻi pār-Āya-śīr-Anapāyaṉ=araś-avai.'

[9] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI. No. 297 has *periyamaṇḍapattēy*; No. 32 of Vol. VII has *mukamaṇḍapattē*. No. 1003 of Vol. V has *perumaṇḍapattu*. No. 496 of Vol. VII has *tirumaṇḍapattē*.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 414, 498, 499, 34 and 1036.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 1034.

[12] *Ibid.*, No. 423; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 116; and No. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[13] See v. 49 of *Iḍappeyarttogudi*.

[14] In No. 57 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI the assembly is said to have met under the mango tree in front of the Vishṇu temple at Mannārguḍi, and in No. 500 of Vol. VII, under a *puṉṉai* tree.

[15] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 267.

[16] *Mummadiśōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu-Peruṅkuṟi-perumakkaḷōm ivvūr brahmasthānam Rājēndraśōḻaṉ-pērambalattēy peruṅguṟi-mahāsabhaiyōm kūṭṭa-kkuṟai-vaṟa-kkūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 986 of *S.I. I.*, Vol. V. No. 12 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI refers to the construction of an *ambalam* in the *brahmasthāna* of the village of Chandralēkha-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam and registers a tax-free grant of land by the *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā* for expounding the *Bhārata*. *Nammūr brahmastāṉattu chaturālai rājarājanilēy niramba Peruṅkuṟi kūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 412 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

differentiation and this is clear from a study of numerous inscriptions some of which speak exclusively of the *Sabhā*, while others refer to the *Mahāsabhā* and *Peruṅkuṛi-Mahāsabhā*. The term *Sabhā* is used in inscriptions to mean the administrative assembly of a class of villages known as *brahmadēyas*. The Larger Leiden Plates mention as many as nine *brahmadēya* villages and their assemblies and without any exception these assemblies are called by the term *Sabhā*.[1] As found in every association or corporate body in the present day, the ordinary meetings of the *Sabhā*, held to dispose of matters of routine nature, seem to have consisted of a limited number of members; and that when subjects of wider interest came up for discussion and disposal, a larger collection of members was considered necessary and that such a larger gathering—still confined to the members alone—was termed *Mahāsabhā*. Besides these two classes of meetings of the assembly, which were confined to the members, there appear to have been other extraordinary gatherings in which were present not only the members but also the people of the village including the young and the old (*sa-bāla-vriddhar*).[2] These facts could easily be gleaned from the large number of inscriptions which record the transactions of the village assemblies (*Sabhā*). It is further learnt from these epigraphs that notice or intimation of assembly-meetings used to be given by some special signal which, it might be said, was well understood at the time both by the people and the members. The blowing of trumpets was one such device (*kāḷam ūdi* or *ūdivichchu*).[3] Sometimes the inscriptions use the phrase *dharmi ūdi* or *eḻudi*[4] or *dharmi śeydu*[5] in place of *kāḷam=ūdi*. Though we cannot be certain about the interpretation of this phrase, there is no doubt that it must have reference to the proclamation of the meetings of the village assemblies. The use of the word *eḻudi* (writing) in some places and *ūdi* (blowing) in others, with the object *dharmi*, seems to show that the announcement of a coming gathering of the assembly was sometimes made by the blowing of an instrument and sometimes by the issue of a written notification. *Dharmi* seems to be connected with *dharma*, and to have reference to the transaction of the assembly. At any rate, it is certain that there was an individual whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies by either of the methods noted above. In this connection it is worth pointing out some specific references to such an official. An inscription of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman (probably, Uttama-Chōḷa), dated in the 16th year of his reign, found at Tirukkaḷāvūr states that the great men of the *Mūlaparuḍai* of the village received money from the temple and sold to it, free of taxes, some lands of theirs which were termed '*eṅgaḷ sabhai-kūṭṭūvā=ṉilam*' and '*eṅgaḷ iraṇḍu māvum*' and in doing so they also state that the lands were previously tax-free[6]. Here the phrases "*eṅgaḷ-sabhai-kūṭṭuvā=ṉilam*" and "*eṅgaḷ iraṇḍu māvum*" show that the village assemblies sometimes set apart some of their own lands for the maintenance of the person whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chōḷa[7] refer to an official designated *gōshṭhi-śeydāṉ* which is but another form of "*sabhai-kūṭṭuvāṉ*" and this is used immediately after *parushai-nāyaṉmār*. Here we are informed that a provision of one *tūṇi* and one *padakku* of rice was made for the *gōshṭhi-śeydāṉ*, *i.e.*, the convener of the *parishat* (assembly). An inscription of Rājarāja I. of A.D. 1001 states that the members of the village assembly were called together by the blowing of a trumpet and that the herald was entitled to get daily 2 *śōṟu* from the village.[8] The Uttaramallūr election regulations show that the convening of the meeting

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 237 and l. 234 (Text).

[2] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 1003 and Uttaramallūr inscription, *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1904-1905. *S. I. I.*, (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 345.

[3] *Trav. Archl. Rep.* for 1920, pp. 41 and 49; and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1919.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 57. *Dhaṉmi eḻudi* in No. 458 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 499; Nos. 445 and 549 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV. No. 449 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 259.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 271, text-line 106.

[8] *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1919, p. 95, para. 15.

was done through a *madhyastha*. The clause relating to it runs thus: *Vāriyañ-cheyyāninṟārai aparādaṅ-kaṇḍapōdu avaṉai* (singular for *avargaḷai*) *oḻittuvad-āgavum* | *ivargaḷ oḻinda anantaram =iḍum vāriyaṅgaḷum paṉṉiraṇḍu śēriyilum dhanmakrityaṅ=kaḍaikkāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharai =kkoṇḍu kuṟi-kūṭṭi kuḍuppārāgavum* meaning "when any transgression is noticed among the members functioning in the committees, such persons shall be removed and after these have vacated, the members of the committee superintending the dispensing of justice in the twelve *chēris* shall cause the *madhyastha* to have a meeting of the assembly convened and fresh persons chosen (*in their places*)". It thus appears that at the direction of the *madhyastha* the herald announced the meeting.

The phrase *emmiṟ=cheyda vyavasthai* "the regulation made among ourselves" may be taken, as the words indicate, that the regulation concerned only the members of the assembly and not others; that is to say, it determined or fixed the duty of a certain section of the assembly on the one hand and the general assembly on the other with regard to the realisation of fines. As the terms of the regulation show, there is absolutely no doubt that the regulation was brought about to define the course of action to be followed by the members in collecting fines. But we may point out that there are a few instances in inscriptions, which record regulations and transactions of a similar nature, where we find the use of the very phrase *emmiṟ=cheyda* with the addition of the word *ottu* or *iśaindu* (meaning agreeing) inserted after *emmil* and before *śeyda*. It may be that the word *ottu* or *iśaindu* has to be taken as being understood in our inscription also as in the others. In this case, it would mean that the regulation was passed unanimously by the members of the assembly.

Three other words that are used in this inscription are worthy of note. They are *aḍikkīḻniṟpār*, *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ*. *Aḍikkīḻniṟpār* literally means 'those that stand at the feet'. This is a rare Tamiḻ expression for 'servants or attendants'. It is worth pointing out that the Tamiḻ classical work *Puṟanānūṟu* uses the word *aḍiyuṟai* and the commentator has rendered it into *aḍikkīḻ*. The employment of the word *vāriyam* in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions that record the election regulations leave no doubt as to its sense being 'a body of men chosen to form a committee'. As such, I think it must be connected with the Sanskrit root *vṛi* 'to choose'. In this connection it may also be noted that the Sanskrit word *vāra* means multitude. More interesting is the etymology of the word *perumakkaḷ*. The Sanskrit word *pramukha* assumes the form *pamukha* in Pāli, and occurs as *parumakha* in a number of cave inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries found in Ceylon.[1] In a few of these inscriptions we also find it so employed as to denote the title of persons who, in all probability, were members of corporate bodies. As such, one can easily recognise this word in the Tamiḻ *perumakaṉ* (pl. *perumakkaḷ*) used in hundreds of inscriptions of the Tamiḻ country along with the words *sabhai*, *nāḍu* or *vāriyam* to denote the members of the respective bodies. Thus then the *pramukhas* mentioned in Sanskrit charters, *perumakkaḷ* used in Tamiḻ inscriptions, *pamukha* of Pāli, and *parumakha* found in Ceylon epigraphs, have the same bearing and indicate the title of persons connected with the assemblies of villages and divisions of countries (*vishaya*, *rāshṭra* or *nāḍu*). With the word *pramukha* has to be connected the forms *perumān* or *perumānār* and *emperumān* or *emperumānār* (which are used with or without the suffix *aḍigaḷ* corresponding to the Sanskrit *pādāḥ*) to denote persons of rank, kings and gods. The form *ma-parumakha*, used in Ceylon epigraphs as referring to the king, would even suggest that the Tamiḻ prefix *em* or *nam* in *em perumānār* or *nam perumānār* is the same as *ma* (for Skt. *mē* or *mama*) in *maparumakha* and it is worthy of note that they all indicate the first personal pronoun. In this connection, it is worth remembering that the *dharmaśāstras*, in referring to heads or chiefs of

[1] *Ep. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, p. 123.

corporate bodies, employ the word *mukhya* as in *mukhyais=saha samūhānāṁ visaṁvādō yadā bhavēt* in Bṛihaspati,[1] and *mukhya-daṇḍanē samūhasy=aiva adhikāraḥ*[2].

The present inscription tells us (1) that the *Mahāsabhā* had the power to form committees by appointing the members therefor (*vāriyapperumakkaḷ*); this, it may be noted, is quite in accordance with what is recorded in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions, regarding the election of members to the committees; (2) that the officials *aḍikkiḷ-niṟpār, madhyasthas* and *pāḍi-kāppār* were carrying out the behests of the assembly and (3) that all these persons as well as individual members taking part in the discussions of the assembly could be fined (whenever they misbehaved) by the assembly as a whole.

The subject of the regulation is to determine the method of collecting and realising the fine imposed by the *Sabhā* on the three classes of persons noticed in the previous paragraph and on the *dushṭas*. The regulation provides that the great men elected annually for carrying out the business of the village (*avv-avv-āṇḍu grāma-kāryam śeyyum perumakkaḷ*) should obtain from the assembly the fines that had been paid.

The Uttaramallūr constitution does not mention separately a group or committee for conducting the *grāma-kārya* for each year. But it does mention a committee called *saṁvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ* the members of which, as the name of the committee indicates, must have been chosen each year; and it is not unlikely that the body was in charge of the *grāma-kārya*. Like *tōṭṭa-vāriyam ēri-variyam*, etc., *grāma-kārya* indicates the chief function of this body and *saṁvatsara-vāriya* indicates the tenure of office. Both the tenure of office and the function of this body are brought out in the name *saṁvtsara-grāma-kāryam śeluttukiṟa kūṭṭa-pperumakkaḷ* used in an inscription of the 4th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.[3]

Though the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* are clearly made responsible for obtaining the fines, the regulation gives them no independent action in the matter of this collection as it explicitly states that the collection must be effected only by or through the *Sabhā*. It will be perceived that there is an element of easy and successful realisation in thus leaving the responsibility of collecting the fines with the *Sabhā* that imposed them. At the same time the arrangement must have contributed to the disposal, without delay, of the cases in which fines had been imposed and must have prevented further complications and fresh actions that would sometimes have arisen had the collection been left in other hands than those that imposed them. The regulation provides at the end that, if the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* fail to act in the said manner regarding the realisation of the fines, the *Sabhā* could levy on, and get from, each one of the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* a fine of 124 *kāṇam* (of gold), and see also to the non-recurrence of such a predicament in the future. Here again, it may be observed that the *Sabhā* had the power to fine the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ*, just as they could the *dushṭas*, as well as the members of the several committees (*vāriyam*) and the (public) servants carrying out their orders.

The employment of the word *dushṭa* in this inscription calls to mind the use of the phrase '*dushṭar keṭṭu śishṭar* (or *viśishṭar*) *varddhittiḍuvadāga* (or *vardhippadāga*)' in the two famous Uttaramallūr inscriptions embodying the rules to be followed in the election of members to village committees[4]. Though all institutions like the *Sabhā*, meant for the maintenance of *dharma* (law

[1] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 349, V. 20.

[2] See *Vīramitrōdaya* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsagar's Edn.), p. 428.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 255.

[4] *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1904-5, pp. 131 ff.

and order), must have the above object as their aim, it is worth noting that Manu defines *sishṭa* (among Brāhmans) in the following terms[1] :—

Dharmēṇ=ādhigatō yais=tu Vēdaḥ sa-paribṛiṁhaṇaḥ ।
tē śishṭā brāhmaṇā jñēyāḥ śruti-pratyaksha-hētavaḥ ॥

and that Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa gives the following gloss on it :—

Brahmachary-ādy-ukta-dharmēṇa yair=aṅga-mīmāṁsā-dharmaśāstra-purāṇ-ādy-upabṛiṁhitō Vēdō=dhigatas=tē Brāhmaṇāḥ śrutēḥ pratyakshīkaraṇē hētavaḥ,
yē śrutiṁ paṭhitvā tad-artham=upadiśanti tē śishṭā vijñēyāḥ

Indeed the few inscriptions[2] that lay down the requisite qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, an institution that was functioning only in Brahminical villages, and the titles expressive of the attainments of the members that actually graced the *Sabhās* at different times and at different places such as Bhaṭṭa, Shaḍaṅgavid, Kramavid, Sōmayājin, Vājapēyayājin, Chaturvēdin, Trivēdin, etc., show that the above was actually observed and that only *śishṭas* were elected as members.

This inscription bears at the end the signature of the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṉ Maṅgalādityaṉ, who is said to have written the document at the bidding of the *Sabhā*. Almost all transactions of assemblies are generally committed to writing by persons bearing one or the other of the official designations *madhyasthaṉ*, *karaṇattāṉ*, *karaṇattāṉ-madhyasthaṉ*, *vēṭkōvaṉ*, etc., who affixed their signatures to the written document and in doing so they sometimes stated that, being present in the assembly and having been directed by the *Sabhai-Tiruvaḍi* or the members, they executed the task.[3] It may perhaps be of interest to note that in ancient times there were *karaṇattāṉ* and *madhyastha* appointed not only for the village assembly but also for every village, temple, divisional assembly and guild of merchants : and it was one among them that was employed by the respective bodies to perform for them the duty of the scribe or secretary.[4] In the inscriptions of the Malayāḷam country, the term *madhyastha* figures in the form *Poduvāḷ* which is but a rendering of the Sanskrit word.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī [॥*] **Kachchiyum=Tañjaiyuṁ-koṇḍa [Kan]ṉaradēvarkku yāṇḍu 25-vadu Uttaramēru-chatu[r*]vēdimaṅgalattu**=pperuṅkuṟi-sabhaiyōm emm-ūr=ppēr-ambalattu

2 muṉbiṟ=teṟṟiyilē pagaṟ=kūḍiy=irundu emmiṟ=cheyda vyavastaiy-āvadu [।*] na[ṁ*]m-ūr mahā-sabhaiyōmāl daṇḍippuṇḍa dushṭargaḷ daṇḍam[5]=iṭṭana uḷḷana daṇḍam[6] avv-avāṇḍu grāma-

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[1] *Manusmṛiti*, Ch. XII, v. 109.

[2] See the qualifications mentioned in (1) the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions, (2) the *Māṉūr* inscription (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 9-10) and others : *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallāṉ ōduvitt=aṟivāṉai, Vēdattilum śāstrattilum kāryattilum nipuṇar-ennappaṭṭiruppārai* of (1) ; *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallār suvṛittarāy iruppārai* of (2) ; *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallārēy vāriyañ-cheyvārāgavum sabhāmāṟṟañ-cholluvārāgavum* : Nos. 240 and 241 of 1922.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, p. 237.

[4] No. 268 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI makes the *madhyastha* of a *ghaṭikā* subject to the orders of the *Sabhā*. For references to *ūr-madhyasthaṉ* see Nos. 537 and 547 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 289 of Vol. VI, and Nos. 34 and 41 of Vol. VII : the *ūr-madhyastha* wrote the inscription No. 289 of Vol. VI at the command of the *Sabhā*. *Nāṭṭu-madhyastha* figures in No. 489, and *madhyastha* of a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Nos. 518, 1002 and 1049 of Vol. V and in No. 189 of Vol. VI.

[5] Here and in line 5, *daṇḍam iṭṭana uḷḷana* stands for *daṇḍam iṭṭ-uḷḷana*.

[6] After *daṇḍam*, the word *iṭṭa* is omitted to be engraved : See line 5 where it is supplied.

3 kāryañe(ñ=che)yyum perumakkaḷē sabhaiyōmai=kkoṇḍu tīrvār-āgavum [|*] tīrkka-māṭṭādana sabhaiyōmaiyē koṇḍu daṇḍaṅgaḷ=iṟuttu=kkuḍuppār-āgavum[|*] sabhaiyi[l*]-niṉṟu sabhā-māṟṟam pēśi=ppa-

4 ṉitta tani-pursharaiyum[1] sabhaiyōm paṇiyāl śeyda vāriya-pperumakkaḷaiyum aḍikkīḻ-niṟppāraiyum madhyasthargaḷaiyum pāḍi-kāppārgaḷaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa sabhai-ppaṇi-śe-

5 ydār eppērppaṭṭāraiyun=daṇḍam-iṭṭana uḷḷana daṇḍam-iṭṭa av[v-a*]v-āṇḍugaḷ grāma-kāryañ=che[y*]yum perumakkaḷēy sabhaiyōmai=kkoṇḍu tīrvār-āgavu-

6 m [|*] tīrv-uṟādana sabhaiyōmaiyē koṇḍu daṇḍam iṟuttu kuḍuppār-āgavum [|*] i-ppariśu śeyyārāgil daṇḍam=iṭṭa a[v*]v-av-āṇḍugaḷ grāma-

7 kāryyañ=che[y*]dārai mey-vēṟu-vagai 124-ñ-cheydu-kāṇan-daṇḍam=iḍa-ppeṟuvār-āgavum [|*] i-ddaṇḍappaṭṭu ivv-a-

8 nyāyam vārāmai=[2]ttīrttu=kkuḍuppōmānōm Uttaramēru-śśa(cha)tu[r*]vvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [||*] idu sabhai[yār]

9 paṇikka eḻudinēṉ madhyasthan Śivadāsaṉ Maṅgalādityanēṉ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **25th year of** (*the reign of*) **Kannaradēva, who took Kachchi** (Conjeevaram) **and Tañjai** (Tanjore), we, (*the members of the*) *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā,* having assembled during day-time, in the *teṟṟi* (*i.e.*, raised platform) in front of the big hall of our village, made the following *vyavasthā* (regulation), agreeing among ourselves :—

The great men conducting the business of the village for each year shall alone collect, through us (*i.e.*, the *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā*), the fines that have been paid out of the fines imposed on the guilty by us (*i.e.*, the members of) the *Mahāsabhā*. Such fines as are not realised, they (*i.e.*, the greatmen conducting the business of the village for the year) shall get only through us (*i.e.*, the *Peruṅkuṟi-Mahāsabhā*) and pay.

Further, the fines that have been paid by every kind of persons engaged in carrying out the transactions of the *Sabhā*,—including individual members that are present in the assembly (*Sabhā*), partaking in the assembly-discussions (*sabhā-māṟṟam*) and giving their opinions; the great men of the Committees (*Vāriya-pperumakkaḷ*) that have been formed by an order of us (*comprising*) the *Sabhā*; those that stand at our feet (*i.e.*, the servants of the assembly), the *madhyasthas* and those that watch our village,—the great men conducting the business of the village of the year in which (*these*) fines have been levied, shall collect them, through us (*i.e.*, the assembly of) the *Sabhā* : such fines as have not been realised (*in these cases also*), they (*i.e.*, the great men conducting the annual business of the village) shall get only through us and pay.

Failing to act in this wise, the great men conducting the business of the village for the year in which the fines are levied shall individually be liable to a penalty of 124 current *kāṇam*. Imposing this penalty (*on them*), we, the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, shall see that the miscarriage does not recur.

Being ordered by the members of the assembly, I, the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṉ Maṅgalādityaṉ, wrote this (*vyavasthā*).

[1] Read *purusharaiyum.*

[2] Delete *-t.*

No. 8.—NOTES ON THE IRDA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KING NAYAPALADEVA.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Mr. N. G. Majumdar has published the above grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXII, pp. 150-9). It is very important, inasmuch as it throws interesting light into the political and other conditions of Bengal, in the tenth century.

The charter discloses the names of three kings and a queen, viz., *Paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapāladēva, his queen Bhāgyadēvī, their son king Nārāyaṇapāladēva, and his younger brother *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Nayapāla, the donor. It records the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, of some land in the Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* of the Varddhamāna-*bhukti*. It was issued from the capital of Priyaṅgu, founded by the king Rājyapāla. The *bhukti* of Varddhamāna is in Uttara-Rāḍha and the capital of Priyaṅgu, we shall see, lay in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha, in Bengal. So it is clear that this family of the Pālas ruled in Rāḍha.

Mr. Majumdar thinks that these kings belonged to a Kambōja dynasty, and were different from the Pālas of Bengal. But there exist some very striking similarities between the two dynasties, which can hardly be explained away as mere accidents. Both of them were Buddhists, and have used the Buddhist *Dharmachakra* device in their seals. And both have got the dynastic name of Pāla. These are not all. Like Rājyapāla of the present grant, there was a Rājyapāla among the Pālas of Bengal. Both had a queen named Bhāgyadēvī, and both were styled *Paramasaugata* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.[1] Both the Rājyapālas were great temple-builders. Verse 7 of the Bāngarh[2], Āmgāchhi[3] and Manahali[4] charters of the descendants of the Rājyapāla of Bengal describe him as having constructed many temples with lofty halls. The opening verse of the present plate also says that Priyaṅgu, the capital, where flourished Rājyapāla, was decorated with temples reaching up to the distant firmament. We shall presently see that the times of both also coincide.

All these raised a great suspicion in our mind, whether Mr. Majumdar has arrived at the right conclusion. In fact the similarities are so very overwhelming that even Mr. Majumdar was inclined to identify the two Rājyapālas as one.[5] But the epithet of the Rājyapāla of the present plate, *Kambōja-vaṅśa-tilakaḥ*, as read by him, stood in his way. Our suspicion led us to examine this reading very carefully. The first word *Kambōja* is all right, but the reading of *vaṅśa-tilakaḥ* seems doubtful. What has been read as *va* seems to us to be nothing but *dha*. If this is conceded, the next syllable cannot be *ṅśa*, for *dhaṅśa* is meaningless. It cannot be a mistake for *dhvaṁsa*, as that will spoil the metre. Of the next word *tilakaḥ*, *ti* and the *visarga* attached to the last syllable are there, but the two syllables after *ti* are altogether lost. Mr. Majumdar says that he has found the right-hand flourish of *k* before the *visarga*, in the original, but we find no indication of it, in the facsimile. We read the epithet as *Kambōja-Dhaṅgv-atiparaḥ*[6], *i.e.* 'an

[1] The Bengali monthly *Bhāratavarsha*, Śrāvaṇa and Āśvina B. S. 1344, pp. 268ff. and 648-50.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 326ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 295ff.

[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 68ff.

[5] He has since modified his opinion. (*Modern Review*, September, 1937, pp. 323f.)

[6] [I am inclined to think that the letter after *Kamvō(mbō)ja* should be read as *va* though at first sight it appears like *dha*. So far as I can see, it has only a triangular top as in certain other cases (*e.g. ta* in *jēshyat-iti* in l. 13 and *ka* in *kalyāṇī* in l. 14) instead of the ordinary top stroke, while in *dha* no top stroke is found. The next conjunct letter I would prefer to read as *ṅśa* following Mr. Majumdar and would point out that in conjunct letters the subscript *va* is clearly represented everywhere in this inscription. The next two signs that are visible are *ti* in l. 5 and only the *visarga* in l. 6.—Ed.]

inveterate foe (*atiparaḥ*) of Kambōja and Dhaṅgu'. If our reading be correct, the chief difficulty of identifying the two Rājyapālas vanishes at once.

Now who could have been this Dhaṅgu, an inveterate foe of this Rājyapāla of Rāḍha ? We think that he is no other than the king Dhaṅga of the Chandēllas. The Bengali tendency of changing *a*-endings of personal names into *u*, such as Rāma to Rāmu, Vaṅka to Vaṅku, etc., seems to be responsible for the slight change in the name of Dhaṅga. This identification of Dhaṅgu with the king Dhaṅga is not based on the similarity of names only. It is supported by the historical evidence also. This king of the Chandēllas, in his Khajurāho inscription of V. S. 1059 (1002 A.D.)[1] boasts of having thrown into prison the wives of the kings of Kāñchī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga. This shows that he had, among others, invaded the kingdom of Rāḍha. We have already seen that Rājyapāla of the present plate was ruling in Rāḍha. So it is very natural for him to declare Dhaṅga as an inveterate foe of his. But were both Rājyapālas contemporaries of Dhaṅga ? Mr. Majumdar on palæographical grounds assigned this charter of Nayapāla to the latter part of the tenth century. Rājyapāla was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla, who again was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapāla. So Rājyapāla can be assumed to have ruled in the first part of the tenth century. But what was the time of Dhaṅga ? The latest known inscription of this king is the one of V. S. 1059 (A. D. 1002) mentioned above. It is stated therein that he lived over hundred years. So he was born sometime about A. D. 900. It is clear from this evidence that Dhaṅga and Rājyapāla of the present inscription were contemporaries.

It now remains to be seen that the other Rājyapāla, father of Gōpāladēva II., also flourished in the first part of the tenth century. We have shown elsewhere[2] that king Mahīpāla I. ascended the throne in A. D. 981. His father Vigrahapāla II. ruled at least 26 years[3], and his grandfather Gōpāladēva II. at least 15 years[4]. So the commencement of the latter's reign cannot be later than A. D. 942. The recently published Jājilpārā charter of Gōpāladēva II. was issued in the sixth year of his reign, on the 11th day of the bright half (i.e. *śuklā ēkādaśī*) of Pausha, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*. The only date, nearer to A. D. 942 satisfying the above data, is A. D. 931. So his first year must be A. D. 925. This should, in the ordinary circumstances, be also the last year of his father Rājyapāla's reign. Rājyapāla ruled at least 24 years[5]. So the period of his reign also falls in the first part of the tenth century, and, therefore, he was contemporaneous with the other Rājyapāla and Dhaṅga.

Now the difficult question arises that if the two Rājyapālas were identical, why Dhaṅga calls him the king of Rāḍha only, and not of Gauḍa and Magadha ? A very satisfactory solution of this is possible. The known dates of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla I. are 893-907 A. D.[6] His inscriptions of the years 4 and 19 have been found in the Patna District, of 8 and 9 in the Gayā District, and of 5 in Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal[7]. These show that Rājyapāla was ousted from Gauḍa and Magadha. The Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district) inscription of V. S. 955 shows that he lost Tīrabhukti also[8]. From these circumstances, R. D. Banerji rightly came to the conclusion that Rājyapāla must have succeeded to a very small principality, either in Rāḍha or in Vaṅga[9]. This plate fully corroborates his view, which was considered at the time no better

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 140.

[2] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 291.

[3] Bendall, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the British Museum*, p. 232; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 151; Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (*Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. V), p. 67.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150-51; *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 65.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110.

[6] Above, Vols. I, p. 173 and IX, pp. 4f.

[7] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1923-4, p. 102; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110; *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 64; *The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 29, 1927, p. 160.

[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 642ff.

[9] *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 63.

than a mere surmise. This Pratihāra occupation of the Pāla dominions does not appear to have lasted long. It must have come to an end with the death of Mahēndrapāla I. It appears from the Bargāon (Patna District) inscription of the time of Rājyapāla that he must have recovered at least Magadha on or before the 24th year of his reign. This clearly explains why Rāḍha has been mentioned as a separate entity by Dhaṅga. After Rāḍha, Dhaṅga names Aṅga, which shows that Aṅga also was an independent country at the time. He makes no mention of Magadha, which country he must have had to pass through, to return to his kingdom. This probably shows that he was friendly with the Pratihāras, who occupied that province.

The two Rājyapālas being one, he had at least three sons, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇapāla, Nayapāla and Gōpāla II. Both the first and the third claim to have succeeded their father directly. Both the statements may be true, if we take that Rājyapāla divided his kingdom between Nārāyaṇapāla and Gōpāla, giving Rāḍha to the former, and Magadha to the latter to rule independently. About the other provinces we have no information if they were recovered in the life-time of Rājyāpāla. The Jājilpārā inscription shows that Gōpāla was in possession of Gauḍa, at least in the sixth year of his reign. An inscription of the first year of his reign has been discovered in Bargāon[1]. Another solution may be that Gōpāla usurped the throne of Nayapāla. As this was not a peaceful succession, he did not mention the names of his brothers. It is not likely that Gōpāla's throne was usurped by either of his brothers. If at all, it must have been for a time only, for we find that he was succeeded by his son, Vigrahapāla II. We are in favour of the first view, for that explains why Nayapāla traces his descent from Rājyapāla, and not from Gōpāla, the founder of the dynasty. Rāḍha, no doubt, was a feudatory state under the Pālas, but it was Rājyapāla who raised it to an independent kingdom and built his capital there. So he was the founder, and Nayapāla, inheriting that kingdom only, traces his descent from Rājyapāla[2]. Gōpāla II., who inherited Magadha, a country ruled by his forefathers directly, names his forefathers from Gōpāla I., like others of the main line.

We think, we have been able to solve satisfactorily all doubts that could be raised against the identification of the two Rājyapālas as one. Now we shall devote our attention to find out, if we can, who this Kambōja, another inveterate foe of Rājyapāla, was. We have seen that the Pratihāras conquered all the important provinces of his forefathers. So who could have been more inveterate enemy than these Pratihāras ? Nay, they were hereditary enemies of the Pāla dynasty from the time of Dharmapāla. We find also that Rājyapāla came into direct conflict with them when he reconquered Magadha, on or before the 24th year of his reign. Can these Pratihāras be the Kambōjas ? Let us see. Kambōja, according to Pāṇini, meant a king or a Kshatriya of the country of Kambōja. Now where was this Kambōja country ? According to the earlier authorities, it was in the north-west of India. But some later works as the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* place a Kambōja country in the south-west, along with Sindhu, Sauvīra and, Ānarta[3]. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa,* a still later work, mentions it side by side with Lāṭa, in the south-west[4]. This Kambōja might be the same as the Stambha-tīrtha about the Narbadā, mentioned in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*[5], and the modern Cambay, on the gulf of that name. It might have derived its name from this Stambha or Khamba-tīrtha. It, no doubt, formed part of the Pratihāra empire. According to some authorities, the Pratihāras were Gurjaras. We find this Kambōja

[1] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. IV, p. 105.

[2] Mr. Majumdar entertains the last view (*Modern Review*, September 1937). It appears from the Tirumalai inscription that a Pāla king of the name of Dharmapāla ruled in Daṇḍabhukti till the reign of Mahīpāla I. He was probably a grandson of Nayapāla of this plate. So the question of usurpation on either side does not arise.

[3] *Mark. P.*, ch. 58, v. 30 ; *Bṛihat-s.*, ch. 14, v. 17.

[4] *Garuḍa-P.*, Pt. I, ch, 55, v. 15.

[5] *Kūrma-P.*, Pt. II., ch. 39, vv. 40 & 50.

was also in Gujarāt. It may be that these Pratihāras coming to live in Kambōja of Gujarāt, before they rose into power, came to be known as Kambōja. It is for this reason, we think, they have been styled as 'Kambōja' in the present plate[1]. It must be noted here that the Pratihāras came into contact with the Pālas long before they became established in Kanauj.

Now having said all that we have to say in justification of our differed reading, let us turn our attention to what geographical information we can gather from this plate, about Rāḍha in the tenth century. The golden rampart walls of the city of **Priyaṅgu** have been described as resplendent as fire (v. 3). This leads us to think that they were built of the red laterite stone. So the capital must have been at a place, where or in the vicinity of which, these stones abound. The district of Midnapur, in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha, lies on the border of the Balasore District, from where the plate has been obtained. It contains laterite soil, and some forts are still to be found here built of laterite stone. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the seat of the kingdom was here. There are two places in this district, which come nearer to the name of Priyaṅgu. One is *thānā* Pingla, and the other is the village of Pingbani, in *thānā* Garbeta, with ancient remains. The latter seems more likely. The soil here is lateriferous.

The donated village of **Bṛihat-Chattivannā** is described as adjoining to Kaṇṭi, Saṁmāsa and Bāḍakhaṇḍa, within the Daṇḍa-bhukti-*maṇḍala*, belonging to the Varddhamāna-*bhukti* (Uttara-Rāḍha). Mr. Majumdar identifies this village with Chhatina, near Belyabera and Nayabashan, on the Suvarṇarēkhā. It is probably in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. There is a village named Chatina, in *thānā* Salbani. Besides, there are three villages of the name of Chatna, in *thānā* Daspur. The donated village is said to have contained salt-mines (*lavaṇ-ākara*), which probably means that some part of it was a saline tract, where salt used to be manufactured. This discloses contiguity to sea-coast. Salt is still manufactured in the district. Kaṇṭi may be the modern Contai, which is on the sea-coast. There are, however, two villages of the name Kantichak in *thānā* Danton, and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. As we find both Chhatina and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur, lying on the western part of the district, Chhatina suggested by Mr. Majumdar may be the donated village. The existence of *madhuka* trees in the donated land also supports this view, as they grow in the western part of the district. But this village must have extended up to the sea-coast of Balasore, along the Suvarṇarēkhā, for we have already seen that a portion of it was a saline tract. This also shows that the village was a very big one, which the prefix *Bṛihat* also suggests.

Chhatna is the name of a Jungle Mahal. We do not know, if the donated village Chhatina has anything to do with the name of this Jungle Mahal. Belyabera or Beliaberia is also a Jungle estate, owned by a family of Praharāja Chaudhuri of the Midnapur District. The plate belongs to a Praharāja Chaudhuri of Irdā, in the neighbouring district of Balasore. It is possible that both belonged to the same family, with their original home in Chhatina. It is not known how the plate was acquired by the present owner. It may be that the Praharāja family was in some way connected with the donee, or it might have been found somewhere within their Zamindari.

We do not know anything about the origin of the name of Daṇḍa-bhukti. It seems that originally a village of the name of Daṇḍa was the headquarters of the *bhukti*, which ultimately gave this name to it. There are two names connected with the word *Daṇḍa*, in the Midnapur District: (1) A village of the name of Bhōgadaṇḍa in *thānā* Sabang. It is the seat of the *Madhya-śrēṇī* Brāhmaṇs of the district. This might be the original village of Daṇḍa. (2) A temple of Śiva,

[1] Mr. Majumdar has since changed his opinion. He is now almost certain that the two Rājyapālas are identical. He, therefore, holds that the Pālas of Bengal were Kambōjas (*Modern Review*, September, 1937). But there is no other evidence to support this, beyond his own reading of the epithet of Rājyapāla as "*Kambōja-vaṁśa-tilakaḥ*". [If the Pratihāras are referred to as Kambōjas in the Irda plate, it is rather strange that the latter designation for them is not to be met with in any other record so far known.—Ed.]

named Daṇḍēśvara, in Karnagarh, six miles to the north of the Midnapur town, with remains of a fort and several temples.[1] Daṇḍa, though originally a *bhukti*, is found as a *maṇḍala* under the Varddhamāna-*bhukti* in the present plate, and also as a kingdom under a king named Dharmapāla, in the Tirumalai inscription of the first quarter of the eleventh century[2]. This Dharmapāla might be a descendant of Nayapāla of the present grant. If so, this Pāla dynasty of Rāḍha continued for about a century and a quarter at least.

Narayanagarh is a village in the *sadar* sub-division of the Midnapur District, containing the remains of a ruined fort, and some very fine old tanks. The Raj family of this place is said to have had possession of it from the time of the great Pāla kings of Bengal[3]. It is not unlikely that Nārāyaṇapāla of this plate founded it.

The present charter is also of great interest as depicting the religious condition of Rāḍha, in the tenth century. The Pāla kings of Bengal were well-known Buddhists. But they were not antagonistic to Brahmanism. All their charters record grants to Brāhmaṇs, which bespeaks their liberality to Brāhmaṇs and regard for Brahmanism. Their grants are sealed with the Buddhist *Dharma-chakra-mudrā* and begin with praises to the Buddha. With the exception of the three earliest and the present one, all were granted in the name of the Buddhabhaṭṭāraka. The present king spoke of his father as a *Paramasaugata* and sealed the plate with the dynastic *Dharma-chakra* device. But unlike others, he has begun it with salutation to the Brahmanic god Śiva and granted it in the name of that god. This clearly shows how the Buddhist population were being slowly and gradually merged into Brahmanism. The elder brother of this prince, the king Nārāyaṇapāla, is described as a devotee of Vāsudēva. This conversion of the royal family of Rāḍha reflects no little credit on the Brāhmaṇs of Rāḍha.

In conclusion, we would like to make some remarks about the reading of the date of the plate. Mr. Majumdar read it as "*Saṁvat 13 Kārttika-dinē 2*". He found no other numeral sign after 2. Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, however, notices two digits and reads them as "18". We too find two signs, but read them as '*śu* 9'. It appears that the engraver through mistake was repeating the preceding syllable *nē*, but found out his mistake before he could finish and rectified it, by clumsily converting it to *śu*, indicating *śukla*. The subscript *u* of *śu* here is comparable to subscript *u* of *su* of the word *sukṛitinaḥ* (l. 47). The date of issue of the charter, therefore, is the same as the date of the actual gift.[4].

No. 9.—SIRIPURAM PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, LORD OF KALINGA.

By G. V. Srinivasa Rao, B.A., Madras.

These **plates** were secured for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy from **Mr. Manda Narasimham** Pantulu of Arasavilli, teacher, Board High School at Chicacole in the **Vizagapatam** District. They are stated to have been discovered while digging a tank at **Siripuram, a village** near Chicacole. They have since been purchased by the Government Museum, Madras. **Mr. Narasimham** has published the inscription on the plates in the Telugu Monthly **Journal** *Bhārati* for September 1931, and has also reviewed its contents in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (p. 153), but the interpretation of the record by him leaves much to be desired. It is now re-edited here from ink-impressions of the plates kindly supplied

[1] *Midnapur District Gazetteer*, p. 197. [2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 232. [3] *Midnapur Distt. Gaz.*, p. 216.

[4] [I am not convinced of the correctness of the reading suggested here and have no reason to change my views about the date.—Ed.]

to me by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. In his article in this Journal[1] on the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates of the same king, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has also considered this inscription.

The grant should have consisted of **three** oblong copper plates of which the last is now missing. They measure 6 ⅞″ in length and 2½″ in breadth, and have their rims slightly raised all round to protect the writing which is incised on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the second. They are strung together by a ring about 4″ in diameter which passes through a hole about ½″ in diameter near the proper right margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the bottom of an oval seal of which the rim bears on one side a slight projection. The surface of the **seal** which measures 1½″ by 1¼″ is completely worn out, so that the emblem or legend that should have been engraved thereon is lost, but judging from the seal of the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates, we may suppose that it should have contained the figure in relief of a conch. The two plates with the ring and the seal weigh 70 *tolas*.

The **alphabet** of the inscription belongs to the same type as that of the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman[2] and the Chicacole Plates of Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman[3]. It bears a close resemblance to the writing in the Rāmatīrtham Plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Indravarman[4] who has been assigned to the second quarter of the 6th century A. D.[5], and, except for one or two letters which look slightly more developed, to that of the Jirjiṅgi Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga era[6]. It also shows a general likeness to the characters of the Pīkira grant of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa[7]. This Siṁhavarman has been placed by Prof. J. Dubreuil in the beginning of the 6th century A.D.[8]

The **language** of the grant is simple Sanskrit and similar in style to that adopted in the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant of Umavarman[9], the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman[10] and the Kōrōshaṇḍa Plates of Viśākhavarman[11].

The **orthography** of the inscription calls for a few remarks. Except in the case of the two words *vinirgataṁ* and *ā-chandr-ārka-kāla* in 1.15, the consonants are invariably doubled after the *rēpha*. Other consonants are also doubled, incorrectly in such words as *samppadasya* (1. 3), *dākshiṇy-ōtssāha* (1.6), *Tōṇṭāparēssamavētāṁ* (11. 8 & 9), *tēbhya ēva ssa idānīm* (1. 10), and *vidhivas=sampradattaḥ* (1. 16), and in place of the *anusvāra* in the words *sappannō* (1. 6) and *savvatsarē* (1. 13). *Anusvāra* is used in place of the nasal consonant *n* in the expressions °*māṁ-mahārāja* (1. 5) and °*vētāṁ kuṭumbinaḥ* (1. 9); and both *anusvāra* and nasal are used together in *Anaṁntavarmmā* (1. 8) and *vinirgataṁñ=cha* (1.15). *Upadhmānīya* is used in place of the *visarga* in the words °*bhūḥ prajā* (1. 7) and *parihāraiḥ parihṛitya* (1. 14) and redundantly in the case of the words *karaḥ-prada* (1. 10), *dānaḥ-pratigraha* (1. 11), °*kālaḥ-pratishṭham* (1. 15) and *vachanaḥ-prēshaṇa* (1. 17). The final *t* is found in *vibhrat* (1. 2).

The grant was issued in the **year Mah-Āśvayuja, on the day of full moon in the month of Māgha.** This method of dating the record in the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to which the year commences on the day when Jupiter, after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular *nakshatra* after which it is named[12], is said to have been in vogue to a limited extent only in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, and found used

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 49.
[4] Above, Vol. XII, p. 134.
[5] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 157.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 51.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161.
[8] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 68.
[9] Above, Vol. XII, p. 5.
[10] *Ibid.*, Vol.. IV, pp. 142 ff.
[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 24.
[12] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 289.

so far only in a few inscriptions ranging between A.D. 475 and 528[1]. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu taking the Gaṅga Era to start with A.D. 493 assigns the Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman[2] dated in the 87th year of the era to A.D. 580, and assuming the present record to be about half a century anterior to it gives it the provisional date A.D. 528-9 which was the year in which the Mah-Āśvayuja occurred[3]. It may be stated, however, that the years A.D. 516 and, before that, A.D. 504 are equally possible for the record.

The inscription registers an order of king **Anantavarman** issued from Dēvapura confirming the grant of the village **Tōṇṭāpara** as a tax-free *agrahāra* to be enjoyed by eight (?) members of the Ātrēya-*gōtra* who were already in possession of it and were paying tax hitherto thereon, after separating it from the sub-division known as **Kharapuri**-*madamba*[4] to which it had belonged and also from the bigger division **Pattana**-*bhōga*.[5]

Anantavarman is called the **'Lord of Kaliṅga'** possessed of many virtues and a great *Māhēśvara*. He is stated to have been the son of *Mahārāja* **Prabhajjana**(Prabhañjana)**varman** and the grandson of *Mahārāja* **Guṇavarman** who is described as the Full Moon in the great and spotless (firmament *viz.*, the) Vāsishṭha (family). This epithet is however applied to Prabhañjanavarman in the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates, while Guṇavarman is styled the ' Lord of Dēvarāshṭra ' and is credited with victories in many battles. Anantavarman is said to have acquired the Earth by the strength of his own arms.

Other kings of this region who also called themselves *Kaliṅgādhipati* were Śaktivarman[6], Umavarman[7], Chaṇḍavarman[8] and Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman[9]. Another king of the same region, who might have been a *Kaliṅgādhipati* though he does not specifically style himself as such was Viśākhavarman who issued the Kōrōshaṇḍa grant[10] mentioned above, from Śrīpura[11]. Four new copper-plate grants of the Kaliṅga kings have been found recently and are reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35. Of these one is the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates mentioned above, of king Anantavarman of our grant. The others are the Tiritthāṇa grant of Chaṇḍavarman[12] issued from Siṅghapura, in which the king calls himself a *Kaliṅgādhipati*, the Tekkali Plates of Umavarman[13] issued from Vardhamānapura[14], and the Madras Museum

[1] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 105.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 f.

[3] This seems to be borne out by the writing in the Jirjiṅgi Plates dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga Era, which, as stated above, bears similarity to the alphabet of the present grant.

[4] *Madamba* is thus defined in *Śivatattvaratnākara, Kallōla* 6, *Taraṅga* 1, verse 14: *Yuktam=ēkādaśa-grāmair=madambam=parikīrttitam.*

[5] Cf. Vōṅkhāra-bhōga of the Jirjiṅgi Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 51) and Mahēndra-bhōga of the Dhavaḷapēṭa Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X., p. 144). The name of the division is evidently derived from *Pattana* which is perhaps an abbreviated form of Kaliṅga-Pattana (Kalingapatam) a sea-coast town about 20 miles from Chicacole. The ancient Kaliṅga capital Kaliṅga-nagarī mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela has been identified with this town (above, Vol. XX, p. 77).

[6] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

[10] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

[11] This has been identified with Siripuram in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District. It is possible that it may refer to Siripuram the find-spot of the plates under publication.

[12] C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35.

[13] C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. In the *An. Rep.* for this year these two kings have been taken to be different from their namesakes who issued the Kōmarti plates and the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant.

[14] This has been identified with Vaḍama in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District (*An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, Part II, para. 2).

Plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman, issued from Siṅghapura[1]. The Dhavaḷapēṭa copper-plates of Umavarman[2] issued from 'Sunagara' complete the list of these kings.

From the provenance of all these records and the places mentioned therein, it may be surmised that their territory extended in the north to the southern portion of the Ganjām District and in the south to the northern portion of the Godāvari District. It is not, however, possible to state whether it was held intact throughout their rule by this line of kings. The plates of king Ananta-Śaktivarman record the gift of a village in Barāha(Varāha)vartanī division to two Brāhmans[3]. This division which should have comprised portions of the present Vizagapatam District round about Chicacole is mentioned in the Narasiṅgapalli Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Hastivarman[4] dated in the Gaṅga year 79 as having been included in his territory. Sometime later, Pishṭapura situated in the southern portion of their territory had passed into the hands of a certain Pṛithivī-Mahārāja, probably a subordinate chief under the Vishṇukuṇḍins, who issued his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant from that place[5], and then to the Chālukyas under Pulikēśin II[6]. It may therefore be concluded that this dynasty of kings calling themselves *Kaliṅgādhipati* should have disappeared before the close of the 6th century A.D. The lower limit may of course be taken to be the middle of the 4th century A.D., when Samudragupta invaded the south and subjugated along with others king Mahēndra of Pishṭapura and Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra.

The relationship of the several kings mentioned above to one another is still obscure, the information contained in their grants being too meagre to throw any light on this point. Similarity in the alphabet or phraseology employed in their different grants, in the epithets applied to the kings and in names of officers occurring in them is our only guide in attempting any genealogy or chronology of these kings, but it seems to be unsafe to make any suggestions on this slender basis.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Dēvapura** from where the king issued his grant, may be identified with one of the two Zamindari villages—one named Dēvāḍa in the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa taluk and the other named Dēvāḍi in the Chicacole taluk. **Tōṇṭāpara**, the village granted, perhaps has its representative in the modern Zamindari village Tōṭāḍa in the Chicacole taluk. It is not possible to identify Kharapuri after which the sub-division was named.

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[8] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-**Dēvapurād**=Vāsishṭha-vipul-āmala-sakala-chandramasō
2 [9]vibhrat-bhū-hiranya-gō-sahasr-ādy-anēka-dāna-dharmm-ābhiratasya śakti-tray-ō-
3 panata-rājya-saṁppadasya[10] atyutāmala[11]-śarach-chandra-chandrik-āvadāt-ōru-
4 yaśasa[ḥ*] śrī[ma][12] Mahārāja-**Guṇavarmmaṇaḥ** ātmajanmanō=nēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-

[1] C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

[3] *An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, for 1934-35, Part II, para. 3.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 11.

[7] C. P. No. 1 of 1931-32.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

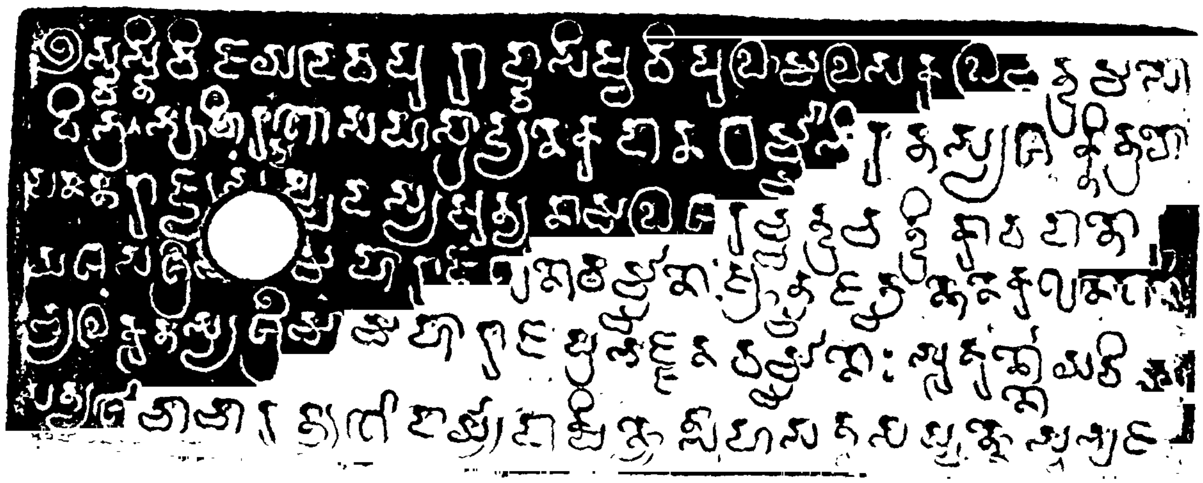
[9] Read *bibhrad-bhū-hiraṇya-*. The letter *ṇya* of *hiraṇya* is written in smaller size below the line, evidently as a correction of an omission indicated by a small cross above.

[10] Read *sampadaḥ*.

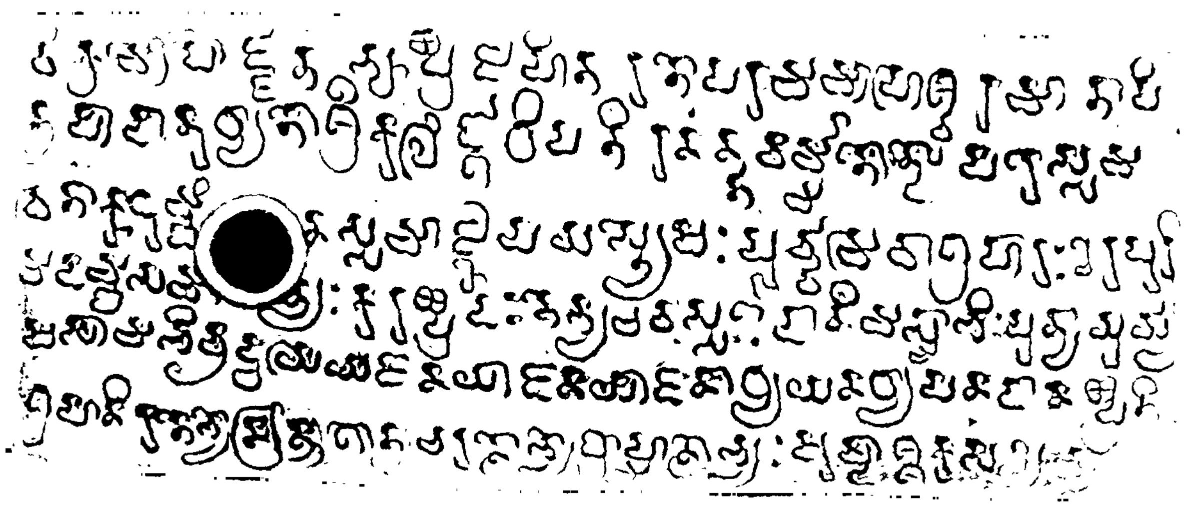
[11] Read *atyant-āmala-*.

[12] Read *śrīman-*.

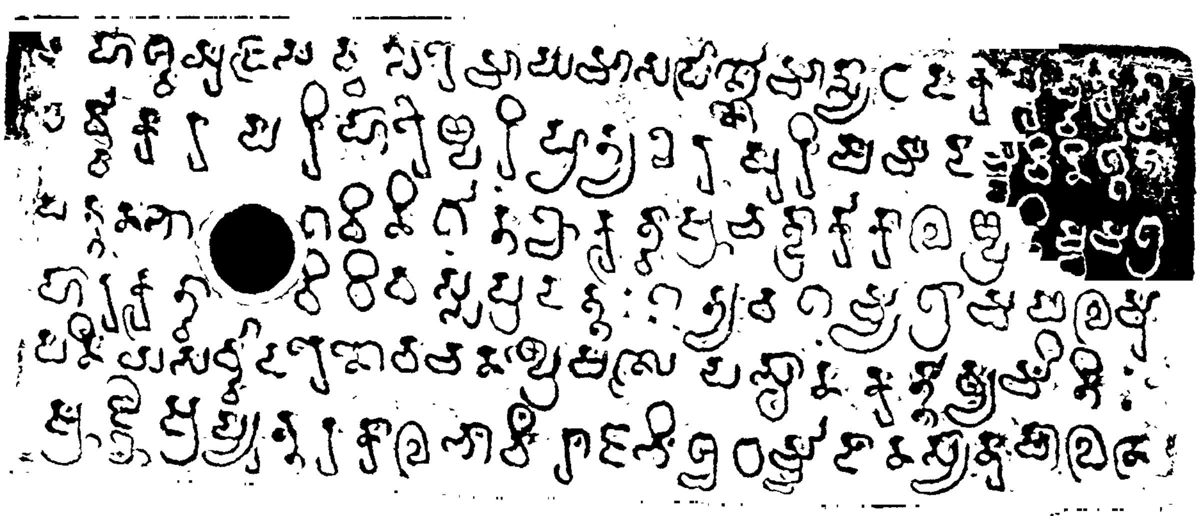
i.



iia.



iib.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1528 E'38—295.

SCALE : 9.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 bhyalaṁkṛitasya śrīmāṁ[1]-Mahārāja-[2]**Prabhajjanavarmmaṇaḥ** sūnur=ṇṇā(nna)ya-vinaya-
6 satya-śauch-āchāra-tyāg-audāryya-dākshiṇy-ōtssāha[3]-sātva(sattva)-sappannō[4] sva-bhuja-

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 vikram-ōpārjjita-bhūḥ prajā-hita-ratō[5] paramamāhēśvara(rō) mātā-pi-
8 tṛi-pādānudhyātō[6] śrī-**Kaliṅgādhipatir=Anaṁ(na)ntavarmmā Tōṇṭā[pa]rēs** (Tōṇṭāparē) sama-
9 vētāṁ[7] kuṭumbinas=samājñāpaya[ty=a*] sty=ēshaḥ(sha) pūrvvam=ēv=āgrahāraḥ **Kharapuri-**
10 **madamba**-sāmānyaḥ[8] karaḥ(kara)-pradaḥ tēbhya ēvas[9]=sa idānīm=asmābhiḥ puny-āyur-yya-
11 shasām[10]=abhivṛiddhayē yajana-yājana[11]-yājan-ādhyayan-[ā*]dhyāpana-dānaḥ (dāna)-prati-
12 **graha-niratēbhyō(bhya)** [Ātrā][12]-gōtra-charaṇēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ ashṭāśśaka(ashṭāṁśaka?)-saṁ[khyē]bhya[ḥ]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 Mah-Āśvayujē savvatsarē[13] Māgha-māsa-paurṇṇamāsyā[m*]= udaka-pūrvvaṁ kṛitvā
14 sarvva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛitya Kharapurisha(puri)-madamba-vinirggataṁ
15 **Pattana-bhōga**-vinirgataṁñ(gatañ)=cha kṛitvā[14] ā-chandr-ārka-kālaḥ(kāla)-pratishṭham=agra-
16 hāraṁ kṛitvā vidhivas[15]=saṁpradattaḥ ity=avagamya grāma-phalam=u-
17 panīya sarvv-ādarēṇa vachanaḥ(vachana)-prēshaṇ-ōpasthānaṁ karttavyam=iti :—
18 ājñā apy=uttara-kāla-bhāvi-rājabhiś=cha dharmma-dānasy=ānupālanē[16]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Hail ! From the victorious (*city of*) **Dēvapura,** the glorious **Anantavarman, lord of Kaliṅga,** who is endowed with wisdom, refinement and truthfulness, with purity of life and good conduct, liberality and magnanimity, and with courtesy, heroism and strength ; who has acquired the earth by the strength of his own arms ; who is (*ever*) devoted to the welfare of (*his*) subjects ; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara ; and who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents ;

who is the son of the glorious *Mahārāja* **Prabhañjanavarman** richly adorned with a multitude of (*good*) qualities, the son of the glorious *Mahārāja* **Guṇavarman** who was a Full Moon in the broad and spotless (*firmament viz., the family of*) Vāsishṭha, who took great delight in the performance of the several kinds of gifts like the earth, gold and a thousand cows, who secured the

[1] Read *śrīman-*.
[2] Read *Prabhañjana.*
[3] Read °*tsāha.*
[4] Read *-sampannaḥ.*
[5] Read *rataḥ.*
[6] Read °*dhyātaḥ.*
[7] Read °*vētān.*
[8] Cf. the expression *shaṭ-triṁśad-agrahāra-sāmānya* of the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant.
[9] Read *ēva sa.*
[10] Read *puny-āyur-yaśasām=.*
[11] The word *yājana* is engraved twice by mistake.
[12] Evidently the word *Atri* or *Ātrēya* is intended.
[13] Read *saṁvatsarē.*
[14] Cf. the expression *Dantayavāgu-bhōgād=uddhṛitya* of the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant
[15] Read *vidhivat=saṁ°*.
[16] The continuation is lost.

prosperity of his kingdom with the threefold regal power and who possessed great fame which was as pure as the light of the exceedingly clear autumnal moon,

(*thus*) commands (*all*) the farmers assembled in **Tōṇṭāpara:** This (*village which*) has been already an *agrahāra* enjoying the privileges (*applicable to the group of villages included*) in **Kharapuri**-*madamba* and paying tax (*hitherto*), is now given by Us with (*due*) rites preceded by (*libations of*) water for the increase of (*Our*) merit, longevity and fame, on the day of full moon in the month of **Māgha in the year Mah-Āśvayuja,** to the same Brāhmaṇas, eight share-holders in number (?) of the Atri-*gōtra* and *charaṇa,* who are engaged in performing and helping others to perform sacrifices, in study and in teaching, and in making and receiving gifts,—after having completely exempted (*the village*) from all kinds of taxes and having made it separate from the Kharapuri-*madamba* (*sub-division*) and the **Pattana-bhōga** (*division* ?), and conferred it as an *agrahāra* to last as long as the moon and the sun.

Having understood this (*it behoves that you*) should bring the yield of the village (*to these Brāhmaṇas*), and with all (*due*) respect carry out the behests issued (*by them*). (*This*) command (*should be respected*) by the kings who are to come in future as well, in protecting this meritorious gift.

No. 10.—INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY SUSHIL K. BOSE, M.A., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

The plates which are edited here were in the possession of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who kindly placed them at my disposal for the present purpose. They were originally in the possession of the late Wamanrao Islampurkar Śāstri of the Indore State along with the grants of *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XV, pp. 286ff.

These are **three** well preserved **copper-plates** each of which measures 7″ long by 3¾″ broad. They are quite smooth and their edges not raised or fashioned thicker. About 2″ distant from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a hole about $\frac{6}{16}$″ in diameter, obviously for a ring with which the plates were strung. Originally, the grant consisted of four plates. The first plate together with the ring and the seal is now missing. From a comparison with the other grants of the same king it would appear that roughly about seven lines of writing are lost. The first plate, therefore, as one would expect, was inscribed on one side only. The first and the second of the remaining three plates that we now possess, that is to say, the second and the third of the original grant, are inscribed on both the sides while the last one is written on one side only. The writing throughout is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabet and are fine specimens of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central Indian script, which is well illustrated in the copper plates of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tīvaradēva, king of Mahā-Kōśala[1]. The script resembles closely that of the Dudia and Siwanī plates, as also of the recently published Tirōḍi[2] plates of *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II.

From the standpoint of **paleography** these plates have some peculiarities which are worthy of note. As in the Siwanī plates, the letter *b* in this grant occurs in two distinct forms. One is the usual type of this alphabet and the other consists of a square and is more archaic. It seems that the scribe was familiar with both and had freely used the two forms, though the usual type

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and 291 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 171 ff.

occurs in larger number. For the former type see *Kōbidārikā* (l. 12), *balivardda* (l. 21), and *pibati* (l. 33) and for the latter see *brāhmaṇair=* (l. 27) and *bāhula* (l. 33). Both the lingual *ṇ* and the dental *n* occur in different varieties. As regards the dental *n*, it may be noted that, though different forms are discernible, the larger number is of the looped type ; see for instance, *n* in *Rudrasēnasya sūnō[ḥ*]* (l. 1). For a different kind of *n* see *Rudrasēna* (l. 6). Likewise, differences exist in the types of *ṇ* ; see for instance, *Prithivishēṇasya* and *Chakrapāṇē* (l. 5), and *guṇa* (l. 3). A very peculiar form of the letter occurs in *pautriṇa* (l. 4). The *ṇ* of *Gōṇḍāryyāya* (l. 15) is also worthy of note. The letter *v*, in general, has a much smaller rectangle than that of *ch*, even then they could hardly be distinguished in many places, but for the context ; see *v* in *prabhavi*° (l. 30) and compare it with *cha* in *chandr-āditya* (l. 24). Of the ligatures the two forms *tna* and *nta* deserve special notice. Referring to his tables (plate vii, 43, X) Bühler says, " We meet repeatedly with the looped *ta* and the *na* without the loop[1]." The ligature to which he has referred has been taken by him to be *nta*. But exactly the same ligature occurs in this plate where the reading is clearly *tna* (*sa*[*ñ*]*chitnana*, l. 28 for *sañchintana*). By mistake the scribe put the *t* first and then the subscript *na*. So Bühler's reading of the same ligature as *nta* cannot stand. We have a clear example of *nta* in *atyanta* (l. 2), *santāna* (l. 4) and *santikās=* (l. 9). Incidentally it may be noted here that the subscript *t* in the first of these words shows some peculiarity. The letter *dh* is of the usual square type except, however, in *Yudhishṭhira* (l. 4), where it is definitely roundish in shape. Similarly the letter *t* which is generally of an angular character, has one exception in *ājñāpayitavyā*[*ḥ**] (l. 10) where it is round. As regards the letter *l*, it might be noted that the real box-headed type, which is met with in the Siwanī plates, does not occur in this inscription. There is, however, a single instance where the box-headed *l* appears here, in *āyur=llala* (l. 11), if it is not to be read as *=blala* for*=bbala*. With regard to this particular letter *l* our inscription tallies well with the Tirōḍi, Chammak and Duduia plates of the same king. Lastly we might note that *ā* is denoted in different ways. Usually a slanting stroke attached to the head of the consonant indicates the medial *ā* ; see *Vākāṭakānām=* (l. 8). For a different way of indicating it see *kālīyaḥ* (l. 24).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except the usual imprecatory verse, ascribed to Vyāsa, in the fourth plate, the inscription is in prose. The composition is not at all satisfactory and shows that the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit left much to be desired. As regards **orthography** the most prominent features are : (1) the use of *upadhmānīya* in ll. 25, 31 and 33 ; (2) frequent non-observance of the rules of external *sandhi* ; (3) carelessness in the writing of *ā* (medial), *ṁ* and *ḥ* ; (4) the doubling of *v* after *anusvāra* as in *para-dattāṁ vvā* (l. 32) ; (5) the doubling of consonant after *r* as in *mārggē* (l. 8), etc., and (6) the interchange between *ṛi* and *ri* in some cases, *e.g.*, in *Prithivi* (l. 5) and *kriyābhi*[*ḥ**] (l. 25). The inscription contains several words whose meaning and grammar are not clear. It seems that the official who was entrusted with the drawing up of the record was responsible for these solecisms. Some of the mistakes, however, are no doubt due to the inadvertence of the engraver.

The inscription is one of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II** and is **dated** (l. 33) the **fifth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha in the twenty-third year** (of his reign). Its **object** is to record the grant of a village (l. 12)[2]. The situation of the village is described as being to the north of Ārāmaka, east of Kōbidārikā, south of Kōśambaka and west of Añjaṇavāṭaka (ll. 12-14). The donees are said to be (ll. 15-17) Gōṇḍāryya, son of Viśākhāryya of the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtra* and resident of Ārāmaka, his son Manōrathāryya, Gōvāryya, Dēvāryya, Bāppāryya, Kumārāryya and Drōṇāryya. It has been noted (l. 20) that half of the

[1] Bühler, *Ind. Paleo.* (English version), p. 65.

[2] [From the details given it is not clear whether the object granted is a village.—Ed.]

village was purchased by a merchant named Chandra from the Brahmins. Beyond this our inscription furnishes no such information as has not already been supplied by the Dudia plates written in the same year as this record as well as by the Chammak and Siwanī plates which were issued in the eighteenth year of the reign of this *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II. But the similarity of the Tirōḍi plates with the present record is striking. Both these grants were issued in the same year and their language is also very much similar. As a matter of fact some of the terms and words in this inscription can be properly understood only when compared with the Tirōḍi plates. Mistakes due to the engraver are very numerous in this inscription and many of them have been corrected with the help of the Tirōḍi plates.

Like his other inscriptions the present one also supplies us with the stereotyped genealogy of Pravarasēna II. But the first plate being lost the genealogy from Gautamīputra only survives. After the genealogy the details of the grant are given. The inscription ends with the date and the name of the writer.

In one point our inscription offers information which makes it of great interest to students of administrative history. Unlike the other plates of the Vākāṭaka kings this record was written by one Kōṭṭadēva who styles himself as **Rajuka**. This is the first time we meet with the term *Rajuka* in so late a period. *Rajuka* is primarily a term to indicate an officer whose undoubted existence in the 3rd century B.C. is proved by the inscriptions of Aśōka. Up till the middle of the second century A.D. South India[1] at least kept up the use of this official. The reference to *Mahāmātras, Rajjukas* and *Sañchārins* indicates that the old tradition was kept up in Southern India. When the Vākāṭakas came to the forefront, on the decline of the Kushāṇas, they probably made an endeavour to revive the old institutions. The Guptas, who were mainly a North-Indian power, were greatly influenced by the Kushāṇas and adopted many foreign features in their administrative machinery. The Vākāṭakas were more in the south and so could retain the earlier official terms. For this reason we find that in most of the records of this Vākāṭaka king occur certain revenue terms which have not been found in any other copper-plate and of which no satisfactory explanation can yet be offered. It is clear from the record that the *Rajuka* was still an officer mainly concerned with land and revenue. It is strange that in no other records of this period do we meet with this term. The reason seems to be that though all land transactions were negotiated under his jurisdiction, only in very important cases the *Rajuka* himself used to participate, the rest being done by subordinate officers. The date of the record being given in regnal years cannot be verified. None of the places mentioned in this inscription can be identified.

TEXT.[2]

Second Plate ; First Side.

1 d[au]hitrasya Gautamīputrasya putrasya Vākāṭak[ā]nām=mahāra(rā)ja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya sūnō[ḥ*]

2 atyanta-ma(mā)hēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kāruṇya-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya-

3 dhimatva[3]-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmavijayitva-manōnairmmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya

4 varsha-śatam=abha(bhi)varddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇa[ḥ*] Yudhishṭhira-

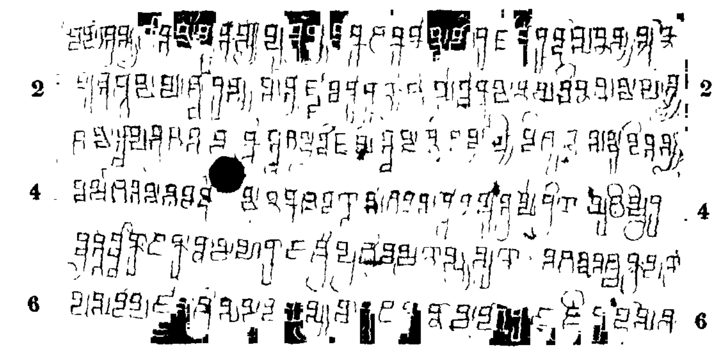
[1] See *Epi. Car.* Vol. VII, p. 251, where a *Chuṭu kul-ānanda* Sātakarṇi commands his *Rajjuka*.

[2] From the original plates.

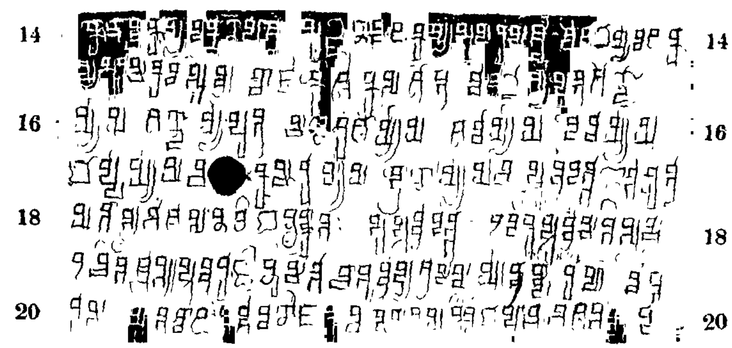
[3] Read *dhīmattva*.

Indore Plates of Pravarasena II.

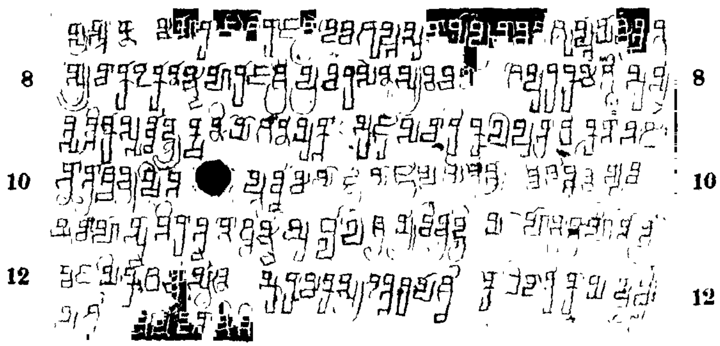
iia.



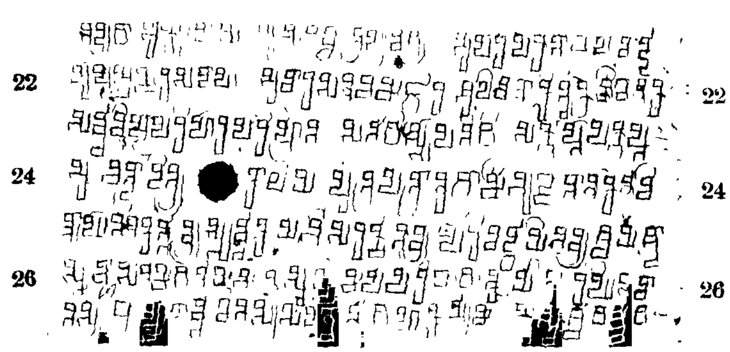
iiia.



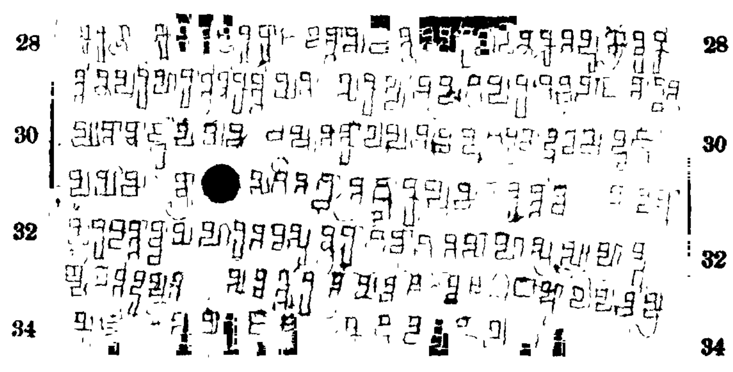
iib.



iiib.



iv.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 1531 E'38—275.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

5 vṛittēr=Vākāṭakānā[m*]=mahārāja-śrī-Pri(Pṛi)thivishēṇasya sūṇa(nō)ḥ bhagavatē=Chakra-pāṇē[ḥ*]

6 prasād-[1]ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākāṭakānā[m*]=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēna-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

7 sya sūnō[ḥ*] mahārājādhirāja-śri(śrī)-Dēvagupta-sutāyā[ṁ*] Prabhāvatiguptāyām=utpanna-

8 sya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t |*] Gēpuraka-mārggē asma-

9 t-santikās[2]=sarvvāddhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñāsaṁchāri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitā bhaṭō-

10 bh[3]=chhātrāś=cha vyushita-pūrvva-may[4]=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[ḥ |*] Viditam=astu vaḥ

11 yav[5]=ēh=āsmābhir=ātmanō dhdharmm-āyur-blala-śvaryya-vivṛiddhiya[6] ih-āmutra-hi-t-ārtthaṁ

12 vaijayikē dharmma-sthānē Ārāmakasya uttara-pārśvē Kōbidārikāyā[ḥ*] pūrvva-

13 pārśvē mala datām=iti[7] :—

Third Plate ; First Side.

14 Kōśambakasya[8] dakshiṇa-p[ā]rśv[ē] Āñjaṇav[ā]ṭakasya apara-pārśvē Viśākhāryya-vāṭakā-

15 sya [Ā]rāmaka-v[ā]stavya-Vāji-Kauśika-sagōtra-Viśākhāryya-putra-Gōṇḍā-

16 ryyāya Gōṇḍ[ā]ryya-putra-Man[ō]rathāryyāya Gōvāryyāya Dēvāryyāya

17 Bāppāryyāya[9] cha Kumārāryyāya Drōṇāryyāya cha pū[r]vva-dattā iti kṛitvā

18 yatō=sma(smā)bhi[ḥ*] śāsana-nibandham[10]=kṛitaḥ apūrvva-dattā(ttyā) udaka-pūrvvam= atisṛishṭāḥ[|*]

19 uchitā[ṁ*]ś=ch=āsya pūrvva-rāj-ānumatā[n*] Chāturvvaidya-grāma-maryyādām=pariha[11] vita-

20 rāmaḥ[|*] Atra vāṭā(ṭa)k-ārddhaṁ vāṇijaka-Chaṁdrēṇa kraya-kritaṁ brāhma[ṇē*]bhyō Bhagavat-pada[m |*][12]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

21 Tad-yathā a-kara-dāyī a-bhaṭa-chchhatra-prāvēśya[13] a-pārāṁpara-tō(gō)-balivardda[ḥ*]

22 a-pushpa-kshi(kshī)ra-sa[ṁ*]dōhaḥ a-chāra(r-ā)sana-chamā(rm-ā)ṅgāra[ḥ*] a-lavaṇa-klitva-(nna)-krēṇī-khanaka[ḥ*]

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[1] The formation of medial *ō* in *dō* is noteworthy. It consists of an *ū-mātrā* on the top and an *ē-mātrā* added to the lower left side of *d*.

[2] Read *santakās=* as in other Vākāṭaka records.

[3] Read *bhaṭāś=*.

[4] Read *viśruta-pūrvvay=* as in the Siwanī and Chammak plates.

[5] Read *yath=*.

[6] Read *dharmm-āyur-bbal-aiśvaryya-vivṛiddhayē*.

[7] Read *mayā dattām=iti*. [These six syllables seem to be out of place here, and their sense is not clear.—Ed.]

[8] It is tempting to identify this place with the village of Kōśambakhaṇḍa mentioned in the Tirōḍi plates of the same king.

[9] [From the impression it can be read as *Bōppāryyāya*.—Ed.]

[10] [The reading may be *nibandhaḥ=kṛitaḥ*.—Ed.]

[11] Read *-maryyādā-parihārān* as in the Tirōḍi plates.

[12] I am indebted to the Editor for this reading.

[13] Read *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-prāvēśyaḥ* ; the word *chhātra* seems to be somehow connected with the term *chāṭa* of other inscriptions.

23 sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra-parihri(hṛi)taḥ sa-tidhis=s-ōpatithiḥ[1] sa-kli[2](kḷi)pt-ōpakli[2](kḷi)-ptaḥ.
24 ā-chandr-āditya-kālīyaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmī bhuñjatā[ṁ*] na kēnachi[d*]
25 vyāghātana[3] karttavyas=sarvva-kṛiyābhi[4] sa[ṁ*]rakshitavyaḥ=parivarddhayitavyaś=cha[|*] yaś=ch=ā-
26 smach-chhāsanam=agani(ṇa)yamānā(naḥ) svalpām=api paribādhātku(ṅ=ku)ryāt=kāraghina vā[5]
27 tasya brāhmaṇair=vvēvi(di)tasya sa-daṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kuryyāmaḥ(ma |) Asmiś=cha[6] dharmm-[ā]dhi-

Fourth plate ; First Side.

28 karaṇē[7] atīt-ānēka-rāja-dattā(tta)-sañchitna(nta)na-paripālana[ṁ*] kṛita-puṇy-ānuki(kī)-
29 rttana-parihār-ārttha[ṁ*] na kīrttayāmaḥ saṁkalp-ābhidyōdha[8]-parākrama(m-ō)pajā(ji)tān=vattha(rtta)-
30 ghātā(mānā)n=ājñāpayāmaḥ ēshyatat[9]-kāla-prabhavish[ṇ]ā[10]-gauravād=bhavishād[11]=vijñā-
31 payāmaḥ [|[12]] Vyāsa-gītaś=ch=ātra ślōkaḥ=pramāṇīkarttavyaḥ |[12] Sva-dattā[ṁ*]
32 paradattā[ṁ*] vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharā[ṁ |*] gavā[ṁ] śata-sahasrasya hantu-
33 ḥ=pibati[13] dushkṛitaṁ(tam)[14] [||*] Saṁvatsarē trayōviṁśē Vaiśākha-bāhula-paṁchamyāṁ [|*]
34 Ājñā svayaṁ [|*] RAJUKA-Kōṭṭadēvēna likhitam [|*]

No. 11.—JAGANNATHARAYA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS AT UDAIPUR.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscriptions under consideration are fixed on both the sides of the passage leading into the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the **Jagannātharāya temple** at Udaipur. They are in a fair state of preservation but the engraved letters have been filled up with lime in course of the annual repairs to the temple. At places, the original engraving itself is very shallow. Although Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojhā has utilized these inscriptions in writing his history of Rajputana (*Rājaputāna*

[1] Read *sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhiḥ*.

[2] [What has been taken as the sign for medial *i* here is perhaps a mere scratch. Moreover, the form of the subscript character in this syllable differs much from that of the subscript *l* in *klinna* in the previous line. In view of these considerations it seems probable that we have in this inscription the correct reading *sa-kḷipt-ōpakḷiptaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] Read *vyāghātaḥ*.

[4] Read *kriyābhiḥ*.

[5] Read *kārayēd=vā*.

[6] Read *asmiṁś=cha* [The *anusvāra* meant for *smiṁ* seems to have been placed on *cha*.=Ed.]

[7] The Siwanī and Tirōḍi plates have also *dharmmādhikaraṇē* while the Chammak, Dudia and Ṛiddhapur plates have *dharmm-ādara-karaṇē*.

[8] Read *°bhiyōga* ; the Ṛiddhapur plates have *°ādhiyōga* and the Dudia plates *°ābhidyōdha*.

[9] Read *ēshyat-kāla*.

[10] Read *°vishṇu-*.

[11] Read *bhavishyān=*.

[12] The stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

[13] Instead of *pibati* generally the word *harati* occurs in this imprecatory verse.

[14] Metre: *Ślōka* (*Anushṭubh*).

kā Itihāsa) they still remain unpublished[1], and I edit them here at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These inscriptions are engraved on four big slabs of black stone, which we shall call, from left to right on both sides, **A**, **B**, **C**, and **D** respectively, for the sake of convenience. **A** measures 2′ 6″ broad by 3′ 2″ high, **B** 2′ 10″ by 2′ 10″, **C** 2′ 6″ by 3′ 0″ and **D** 3′ 2″ by 3′ 2″, and contain sixty, forty-six, fifty-seven and forty-nine lines of writing respectively. It may be pointed out that **D** is made up of as many as ten pieces of stone of different size, shape and variety, and seems to have been engraved after fixation. The writing appears to have been done by different hands as is chiefly perceptible from the upper part of **D**. Carelessness in engraving is particularly visible in the lower part of **D**.

The **characters** are Nāgarī in their modern form and the medial vowels (particularly the dipthongs) which are joined to the consonants are throughout represented by *śirō-mātrās*, the only example of the use of *prishṭha-mātrā* being in *dēvā* (l. 25, **A**). The forms of *y* and *p* are often indistinguishable, not only when the former is joined to a preceding consonant, but also when it occurs independently.

As regards **orthography** we find that in many cases *b* has been distinguished from *v*, while in some cases *b* has been used for *v* as in *kabacha-chh*(*chchh*)*ēttā* (l. 11, **A**). *Chh* is used in place of *chchh* throughout with a few exceptions particularly noticed in **C**. *T* is almost everywhere reduplicated after a preceding *r*. The sign for *avagraha* has been employed only twice in *vairibhyō=’priyamāṇau* (ll. 16-17, **C**) and in *dēśē=’khilē* (l. 17, **D**).

The **language** of the inscriptions is Sanskrit except the sentence *Śrī Jagannātharāyajī pāṭa padharāyā* at the end of **C** which is in the dialect of Mewār. The verses contain many paronymous words and thus many of them convey two senses. Considering the length of the inscriptions, the historical information they contain is very meagre. The poet has spared no pains in trying to please his patron, the ruling prince, and his work is meant to be more a literary study than history. The composition is, on the whole, free from errors, most of the mistakes appearing in the records being due to the engraver. The first line of each slab is in prose wherein five or six gods and goddesses have been adored. In addition to this, portions of ll. 2 in **B**, 50-51 and 56-57 in **C** and 2 and 47-48 in **D** are in prose. The rest of the epigraphs is in verse.

Before considering the actual contents of the records, let us determine whether all the four slabs contain one single inscription or more than one. From the intended plan of writing and the method of presenting the subject-matter, it will appear that three inscriptions have been incised on these four slabs. **A** and **B** together form what may rightly be called the *Jagatsiṁha inscription*, for the numbering of the verses in **B** is in continuation of that in **A**[2] and the subject-matter also is connected with Jagatsiṁha. **C** and **D** on the other hand, appear to be two different inscriptions with independently numbered verses, intended by the author to pertain to Rājasiṁha and the temple of Jagannātharāya respectively. That **D**, although intended to look like an independent epigraph, is but a supplement to **A** and **B** is evidenced by a close study of its contents; all these three together, therefore, should properly be regarded to form one inscription. The main **object** of the inscription engraved on these three slabs is to record the installation of the image of Jagannātharāya in the temple by Mahārāṇā **Jagatsiṁha, on Thursday, the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in V. S. 1709** (l. 18, **D**).

[1] An imperfect and uncritical transcript of the records was first printed in the *Vīra-vinōda* (Part II, pp. 384-99).

[2] Below the line containing the last verse in **A**, there are three more lines given to the description of the masons, where the verses are separately numbered. The same procedure of numbering the concluding verses separately is followed in the other slabs also.

Now we may consider the nature and the date of the fourth slab which we have called **C**. It may be pointed out that this slab, as a matter of fact, contains an inscription of the opening years of the reign of **Rājasiṁha**, the son of Jagatsiṁha, and has no date of its own. Its object is to record the erection of the four small corner-temples outside the main shrine. That the temple was to be one of the *Vishṇu-Pañchāyatana* type seems to have originally been contemplated by Jagatsiṁha himself, an indication of which we find in v. 48 of **A** and v. 12 of **D**. It is not improbable that the actual work of erecting these smaller temples was set afoot by this ruler but could not be completed by the time of the installation of the Jagannātharāya image when Jagatsiṁha was alive, and was brought to completion later on by his son Rājasiṁha. It is not, however, certain when this epigraph was fixed in the temple. The date given at the end, *viz.*, "Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of the second Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1708" is really the date of the installation of Jagannātharāyajī as explicitly mentioned beyond it in a sentence in Mewārī tongue; and the purpose of mentioning it here can only be to show that the epigraph, although belonging to a later period, was to be taken in continuation of the earlier event of installation. It may be noticed here that the year 1708 recorded at the end of this slab as the year of the installation is at variance with that given in l. 18 of **D**, which is 1709. This can only be explained by regarding the former as *Śrāvaṇādi* (as is the custom prevailing in the Udaipur State even now) which would be equivalent to *Chaitrādi* 1709, for it was only in the latter year that there was a second Vaiśākha with Thursday on the 15th of its bright half.[1] Rai Bahadur Ojhā has accepted this date given at the end of **C** as the date of all the four slabs which in his opinion contain one single inscription. But as I have already pointed out, this could not have been the date of the slab **C**, although it may have been that of the remaining three. The date of **C** cannot be earlier than the 13th of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha of V. S. 1710, when Rājasiṁha is stated to have given eighty maidens (in marriage) which is the latest date found in this slab (v. 28). It is possible that the record was put up soon after that date. It may, however, be noted that the authorship of both these inscriptions goes to one and the same person.

With regard to the contents of **A** we find that it opens with three invocatory and benedictory verses in praise of Karīndrānana, Bhava and Durgā; in the fourth verse the poet declares his intention of producing what he calls the *Jagatsiṁha Praśasti*. Then he attempts at giving a genealogy, chiefly of the Rāṇās of Mewār, which begins from **Rāma**, the celebrated hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from whom the rulers of Mewār claim their descent. In the family of Rāma were born **Vijayabhūpa** and his son **Padmāditya**. The latter went towards the south leaving his ancestral capital Ayōdhyā. Later on in that family was born **Bāpā** who had the title of *Rāval* and who was a native of South India and thence called to rule over Mewār. Then in his family were born: Rāhappa (bearing the title of Rāṇā for the first time), Narapati, Dinakara, Jasakarṇa, Nāgapāla, Pūrṇapāla, Pṛithvīmalla, Bhuvanasiṁha, Bhīmasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Lakshmaṇasiṁha, Arasī, Hamīra, Kshētrasiṁha, Lakshasiṁha, Mōkala, Kuṁbhakarṇa, Rājamalla, Sāṅga (Sāṅgā), Udaya, Pratāpasiṁha, Amarasiṁha, Karṇasiṁha and **Jagatsiṁha**.

It may be noticed here that Vijayabhūpa and Padmāditya here mentioned are also included in the big list of princes, beginning with Sumitra and ending with Bāpā, given in cantos[2] II and III of the *Rāja-praśasti* of V. S. 1732 (=A. D. 1675). As this list seems to be based on the bardic accounts with no chronological truth, Pandit Ojhā has rejected it as unauthentic.[3]

Bāpā indeed is a historical figure but his description as given here clearly seems to be based on the legendary stories prevalent among people even to-day, according to which his family came

[1] *Rājapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, p. 831, n. 1.

[2] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 145-54.

[3] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 395, n. 1.

to Mewār from Surāshṭra and Valabhī. Col. Tod has closely followed this tradition in his work,[1] but Rai Bahadur Ojhā is of opinion that the family of Bāpā had no connection whatsoever with South India, and has discussed in details the invalidity of the legends.[2]

The names of the Rāṇās as given here next are to be met with in some other records also such as the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*, the *Rāja-praśasti*, etc., with certain variations. The only point of importance worthy of note with regard to these princes is that till before the time of Hammīra they were the rulers of the small estate of Sesodā and were contemporary to the princes of the Rāval branch of the family ruling over Chitor. It is a mistake to take them as having ruled over Mewār with Chitor as their capital in direct succession to the Rāvals, as has been done chiefly in the chronicles of the bards, which have in their turn been relied upon by most of the inscriptions. It is from the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* first of all that we learn of the division of this family into two branches in the reign of Rāval Raṇasiṁha or Karṇasiṁha[3] at the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. The first of the Rāṇās to govern the territory of Mewār as a whole was Hammīra who regained his ancestral citadel of Chitor in about A.D. 1326 from the Muhammadans by establishing matrimonial alliance with Māldeo Sonagarā to whom was entrusted the famous fort by Khizr Khān, the son of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.

The list of the Rāṇās which is given here is almost in chronological succession except the omission of Ajayasiṁha after Lakshmaṇasiṁha and of Ratnasiṁha, Vikramāditya and Banabīra after Sāṅgā. Lakshmaṇasiṁha's successor as here recorded is Arasī, his eldest son, but in truth he never succeeded his father, for he together with his father had died in the dreadful sack of Chitor in A.D. 1303. His younger brother Ajayasiṁha, who somehow escaped from the battle-field, became the next Rāṇā.[4] He was afterwards succeeded by his nephew Hammīra, the son of Arasī.

The description of these princes found here is more poetical than historical. **Kumbhakarṇa** is first of all said to have built the fort of **Kumbhalgarh.**

Record of some tangible historical value is, however, found first in connection with **Sāṅgā.** He is described to have conquered the Sulṭāns of Mālwā and Gujarāt, although the author has confused their names with relation to both these countries.[5] Here we find a reference to the victory of Rāṇā Sāṅgā over **Mahamūd Khaljī II** of Mālwā when the latter attacked Bhīmakarṇa, the viceroy of Mēdinī Rāi at Gāgrūn in A.H. 925 (=A.D. 1519).[6] The intelligence of this attack of Mahamūd having reached Sāṅgā, he at once led a large army against him on account of his friendship with Mēdinī Rāi, and a dreadful battle was fought in which, after great bloodshed, the Muhammadan army was utterly defeated and Mahamūd, receiving several wounds, ultimately became a prisoner in the hands of the Rāṇā. The latter took his royal prisoner to Chitor, treated him with utmost care and after three months' nominal captivity, honourably sent him back to Māṇḍū.[7]

The other reference is to Rāṇā Sāṅgā's victory over **Muzaffar Shāh II**, the Sulṭān of Gujarāt, with whose army he had to fight more than once. The cause of one of his fights with Muzaffar was his partiality for Rāi Mal, the legitimate heir to the state of Idar, whose rights were usurped during his minority by his uncle Bhīma whom the governor of Gujarāt favoured. When Bhīma

[1] Tod, *Rājasthān* (W. Crooke's ed.), Vol. I, pp. 247-71.

[2] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 374-90.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 446-7.

[4] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 512.

[5] According to the text (v. 38, A) Mudaphara (Muzaffar II) was the governor of the fort of Māṇḍava (Māṇḍū or Mālwā) and Mahamūṁda Khāna (Mahamūd Khaljī II) that of Gujarāt. The poet has here evidently confused both these names and the positions they held.

[6] Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, p. 263 and Briggs' *Firishtī*, Vol. IV, pp. 260-1.

[7] Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

died, his son Bhāra Mal (Bihār Mal, according to Bayley) ascended the throne of Idar, but with the help of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, Rāi Mal ousted him and took possession of the land of Idar. This led the Sulṭān to send Nizām-ul-mulk, the *jāgīrdār* of Ahmadnagar, for driving Rāi Mal out of Idar and re-establishing Bhāra Mal.[1] A series of skirmishes followed and Rāi Mal tactfully faced the royal forces, sometimes victorious and sometimes incurring defeat.[2] The state of Idar was ultimately entrusted to one Malik Hussain Bahmanī entitled as Nizām-ul-mulk, who was a foreigner and was a man of stern temperament. People were not satisfied with him and wished him to be dismissed from office. One day in A.H. 926 (=A.D. 1520) he rebuked Rāṇā Sāṅgā using very improper words for his patronage of Rāi Mal. The news of this insult having reached his ears through a bard, Sāṅgā at once started with an army of 40,000 cavalry[3] to avenge himself. Nizām-ul-mulk fled and took shelter in the fort of Ahmadnagar, but Sāṅgā persistently followed him and the former was ultimately defeated in a battle with a great loss of life and property. The town of Ahmadnagar was sacked and that of Bīsalnagar plundered.[4] Rāṇā Sāṅgā, thus successfully avenging the insult and firmly establishing Rāi Mal on the throne of Idar, went back to Chitor.

Sāṅgā had to face the Sulṭān of Gujarāt, Muzaffar II, a second time also when the latter himself took the initiative to avenge Sāṅgā's recent ravages wrought in the country of Gujarāt. In A.H. 927 (=A.D. 1520) he despatched two large armies, one under Malik Aīāz, the governor of the district of Sōraṭh and the other under Kiwām-ul-mulk to attack the Rāṇā. Both these armies reached Mandasor through Ḍūngarpur and Bānswārā, laying waste the countries through which they passed. Rāṇā Sāṅgā, having heard of this, himself set off with a considerable army and encamped at the village of Nadēsī, twelve *kōs* distant from Mandasor. Mahamūd Khaljī of Mālwā, too, came to join the Gujarāt forces under Malik Aīāz[5], probably to avail himself of the good occasion of taking vengeance for his previous defeat at the hands of Sāṅgā. All these enormous armies assembled, but this time no genuine warfare could take place and Malik Aīāz agreed to make peace with the Rāṇā, the reason for which is attributed by the Muslim historians to the ill feeling entertained against him by Kiwām-ul-mulk and other *amīrs*[6] which broke down the unity of their aim. But the argument of Rai Bahadur Ojhā to the effect that Malik Aīāz had to make peace after having been actually defeated by Rāṇā Sāṅgā, seems to be quite sound.[7]

The next important historical information that we derive from **A** is with regard to the result and the time of commencement of the well-known battle of **Haldīghāṭī** where Rāṇā **Pratāpa** and the imperial army of **Akbar** under the command of **Mānasiṁha** fought a desperate battle. According to the account of this battle given by Badāyūni who was present in the battle-field, the victory was achieved by the royal forces and Rāṇā Pratāpa was defeated; while the present inscription records the retreat of the Muhammadan army, evidently when defeated by Pratāpa in the field of battle. Thus, each of the conflicting parties claims victory for itself and makes it difficult to arrive at the truth. Rāṇā Pratāpa, as a matter of fact, was insignificant as compared to the mighty Emperor Akbar, who had already annexed much of the fertile portion of the former's territory to his own empire, and it is possible that this powerful ruler might have achieved material victory. But to quote Rai Bahadur Ojhā, the unfailing zeal, the pride, the dauntless bravery and the sense of perfect freedom which Rāṇā Pratāpa faithfully cherished—particularly at the time when everything around him was leading to disappointment—and which caused a sense of terror in the hearts of his enemies, and also the sudden vicissitudes in which he cast the great Imperial

[1] Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 661, para. 2.
[4] Bayley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 269-70.
[5] Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[7] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 670, para. 1.

army often and often, all these go to assign the real conquest to him.[1] As regards the time when the battle actually began, what we find from the *Akbar-nāma* of Abul-Fazl is that it commenced after the first *prahara* (eighth part) of the day[2], while the epigraph under consideration clearly speaks of it as having begun early in the morning (*pragē*, v. 41, **A**). The time as recorded here seems to be probable for, it was mid-summer of V. S. 1633 (=A.D. 1576) when this celebrated battle took place, and it would be impossible to indulge in fighting at about mid-day.

The next historical information to be met with here pertains to **Karṇasiṁha**, grandson of Pratāpa and son of Amarasiṁha, who is said to have burnt the town of **Sirōṁja** (Sironj) which was like the heart of the lord of Delhi. Karṇasiṁha really could not have done this rebellious deed after being enthroned as the Rāṇā of Mewār, for then he was bound to the terms of the treaty which his father made with the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr. This, therefore, was an exploit of Karṇasiṁha when he was only a crown-prince and his father was in regular warfare with the emperor. This event was contemporaneous with the period in which Jahāngīr, himself coming over up to Ajmer, had thence sent his son, prince Khurram with large forces to attack Mewār and reduce the Rāṇā. That Sironj was a town in Mālwā and was an object of Karṇasiṁha's wrath, together with another town named Dhindhōrā is, however, known from v. 5[3], canto V of the *Rāja-praśasti*. It may be noted here that almost all Persian chronicles are silent on this point.

Karṇasiṁha was succeeded by his virtuous son **Jagatsiṁha** to whose reign this inscription belongs. It is customary in Mewār to seat the next Rāṇā on the throne in an informal manner, the very day on which the death of his immediate predecessor takes place.[4] This being so, Jagatsiṁha's informal accession took place in the month of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1684 (=A.D. 1627) on the day of his father's demise.[5] But his coronation, with all its pomp and splendour, was celebrated on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha of V. S. 1684 as recorded in the present inscription (v. 49, **A**). Now if this year be regarded as *Chaitrādi* as usual, the date of Jagatsiṁha's coronation would fall before that of his father's death. It is therefore evident that the year is to be regarded as *Śrāvaṇādi* which would be *Chaitrādi* 1685. Thus, Jagatsiṁha's coronation took place on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1685 (=Monday, 28th April, A.D. 1628). The only political event of his reign recorded here is the sending of his minister with a big army to subjugate his contemporary ruler of Ḍūngarpur, **Puñjarāja**, better known as Rāval Punjā (v. 54, **A**). This officer, having defeated Punjā who fled to the hills, completely ravaged the city of Ḍūngarpur by plundering and setting fire to it. The cause of this inroad was that the rulers of Ḍūngarpur had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rāṇās of Udaipur since the time of Pratāpasiṁha and had submitted themselves to the imperial throne of Delhi[6], an act which the Rāṇās of Udaipur were naturally disposed to resent. Jagatsiṁha, at last, thus avenged the disregard which the Rāvals of Ḍūngarpur had shown towards him and his predecessors. The name of the minister to whom was entrusted the subjugation of Punjā is, however, not known from this record. But the event is recorded with more clarity in vv. 18-19[7], canto V of the *Rāja-praśasti*, where the name of the minister occurs as **Akhērāja (Akshayarāja)**.

Turning our attention to the **contents of B** we find that it is a mere continuation of **A**, vividly describing Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha's pilgrimage to the *Māndhātṛi-tīrtha*, the holy seat of the God Ōṁkāranātha, and mentioning his acts of munificence which formed the most outstanding

[1] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, pp. 749-55.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 748, n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 805, n. 1.
[4] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 830, n. 1.
[5] *Vīra-vinōda*, part II, p. 290.
[6] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 833.
[7] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1.

character of his personality. In consultation with his family priest Rāmarāja[1], he, at the beginning of V. S. 1704, set out of the city in a big procession, for his projected pilgrimage to Ōṁkāranātha in the Central Provinces. That day he halted on the bank of the **Udayasāgara**, a big artificial lake six miles east of Udaipur, constructed by Rāṇā Udayasiṁha in the period between A.D. 1559 and 1564[2], and passed the night in his own palace there. Thence he directed his camp on the following auspicious day towards **Avantikā** (Ujjain), the abode of the God **Mahākāla**. Having bathed in the holy **Śiprā** and having visited Avantikā disregarding her ruler, he reached his destination, the bank of the **Narmadā** with the *tīrtha* of Māndhātā in the neighbourhood. His most distinguished deed of piety here, among others, was his weighing against gold on the occasion of the solar eclipse which fell on the fifteenth of the dark half of Jyēshṭha in V. S. 1704 (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 22nd June), and distributing the precious metal among the people (v. 85). He erected a *Tulā-stambha* there to commemorate this event, which even now stands there. An inscription dated in V. S. 1704, the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 6th July), located outside the Ōṁkāranātha temple, also records this pilgrimage and the allied charities of Jagatsiṁha.[3] While returning he seems to have entered into some quarrel with the then viceroy of Mālwā as indicated by the text (l. 36, **B**). We know that by this time Mālwā had been annexed to the kingdom of Delhi and was governed by the viceroys deputed by the Moghul emperors. The name of this particular governor of Mālwā with whom Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha had an imbroglio is, however, not known.[4]

Jagatsiṁha performed the charity of a very costly *Kalpa-vṛiksha*[5] on the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada of V. S. 1705 (=A.D. 1648, Saturday the 26th August), the anniversary of his birthday. It had five branches below which were placed the images of the gods of the Hindu Trinity together with that of *Ratipati* (the Cupid), which was the fourth. On his birthday anniversary in V. S. 1707 (=A.D. 1650), he performed the *Sapta-sāgara* charity. On the same auspicious day of V. S. 1708 (=A.D. 1651) he gave in charity a *Viśva-chakra* or (a gold replica of) the globe of earth. He also gratified many Brāhmaṇas of Kāśi (Benares) with presents of gold.

In **D** which is but a sequel to **A** and **B**, the poet chiefly describes in detail the beauty and grandeur of the Jagannātharāya temple erected by Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha. The only important event here recorded is the installation of the image of Jagannātharāya in the temple, which was styled as such by Jagatsiṁha after his own name. It took place on **Thursday, the fifteenth of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in the Vikrama year 1709.** As it was Thursday on the 15th of the bright half of the second Vaiśākha in that year, the date corresponds to A.D. 1652, Thursday the 13th May. Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha gave charities of a golden horse, a *Kalpa-latā* of gold, a thousand cows, five fertile villages together with pieces of cloth, raw food and jewels

[1] The first known predecessor of Rāmarāja was one Sarasala, a Pallīvāla Brāhmaṇa of Sānderāo in Mārwār. He came to Mewār in the reign of Rāṇā Rāhappa who made him his priest as desired by the ascetic under whose treatment the Rāṇā is said to have been cured of his disease of leprosy (*Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 510). His present descendant is Amaralāl and is called *baḍā-purōhita* or a high priest.

[2] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 311.

[3] *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 839. [The date given in this record is Saṁvat 1704, Tuesday in the dark half of Āshāḍha, *Ravi-parvan* and corresponds to Tuesday, 22nd June, A. D. 1647 when there was a solar eclipse. Therefore *Śuchi* in v. 85, **B** has to be taken as meaning the month of Āshāḍha and the month as Pūrṇimānta. —Ed.]

[4] [The sense here seems to be the same as indicated in v. 76, *i.e.*, he did not pay any heed to the ruler of Mālwā through whose territory he passed. The context does not appear to indicate any conflict with the viceroy at Mālwā.—Ed.]

[5] A full description of this and such other charities is to be met with in the *Purāṇas* such as the *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, etc.

on this occasion to the Brāhmaṇas. He used to perform such charities every year in company of his brothers **Garībadāsa** and **Śatrusiṁha** and his sons **Rājasiṁha** and **Arisiṁha**.

He built a palace called Jagamandira with a beautiful garden attached to it, in the lake at Udaipur. The erection of this palace was first started by Karṇasiṁha, his father, but was brought to completion by him and called after his own name. He also built the Mōhanamandira in Karṇasāgara, which is a part of the lake at Udaipur. This palace was styled after his natural son Mōhanasiṁha.[1] The eight carved *Tulā-stambhas* that are to be seen on the left, inside the Baḍī-Pōla gate, the main entrance to the palaces at Udaipur, appear from this epigraph to have been raised by this ruler to commemorate the *tulā* ceremonies (l. 28, **D**) which he performed annually for some time. He also constructed Rūpa-sāgara, an artificial lake in the vicinity of Āhāḍ. The author has, in course of his description, also touched upon the palaces built by his father Karṇasiṁha and grandfather Amarasiṁha. He, again, briefly mentions the temple of Śrī Ēkaliṅgajī and a *kēli-mandira* built there by Jagatsiṁha, the temple of the goddess Rāṭhāsēnā on the top of a hill in the neighbourhood of Ēkliṅgjī, the Udaya-sāgara, the goddess Ambikā in the village of Jāwar and the silver mines there. The temple of Ēkaliṅgajī is here believed to have been built by Mōkala, but we know from the Śṛiṅgi-ṛishi inscription[2] that it was only the rampart round its site that was built by this prince and not the temple itself.

With regard to **C** it has already been stated that it is an independent epigraph belonging to the early years of the reign of **Rājasiṁha**, the son of Jagatsiṁha, and was fixed in the temple at a later date. As an independent inscription it opens with the genealogy of the Rāṇās of Mewār very little beyond whose names has been mentioned here. It begins with Bāpā and ends with Rājasiṁha, the intervening princes being the same as mentioned in **A**.

Rājasiṁha's coronation took place on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna in V. S. 1709 (=A. D. 1652, Monday the 1st March), although he informally ascended the throne, as usual, on the fourth day of the dark half of Kārttika (=Wednesday the 24th November) of the same year, the date of his father's demise. Soon after his informal accession he went to Ēkliṅgjī on the fifth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha and weighed himself against gold and jewels. This weighing of the body against jewels is regarded by Rai Bahadur Ojhā to be the only example of its kind ever recorded in the whole of India[3]. Another fragmentary inscription recording Rājasiṁha's weighing against jewels at Ēkliṅgjī was found there by Ojhā which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur[4]. When he was only a crown-prince, he weighed himself against gold on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1705 (=A. D. 1648, Thursday the 27th April) at the holy site of *Sūkara-kshētra* on the bank of the Ganges. In the Vikrama year 1707 (=A. D. 1650) he, as a crown-prince, built a palace for himself near the lake, which was decorated with fine paintings. No trace of this *kaumāra-saudha* or prince's palace is visible now for, on that very site was erected the modern Śambhu-nivāsa palace by Mahārāṇā Śambhusiṁha (A. D. 1861-74). The only remnant of the former is a small old building nearby, called *kunvarpadōn kī chhatrī*. On the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in V. S. 1710 (=A. D. 1653, Thursday the 22nd December), he gave away eighty maidens in marriage. He also set up a lovely garden and erected a beautiful palace which is now identified with the Sabarata-vilāsa (Sarvartu-vilāsa), situated in the south-east corner of the city. He brought to completion the erection of the four small temples dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and Śakti situated outside the main Jagannātharāya temple. The inscription under description

[1] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 838, n. 5.

[2] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 842.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 2.

mainly stands to record the erection of these four temples which were not apparently ready at the time of the consecration of the main shrine.

The poet who composed these epigraphs and his family, the masons who built the temple of Jagannātharāya also called here **Ratna-śīrsha**, and the overseer under whose superintendence it was erected, find mention in the concluding lines of these records. We know from them that the name of the poet was **Lakshmīnātha**, better known as **Bābū Bhaṭṭa**. He was a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa and the designation of his lineage was Kaṭhauṇḍī after his original home in the village of that name. His genealogical tree for eight generations from these epigraphs is as follows:— Bhāskara, his son Mādhava, his son Rāmachandra, his son Sarvēśvara, his son Lakshmīnātha, his son Rāmachandra, his son Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, his son Lakshmīnātha or Bābū, the author.

From **B** we find that the author's great-grandfather Lakshmīnātha was a contemporary of Rāṇā Udayasiṁha as well as of Amarasiṁha, his grandson, both of whom bestowed upon him, as a token of favour, the villages named **Bhūravāḍā** and **Hōlī** respectively. **Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa** the father of the author, received a costly horse named Mṛigarāja from Mahārāṇā Jagatsiṁha which was exchanged by the prince for Rs. 4,000. On his birth-day anniversary, the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada in V. S. 1706 (=A. D. 1649, Thursday the 13th September), Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha performed the "golden earth" charity and donated the village named **Bhaiṁsaḍā**[1] near Chitor, to the same person. On the same day of V. S. 1709 (=A. D. 1652, Friday the 10th September), he performed the charity of *Ratna-dhēnu*. He also gave to **Madhusūdana Śarmā** a piece of land measuring two *halas*[2] in the village of Āhaḍa (Āghāṭapura or Āṭapura of inscriptions) bordering on the city of Udaipur. The recipient of this land also appears to belong to the family of our poet and seems to be the father of Raṇachhōḍa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Rājapraśasti*, who also was a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa and belonged to the same lineage, Kaṭhauṇḍī.[3]

The masons who erected the temple of Jagannātharāya were *sūtradhāra* **Mukanda** (Mukunda) and his younger brother **Bhūdhara**[4], sons of Bhānā or Bhāṇā and grandsons of Rājā. They belonged to the family of the masons known as Bhaṅgōra or Bhaṅgōrā. Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha gave a gold and a silver yard to Mukunda and Bhūdhara respectively, in appreciation of their work, and a village named **Dēvadaha** (modern Dēvadā) in the vicinity of Chitor. The inscription on **C** was engraved by Vā(Bā)ghā, son of Mukunda.

The superintendent or the overseer in charge of the construction of the temple was one **Arjuna**, Pañchōlī by caste, whose family designation was Gughāvata. The names of his father and grand father were Kalā and Achala respectively.

It may be pointed out here that according to Rai Bahadur Ojhā, the author of these inscriptions was Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa[5], but as we have already seen, his son Bābū, otherwise known as Lakshmīnātha was the real author. Similarly, he regards Bhāṇā[6] and his elder son Mukunda to be the chief masons who erected the temple, but in reality Mukunda and his younger brother Bhūdhara were the chief architects. He also reads the name of Arjuna's father as Kamala[7], which is

[1] [This is also mentioned in the *Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya*, Canto V.—Ed.]

[2] A *hala* is a measure of land and is said to comprise fifty *bighās* (*Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 837, n. 4).

[3] [According to *Rājapraśasti* (Canto XIX) Madhusūdana was another son of Rāmachandra and therefore the paternal uncle of Lakshmīnātha.—Ed.]

[4] The ancestors of these masons came in Mewār from Anhilwāra Pattan in Gujarāt in the reign of Rāṇā Lākhā (Laksha) in about V. S. 1445, and were the chief architects of the rulers of Mewār since then, as evidenced by the record preserved by their present descendant, Bhanvaralāl. This family produced the well-known Maṇḍana who built the great Tower of Victory at Chitor and was the author of the *Rājavallabha* and many other original treatises on architecture.

[5] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 838.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 837.

[7] *Ibid.*

distinctly Kalā. This may be due to his reliance on the imperfect transcript of the records alluded to by me on p. 57, n. 1, above.

Lastly, a word regarding the geographical places mentioned in the inscriptions will not be out of place. In l. 16 of B, Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha and his company are described to have bathed in the confluence of Rēvā and Kāvērī. This is not possible for Kāvērī is in far south.[1] The villages of **Bhaiṁsaḍā** and **Dēvadaha** are known from the very text to be near Chitor, and those of **Bhūravāḍā** and **Hōlī** are in Rājanagar and Girvā districts respectively.

TEXT.[2]

A.

1 ॥[3] श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजगं(ग)न्नाथरायजीप्रसा-
दात् ॥ ॥ श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्म्मणे नमः ॥

2 ॥ गुणगुरुगौरीसिंहाद्यस्माज्जीता दिशां करिणः ॥[4] तमपि व्यथयन्स्वरवैः कोपि करीं-
द्राननः पायात् ॥१॥[5] भवानीभयभृङ्गभृद्भुजंगभजनाभृतः ॥ भवतो भवतो भूयाद्भ-

3 व्यं भव्यं भवे भवे ॥२॥[6] अतीव्रतेजोद्युपतींद्रपूज्यं व्रतीश्वरैः समशतीभिरर्च्यं(र्च्यम्) ॥
रतीशजीवातुगतिं दधानं प्रतीतदुर्गांघ्रिमतीव वंदे ॥३॥[7] राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंह-
प्रशस्तिः कृ-

4 त्यासूनुना ॥ कठौंडोग्रामतैलंगलक्ष्मीनाथेन तन्यते ॥४॥[6] स जयति रघुकुलतिलकः
श्रीरामः कीर्त्तिमुक्ताक्तः ॥ काश्यां मुक्त्यै मंत्रं यस्य मुदा शंकरो दत्ते ॥५॥[5]
तद्वंशे नृपमुकुटस्थायि-

5 पदो विजयभूपपृथ्वींद्रः ॥ पश्चादित्यस्तद्भूस्त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा)योध्यां व(ब)भूव दक्षिणगः ॥६॥[8]
वा(बा)पाभिधोथोजनि मेदपाटे तस्यान्ववाये शिवदत्तराज्यः ॥ संग्रामभूमौ पटु-
सिंहरावं लातीत्यतो राव-

6 ल इत्यभाणि ॥७॥[9] वातीति यस्मात्त्रिजगत्सु नित्यं वाशब्द(ब्द)वाच्यः किल तेन
वायुः ॥ तं प्राणवायुं जगतीतलेस्मिन् यत्पाति वापा इति तेन जातः ॥८॥[9]
आगछ(च्छ)शब्दे किल दक्षिणस्यां राश-

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[1] [The place where Jagatsiṁha bathed is apparently the confluence of two rivers not far from the temple of Ōṁkārjī, one of which is the Narmadā and the other locally known as the Kāvērī.—Ed.]

[2] Transcribed from the original slabs and compared with the impressions.

[3] Occasionally lines begin and end with one or two *daṇḍas* which are superfluous.

[4] In this inscription the half verse has often been indicated by two *daṇḍas* instead of one

[5] Metre : *Upagīti.*

[6] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Metre : *Upēndravajrā.*

[8] Metre : *Gīti.*

[9] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

7 ब्द एव क्रियते जनेन[1] ॥ बलेति संबुद्धमहाबलिष्ठं [बा]पाभृपं तं किल दाक्षि-
णात्यं(त्यम्) ॥९॥[2] राज्यं प्रदातुं पटु मेदपाटे यद्रावलेत्याह्वयदेकलिंगः ॥ ततः
प्रभृत्यस्य नृपस्य वंश्या दधुस्तदा-
8 ख्यां भुवि रावलेति ॥१०॥[2] राहप्पराणोजनि तस्य वंशे राणेति शब्दं प्रथयन्
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥ रणो हि धातुः खलु शब्द(ब्द)वाची तं कारयत्येष रिपून्दुता-
र्त्तान् ॥११॥[2] वह्नेर्वाची यत्प्रसिद्धो रशब्दो(ब्दो) धा-
9 तुश्चास्ते जीवनार्थे ह्यणस्तु ॥ यद्वैरग्नेर्जीवनादप्यजस्रं राणः शब्दस्तेषु भूपेषु
वित्तः ॥१२॥[3] राणाभवन्नरपतिः पटुनामधेयो भूभारदूरकरणाय नरावतारः ॥
यस्याभि-
10 मन्युरहतोपि हतः कथंचिच्चंचत्कृपादिगुरुणाथ सुयोधनेन ॥१३॥[4] राणादिनकरोपूर्वः
सत्वांश्चस्तेजसैव यः ॥ छायया संगतस्यापि न मंदः कोप्यभूत्सुतः ॥१४॥[5] भ-
भूतपूर्वः
11 कर्णाभूज्जसकर्णाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ परेषां कब(व)चच्छे(च्छे)त्ता न राधेयोपि योभ-
वत् ॥१५॥[5] नागपालोभवत्पृथ्वी विधृत्य भुजयैकया ॥ दिग्ना(ङ्ना)गशेषनागानां
पालनात्सार्थकाह्वयः ॥१६॥[5] अन्ये
12 क्षोणस्य पातारः पूर्ण[6]पालस्त्वभूत्प्रभुः ॥ धनाध्यक्षादिपूर्णानां पालनात्सार्थकाह्वयः ॥१७॥[5]
यं वीक्ष्य स्तंभसक्तं सकलमपि जगद्यत्पदाधारपीठीं नत्यो(त्यु)त्स्था(त्था)पि
वि(बि)भ्रत्पृथुलम-
13 णिशिलां संगतं वै प[7]दांतैः । पृथ्वीत्थं मल्लरूपा भवति नरपतौ यत्र यस्मात्पृ-
पालः पृथ्वीमल्लेत्यभिख्यो [न]रपतिमुकुटालंकृतिस्तेन जातः ॥१८॥[8] यच्चैव क्षीयते
तत्तु सिं-
14 हेनान्येन रक्ष्यते ॥ अयं भुवनसिंहोभूद्रक्षितुं भुवनत्रयं(यम्) ॥१९॥[5] भीमसिंहो
हरिस्पर्द्धी शिवोभूत्करजश्रिया ॥ व(ब)लिप्रह्लादभिल्लोके हिरण्यकशिपुक्षमः ॥२०॥[5]
एक-
15 लिंगप्रभाविन[9] जयसिंहः क्षमाधरः ॥ कृत्स्नगोरक्षकस्तस्या रजः संमार्जनं दधौ ॥२१॥[5]
अस्माभिर्गहने गतं बहुविधः क्लेशोपि सोढः परं शत्रुश्चेन्निहतः प्लवंगनिव-

[1] [Telugu *rā* means 'come'. This shows how fanciful the derivation is. It may be noted that the poet himself was a Telugu Brahmin.—Ed.]

[2] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[3] Metre: *Śālinī*.

[4] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] *Ba* was engraved first which was changed to *ṇa* afterwards.

[7] *Ga* was first engraved and then corrected into *pa*.

[8] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[9] Read *prabhāvēṇa*.

16 है: कैश्चिद्दिने रावण: ॥ देवेनाशु नखेन सिंहवपुषा तत्रैव शत्रुर्हतस्तस्मात्लक्ष्मण-
सिंह एष किमभूद्भिन्न: स रामानुज: ॥२२॥[1] आ(अ)कारवाच्यो भवतीह
विष्णुस्त-

17 स्वार्चने यस्तुचिरं प्रवृत्त: ॥ गुणांबुधिर्भूमिपतीश्वरो महान् राणा ततोभूदरसीति
वित्त: ॥२३॥[2] हकारवाच्ये किल कोपवह्नौ सा म्लेछ(च्छ)जाति: खलु मोरवाच्या ॥
प्रवेश्य द-

18 ग्धेति हमीरनामा व(ब)भूव राणा जगतीशिरोमणि: ॥२४॥[2] परक्षेत्रगृहीतापि स्व-
क्षेत्रनिरत: शुचि: ॥ क्षेत्रेषु क्षेत्रदाता[3] यस्क्षेत्रसिंहस्ततोभवत् ॥२५॥[4] म्लेछा(च्छा)
म्लेछ(च्छ)प-

19 तिं हत्वास्य पुत्रं कृत्वान्यभूभृन्मृगान् विद्राव्य क्षितिमंडले द्विजगणान् क्षेत्राण्य-
भोक्तुं ददु:[5] ॥ ज्ञात्वा तान्यवनान्निगृह्य कृषिकान् स क्षेत्रभूप: क्रुधा क्षेत्राणि
स्वधशानि ता-

20 नि दयया किं न द्विजेभ्यो ददौ ॥२६॥ प्रत्यहं हसति सिंहवाहिनी मां
विलोक्य वृषवाहनं हरं(रम्) ॥ मां धरिष्यति सदैव मूर्ध्न्ययं लक्षसिंह-
मिति किं वृषं व्यधात् ॥२७॥[6]

21 पुत्रवत्सुमहासेनां[7] दुर्गां कृत्वैव पृष्ठत: ॥ लक्षसिंहो द्विषच्चंडमुंडछे(च्छे)त्ताद्भुतं स्वयं-
(यम्) ॥२८॥[4] युग्मं[8] ॥ मकारवाच्यो विधिरेष विष्णुस्त्वकारवाच्योथ शिवो
ह्युकार: ॥ क-

22 लात्रयाणामिह संति यस्मात्तस्मादभून्मोकलनामभूप: ॥ ॥[9]२९॥[10] श्रीकुंभोद्भवमेव भूमिवलये
श्रीकुंभकर्णं नृपं गत्यां धीरगजेंद्रमंदगमहो सह्याडवा-

23 घ्निं(ग्निं) मृधे ॥ भीमं च स्मृतिमानयन् रिपुगणो भुक्तिं निनाय क्षयं नो
चित्रं तदिहास्ति यत्स्वयमपि प्राप्त: क्षणाद्भस्मतां(ताम्) ॥३०॥[1] कांतं कुंभं
जगन्मूर्द्धि यत्सुवर्णांतरं

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[2] Metre : *Upajāti.*
[3] There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* after *dā.*
[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[5] *Abhōktuṁ daduḥ* is used here for *na bhōktuṁ daduḥ,* the root *dā* meaning here 'to allow'.
[6] Metre : *Rathōddhatā.*
[7] The *anusvāra* is very faint.
[8] This word seems to have been used here to show that the preceding two verses have got the unity of description, and not that they form one grammatical sentence.
[9] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[10] Metre : *Upēndravajrā.*

24 विधिः ॥ न्यधात्तस्यांतरा भूयात्विं म्लेछ(च्छ)मुखदर्शनं(नम्) ॥२१॥[1] दिने दिने
हृद्धीभूतं शीतलाचलचेतसि[2] ॥ खेहं पाकोद्भवः कुंभो जडं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा) न किं
दधे ॥२२॥[1] मेरौ

25 देवा न रक्ष्याः सुररिपुभयतः कुंभमेरुं सुदुर्गं कृत्वा यः कुंभराजो हरिरिव वि-
बभावप्सरःसत्कुलेन ॥ सत्संतानं सकल्पागमदलितमहीपारिजातोत्सवाख्यं नीत्वा-

26 नं नंदनं किं स्वयमिह कृतवां(वा)न् सोभिषिक्तं च कुंभः ॥२३॥[3] क्षुद्रम्लेछां-
(च्छां)धकूपांतरविलविलसज्जीवनग्राहिवेगाल्लोके कुंभराजत्कुलमतुलरसं सं-

27 वृषं सद्गुणौघं(घम्) ॥ कालेस्मिन्नेककाष्ठे प्रतिपलचपले कुंभयंत्रे निधाय क्षेत्राणि
क्षेमवृत्त्यान् द्विजकुलमतुलं जीवयामास वेधाः ॥२४॥[3] नेत्रे मीनं च कूर्मं प-

28 दकमलयुगे पांडुकोलं क्षमायां सिंहं मध्ये प्रकोष्ठे गुरुजननमने वामनं संगरेन्यं-
(न्यम्) ॥ स्नेहेन्यं मूर्द्ध्नि कृष्णं भुवि नरदयने बुद्धमन्यं शकांते पद्मानाथाव-
तारं जग-

29 ति जयति को राजमल्लं नृमल्लः ॥२५॥[3] सर्वेपि संतः सुखिनो भवंत्विति[4] न
वारिराशीन् क्षपयन् क्षमातः ॥ मिष्टाननंतान्स्वयशोंबुधीन् परान्कुंभोद्भवोप्यद्भुतमा-

30 ततान ॥२६॥[5] भूत्वानंगः कृष्णपुत्रोपि सांगो राज्यं नापत्तेन भूपोत्र भूत्वा ॥
कृत्वा वश्यं शंबरं राज्यमापद्धर्मे मोक्षे चार्थकामे रतिं च ॥२७॥[6] सोयं
सांगमहीपतिः स्मरत-

31 नुः श्रीमांडवाख्यालसद्दुर्गेशं यवनेश्वरं मुदफरं व(ब)ध्वा(द्ध्वा)त्यजत्सत्कृपः ॥ व(ब)-
ध्वा(द्ध्वा)थो महमूदखानमतुलं म्लेछा(च्छा)धिपं शंबरं जित्वा दुर्जयगूर्जरेश्वरमतः
कीर्त्याभि-

32 षिक्तोभवत्[7] ॥२८॥[8] स शूरः पश्चिमादुद्यन् क्रामन्नकबरः[9] क्षितिं(तिम्) ॥ न किं
हीनकरो भूयात्प्राप्योदयमहीभृतं(तम्) ॥२९॥[4] सदोदयोद्भवो भास्वान् प्रतापी
वारुणीं जहौ ॥ भवत्यकबरध्वां-

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] In connection with *kuṁbha* (the jar), *achala-chētaḥ* should be taken to mean earth or clay, for potters generally dig it out for their purpose from the interior (heart) of mounds ; and for that very reason it is also cool (*śītala*).

[3] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[4] The word *iti* is superfluous considering the metre.

[5] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[6] Metre : *Śālinī.*

[7] To make it historically correct, we may arrange this verse as सोयं सांग . . . . दुर्गेशं महमूदखानमतुलं बद्ध्वा . . . . । बद्धाथो यवनेश्वरं मुदफरं म्लेच्छाधिपं . . . . ॥ It may be noted here that the use of *baddhvā* with reference to Mudaphara (Muzaffar) is mere exaggeration.

[8] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[9] The word *Akabaraḥ* may also represent *Arkavaraḥ* for the implied sense.

33 ते न संध्यार्को न चास्तभाः ।[।*]४०॥[1] कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां स्वब(व)ल्गभां
प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते प्रगे ॥ सा खंडिता मानवती द्विषच्चमूः संकोचयंती
चरणं पराङ्मुखी[2] ॥४१॥[3] वार्द्धिं मथित्वा-

34 च्युतजेन विष्णुना समाहृता श्रीरिति लज्जितः किमु ॥ भूमौ समेत्येत्यमरेंद्रभू-
भृता म्लेक्षा(च्छा)ब्धिमामथ्य रमा करे कृता ॥४२।[।*][3] सदा क्षमापाः क्षरि-
णोपि यस्य करेण सिं-

35 चंति पदं मुदैव ॥ यं भूपसिंहं नरपालगव्योप्यहो भजंते दयया ब[4](व)शीकृतं-
(तम्) ॥४३॥[3] जातो भूपामरेंद्रान्महितगुरुकृपश्चापविद्याक्षभेत्ता कृष्णोद्दाहो सदा-
सो द्विज-

36 कुलसुगवीः पालयन्(यँ)स्तीर्थसेवी ॥ जातः श्रीमत्सुभद्रांगज इति वनदो वाडवाय
क्षमेंद्रान्जि(ज्जि)त्वा स्यामर्जुनादप्यधिक इति पुनः किं नु कर्णोवतीर्णः ॥४४॥[5]
राणाश्रीकं-

37 र्णसिंहः क्षितिकुलतिलकः क्षोभयन् [क्ष]ोणिचक्रं सर्वत्रव्याप्तसैन्यं तृणमिव कल-
यन् म्लेक(च्छ)नाथं मदोग्रं(ग्रम्) ॥ जित्वा दग्ध्वा सिरोंजाभिधनगरब(व)रं चित्त-
वह्निर्भर्तुश्चक्रे का-

38 ष्ठाः [स]मस्ताः प्रतिरवविलसद्दुंदुभिध्वानपूर्णाः ॥४५॥[5] उग्रप्रभावाद्भुवि यत्पदांते भू[6]भृ-
न्मृगा मुक्तमदा लुठंति ॥ कुलीनभूभृच्चमरीमृगाश्च यं भूपसिंहं चमरैरबी-
(वी)ज-

39 य[न्] ॥४६॥[3] जातस्तस्मान्महाराणाजगसिं(त्सिं)हाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ सौम्योपि सोमभक्तोभू[6]त्
युधिष्ठिर इवापरः ॥४७॥[1] भास्वां(स्वा)न् भीमो बलिध्वंसी जगन्माता
विनायकः

40 ॥ पू[ज्य]ः [श्र]ीमज्जगत्सिंहः पंचदेवमयः प्रभुः ॥४८॥[1] वर्षे वेदाष्टशास्त्रक्षितिगणनयुते
माधवे शुक्लपक्षे पंचम्यां राज्यपीठं कलयति शुभदं श्रीजगत्सिंहभूपे ॥ दे-

41 वाः [संतु]ष्टचित्ता दधति सुकवयो ग्रामरत्नाश्वनागान्यांस्तान् संख्यातुमीष्टे दशशत-
रसनो नैव शेषः कुतोन्यः ॥४९॥[5] सद्दंशां चित्रकूटे शिरसि विक-

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[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojhā. (*Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 753, n. 1)

[3] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[4] *Cha* was incised first which was afterwards turned into *ba.*

[5] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[6] The medial *ū* was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

42 सि[तश्री]जगत्सिंहराजामुद्देशम्लेछ(च्छ)वार्द्धौ सुजनमणिभृतां मेदपाटाख्यनौका(काम्) ॥
वाते हेषिध्यधर्मे स्थिरयितुमनिशं कर्णधारैकलिंगो नौचैरेवाधिपत्यिं

43 दृढ[कम]ठशिलां शृंखलां शेषनागं(गम्) ॥५०॥[1] आलाने चित्रकूटे सुकृतपटुगुणैर्वं-
(र्बं)धनीकुंभमेकं दुर्गं कुंभस्थलं किं कलयति भुवि यः शैलकायोतिदानी ॥
भास्व-

44 द्वं[शो]परिस्थध्वजपटमिहिरोनेकपो मेदपाटः श्रीमानुग्रप्रभावात्तमवति न किमु श्री-
जगत्सिंहभूपः ॥५१॥[1] भास्वद्वंशधरैर्नृपैः परिवृतं सत्कुंभमग्रे ज-

45 गत्सिंहेन प्रतिभूषितं बहुयशोमुक्ताफलैर्मंडितं(तम्) ॥ सछा(च्छा)यं पुरुषार्थसत्पद-
महो धैर्यादिभृत्यैर्वृतं मेवाडं [2]सुखपालमाप्य स शिवः शक्रादिवाहास्पृ-

46 हः ॥[५]२॥[3] सूर्यं स्वर्णवितानमेतदुपरि श्वेतं वितानं विधुं सद्वंशोपरि सद्गुणैं-
र्नियमयन् कीलाद्रिष[4]णो कलौ ॥ मेवाडे पटदानशालिनि जगत्सिंहं नृपं
स्थापयं-

47 स्त्य[त्का](क्ता) म्लेछ(च्छ)मदोत्कटोत्कटभयं र[5]ता भवान्या भवः ॥५३॥[3] देशे वाग-
डनामके नरपतिः श्रीपुंजराजोजनि श्रीमड्डूंगरपूर्वकस्य नगरस्याधीश्वरो
दुर्जयः ॥ के-

48 नाप्यत्र न निर्जितो व(ब)हुमतिः सत्कोपवांस्तं पुनर्यन्मंत्री कृतवान् पराङ्मुखमहो
दग्धं पुरं चाकरोत्[6] ॥५४॥[5] युधिष्ठिरोयं तेनैव विजयेन महात्मना ॥ दु-

49 र्निरो[च]ोभवद्दिच्च कुतो म्लेछ(च्छ)पतिः समः ।[।*]५५॥[7] शत्रुस्त्रीभिः स्ववेश्यां
ग्रहणसुसमये दृग्जलैस्ते प्रदत्तः कीर्त्तिग्रामो महीयान्सुलिखितपठितो म्लेछ-
(च्छ)वक्त्रेष्व-

50 पि द्रा[क्] ॥ कल्पस्थाय्यस्य सीमां कलयितुमखिलां वं(बं)भ्रमंस्त्वत्प्रतापः काष्ठा-
स्वद्यापि नित्यं दशसु तवगुणैर्मापयन्नांतमेति ॥५६॥[1] त्वदनंत[गु]णान्व(न्व)-
दिष्यति तदनंतः कथि-

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[1] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[2] *Sukha-pāla* is a kind of palanquin, having obtained which Śiva is stated to have no desire for any other conveyances.

[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] The medials *ū* was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

[5] The *anusvāra* is very faint.

[6] This verse is quoted by Rai Bahadur Ojhā. (*Rāj. Itihs.,* Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1).

[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

51 [त]: स्व[यं]भुवा ॥ विफलं तदवेक्ष्य शेष[1] शेषवक्त्ररभिधां शेष इति
ध्रुवं दधे ॥५७॥[2] भूपेंद्र त्वत्प्रतापैः पृथुभिरनुदितं[3] छादितायां त्रिलोक्यामत्यूष्मो-
द्भेदतोभूद्भवश्चि-

52 रसि ह[रे]श्चांघ्रिदेशे स्रवंती ॥ शेषस्याहो शिरस्सु स्फुटमणिमिषतः स्फोटकाः
[4]प्रादुरासन् भूमौ त्वन्मौलिलोलच्चमरजपवनैस्तापशांत्या हि शांतिः ॥५८॥[5] स्वामि-
न्स्वर्मा-

53 र्गदंभा[त्त]व[6] गुणनिकरानासुवेलं सुमेरोः संतान्य स्वर्णसूत्राद्वतरविव(व)लयं भ्रामयि-
त्वायनाभ्यां(भ्याम्) ॥ वेधाः कृत्वांचले द्वे हिमकरकिरणै रौप्यसूत्रैश्च मध्ये
प्रत्यब्दं(ब्दं)

54 कीर्त्तिवस्त्रं वयति नवनवं वेष्टनं वारिराशिः ॥५९॥[5] दिक्पालान् दश वीक्ष्य नेत्र-
दशकं जातं कृतार्थं मुहुः शेषं नेत्रयुगं निरर्थकमहोविज्ञेन धात्रा कृतं-
(तम्) [।*]

55 इत्थं चिंतयता चिरं नृपजगत्सिंहं पुनः पश्यता दृग्द्वंद्वं तु तदेव जन्मफलभाक्
क्रौंचच्छि(च्छि)दा श्लाघ्यते ॥६०॥[7] चक्रप्रेमार्ककृष्णाविव वु(बु)धभिषजौ सुश्रुतावि-
स्मृतिस्त्वं लक्ष्मीमर्द्दी-

56 षु साधू इव सदसि कवि[8] कोषपूर्णप्रतिष्ठ:(ष्ठः) ॥ संध्याभ्राजौ रसेन द्विजपति-
सचिवौ सद्विधिश्चैव यद्वद्वार्त्तासक्तः सुधीष्टाविव जगति जगत्सिंह जीयाः शतायुः
॥६१॥[5] हुंकारेण कुरंगराजनि-

57 करा [व]श्या दृशा द्वीपिनो भूदाराः सुरवेण तेपि करिणो हस्तेन ते
स्वश्विनः ॥ सेव्योष्टापदसंचयैरपि जगत्सिंहस्य तस्याधुना वृद्धस्यैकवृषस्य वश्य-
करणे का वा स्तुतिस्तन्यतां(ताम्) ॥६२।[।*][7]

58 भंगो[रा]ज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधीः सूत्र[धार]ो हि भाणा तत्पुत्रः श्रीमुकं(कुं)दो
वश्यसकलकला(लो) भूधराख्यो द्वितीयः ॥ याभ्यां ग्रामः प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनि-
करश्रीजगत्सिंहभूपैर्दत्तौ

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[1] This word has been repeated by mistake and has to be omitted.

[2] Metre: *Upajāti* of *Vaitālīya* and *Aupachchhandasika*.

[3] Read °*ranudinaṁ*.

[4] *Pra* is incised over an engraved *śra*.

[5] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[6] Read °*dambhā(ṁ)[s-ta]va*. The word *svarmārga* is used here in the sense of 'milky way'.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Read *kaviḥ*. A narrow medial *ī* is also to be seen joined to *vi*.

59 सौ[व]र्णरौप्यौ [क्रमत] इह सपाख्याप[कौ मा]पदंडौ ॥१॥[1] राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहकारितं मंदिरं शुभं(भम्) ॥ ताभ्यामेव कृतं श्रीमज्जगन्नाथाभिधप्रभोः ॥२॥[2] ताभ्यां श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहा-

60 द्रा[मो देवदत्ताभि]धः ॥ चित्र[कूटां]तिक[3] ग्रामः प्रतिष्ठायां रमाप[तः-(तेः)] [॥३॥*][2]

B.

1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नंमः[4] ॥ ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजगं(ग)न्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीश(स)रस्वत्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्म्मणे नं(न)मः ॥ ॥ श्री[5] श्री[5] ॥

2 अथ राणाश्रीजगत्सिंहस्य मांधात्त(तृ)तीर्थयात्राप्रसंगः ॥ अथैकदा तीर्थवरं सुराढ्यं रेवोपकंठे सक[6]लार्थदायकं(कम्) ॥ ओंकारनामप्रभुशंभुपीठं मांधाटनाम ब्र(व्र)-जितुं मनो व्यधात् ॥६३॥[7]

3 श्रीरामराजेन पुरोहितेनं(न) वि(वि)चार्य सहान्वसमूहतो द्विजान् ॥ घनाधिपाभ्यार्त्तु-मनाः पुरादगात् करेणुमारुह्य जगत्पतिर्मुदा ॥६४॥[7] ततोचलन् दैवगजोपमा गजाः पुरः पताकासमलंकृताः पुरः ॥ सच्चामरा-

4 लंकृतवक्त्रमंडला यांतीव व[6]र्षानुवसंतसक्ताः[8] ॥६५॥[7] उच्चैर्मार्दत्यदेलाच्चत्रजकुम्भितस्रो नैव कृष्णं स्वतोन्यं मन्वाना मुक्तिहीनाः सततमवमतस्थापनाख्याः श्रुतीनां-(नाम्) ॥ प्रत्यच्चं स्थापयंतः परमिह न परं किं

5 पुनर्मत्तताया नात्मज्ञा बौद्धबुद्धिं धरणिधरपतेर्धारयंति द्विपेंद्राः ॥६६॥[1] येमी कर्दम-ग्रायिनस्तृणगृहे स्त्रीणां[9] रवैर्निष्ठुरैर्धिष्का(क्का)रं गमितास्त्र कूपसलिले मं(म)[10]ङ्क्तुं कृतोपक्रमाः ॥ ते-

6 मी को(कां)चनमंचिकोपरि ग[6]ताः सौधे बुधाः [11]स्त्रीसखा [12]राजादत्तकरींद्रहं(बृं)हि-तरवैरानंदितास्तेप्ययुः ॥६७॥[13] ततोचलन् दैवहयोपमा हया येषां न वेगे समतां दधुर्मृगाः । न वायवो नैव मनांसि भास्वतः कुतो

7 हयास्तेपि भवंति तादृशाः[14] ॥६८॥[7] भास्वंतः सततं मृगांकगतयः सन्मंगलाः संततं सौम्याः स्वामिमतात् सुजीवकविकाः पश्चाज्जया मंदगाः ॥[।*] सिंहौजाः[14] सित-केसरैः क्षणमपि स्थैर्यायुताः के त-

[1] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Read *Chitra[kūṭ-āṁ]tikaḥ* or *-āṁtikē.*

[4] Read *namaḥ.*

[5] Read *Śrīḥ.*

[6] The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

[7] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[8] The meaning of this compound is not clear.

[9] Two letters, *viz., svaiga* are to be seen engraved here, but are cancelled.

[10] Space for one letter is left blank between these two syllables.

[11] A cancelled *vri* is to be seen engraved before *strī.*

[12] Either dissolve *rajñā ā* (*samantāt*) *datta*°, or regard *rājā* as the instrumental singular of the base *rāṭ.*

[13] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[14] The *visarga* sign is faintly visible.

8 व:(व) पृथ्वीनाथ नवग्रहा इव हयाः संपीडयंति द्विष:(ष:) ॥६९॥[1] धारयंतः
श्रुतीश्वैः शिख[2]प्र(प्रा)यमहामृगाः । सद्वेगस्तिमितस्वांता हरयो मुनिव[3]द्ययुः
॥७०॥[4] एतादृशान् पुरस्कृत्य तुरंगान् भूपति-

9 व्र[2]जन् ॥ न वासवं इ[2]दानीतं कुरुतेन्यं नरं कथं(थम्) ॥७१॥[4] कंपंते शत्रु-
नाथास्तदनु तदव(ब)लाः सागरांता ततोब्धिः शेषः कूर्मो वराहस्तदनु च
गिरयो दिग्गजेंद्राः सनाथाः [।*] किं किं जातं किमे-

10 तन्नवति जगति ह्यन्योन्यपृष्टास्तदोचुर्मांधातृस्तीर्थराजं जि[ग*]मिषुरजनि श्रीजगत्सिंह-
भूपः ॥७२॥[5] संगत्योदयसागरस्य सविधे सौधे स्वकीयेङ्गते कैलाशा(सा)धिक-
कांतिपूरकलिते

11 भूपोवसत्तद्दिनं(नम्) ॥ यत्रस्थं नृपतिं पयोनिधिशयं प[6]द्मापतेस्तं जना जानंति
स्म समानमेव सततं श्रीसेवितांघ्रिद्वयं(यम्) ॥७३॥[1] असमानानि समानानि
विमानानीव रेजिरे । शि-

12 विराणि ततस्तेषु नृपा देवा इवावसन् ॥७४॥[4] स्थिं(स्थि)त्वापरेद्युः(द्युः) सुदिने
व्रजपस्तीर्थं महाकालनिकेतनं गतः । अवंतिकां मुक्तिदर्शनां तां सेव्यां
सुरेंद्रादिगिरी(गि)[री*]शवंद्यां(द्याम्) ॥७५॥[7]

13 शिप्रां समासाद्य सुपापहंत्रीं स्नात्वाथ दत्वा(त्त्वा) बहुशो द्विजेभ्यः ॥ दृष्ट्वाप्यवंती-
मवमत्य तत्पतिं मार्गादगाल्लोकभयं वितन्वन् ॥७६॥[7] गतोथ मांधातृसमीपनर्म-

14 दातटं कियद्भिः सुदिनैर्म(र्म)हींद्रः ॥ को वा पृथिव्यां भवतीदृशः परो
मातुर्भवो यः पथि रोधमाचरेत् ॥७७॥[7] गंगां समानीय सुपापसागरं कुलं
पुनाति स्म भगीरथो नृपः ।

15 सेनां तथैवैष जगत्प्रभुर्नयन् पवित्रयामास सुपापसागरं(रम्) ॥७८॥[7] नर्मदोत्तररोध-
स्सु शिविराणि क्षमापतिः ॥ ओंकारेश्वरपर्यंतं कावेरीसंगतोभवन् ॥७९॥[4]

16 महाराणाजगत्सिंहो राजपुत्राश्च सर्वशः ॥ रेवाकावेरिकासंगे स्नाताः सौख्यं समा-
गताः ॥८०॥[4] इत्थं सर्वो(र्वे)पि संतुष्टाः स्नात्वा दत्वा(त्त्वा)प्यनेकशः ॥ अथ
राजा नृपालैः स्वैर्भो-

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[2] The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

[3] Between these two syllables, there is to be seen engraved an unfinished letter. Probably the engraver first intended to write *dya* here.

[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[6] The syllable is engraved over the line.

[7] Metre: *Upajāti*.

17 जनं कर्त्तुमागत: ॥८१॥[1] अन्यासत्तैर्स्दुभिर्हरिभक्तैरिव तदा भक्तै: ॥ जलतापयोग-
पाकात्तप्तैरपि मोददानपरै: ॥८२॥[2] सभाजनै: सु[3]भाजनैरनेकवस्तुभि:

18 स्तुतै: ॥ सभाजनै: सुभोजिता द्विवारमित्यहर्निशं(शम्) ॥८३॥[5] अथाब्देयुग्तुतीयशि-
न्यामे सूर्यग्रहोदये ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंह: कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८४॥[1]
वेदव्योमसुनींद्वव्दे(ब्दे) शु-

19 चौ सूर्यग्रहेतुलां(लाम्) ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंह: कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८५॥[1]
श्रोंकारेशसमीपनार्मदतटे श्रीराणकर्णात्मभूरारूढं स्वतुलां हिरण्यकशिपुव्यूहं
विभज्य स्व-

20 यं(यम्) ॥ नैवं पूर्वमकारि तेन सुभगो भूत्वा नृसिं[6]ह: पुन: प्रीत्या भूरितया
पलान्यगणयन् चुद्रद्विजेभ्योप्यदात् ॥८६॥[7] वेगाच्चारणतो भवेदिदमहो दु:खं
कुलीनस्य तद्व(द्व)-

21 ध्वा(द्वा) वा(बा)लमथो हिरण्यकशिपुं कृत्वा स्वरेष्वा'स्थितं(तम्) ॥ त्रैलोक्यां च गृहे
गृह[8] [तत*] इत: संप्रापयन् श्रीपतेर्वा(र्बा)हुस्तंभसमुद्भवो विजयते श्रीमन्नृसिंह:
प्रभु: ॥८७॥[7] भास्वान्श्री(न्छ्री)मज्जग-

22 त्सिंहस्तुलामारुह्य यद्दाधात् ॥ ख्यातिहृष्टिं ततो मुक्ता न स्वर्णौच(च्छ)व:[4] कार्थं-
(थम्) ॥८८॥[1] जगत्सिंह महाराज चिंतनादधिकप्रद ॥ चिंतनावधिदाता हि
क्व ते चिंतामणि: सम:

23 ॥८९॥[1] राजन्नभूतपूर्वेयं धनुर्विद्या विराजते ॥ स्वयं लक्षाणि गच्छं(च्छं)ति गृह-
स्थानपि मार्गणान् ॥९०॥[1] न हि चापलतासक्तो न पराङ्मुखमार्गण: ॥
कदापि न गुणच्छे(च्छे)दी

24 कीदृशस्त्वं धनुर्धर: ॥९१॥[1] कन्यासंपदमास्थाय तुलारोही प्रभाकर: [॥*] शुचेरमां[9]
समासाद्य जगतसिंह महीपति: ॥९२॥[1] जगत्सिंह महाराज तुलास्वर्णमिषात्तव ॥

25 सिंहोजभयतो भानुर्मन्ये त्वां शरणं गत: ॥९३॥[1] तपनग्रहणे जाते तपनी[य]तुलां
न किं(किम्) ॥ अकरोत्तेजसा दिक्षु जगत्सिंह: चमापति: ॥९४॥[1] अथ दृष्ट्वा
तुलावेदीं शिलास्तं-

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1 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

2 Metre: *Upagīti*.

3 The medial *u* in *su* is represented by a mere stroke.

4 The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

5 Metre: *Pramāṇikā*.

6 First *śiṁ* was engraved which was then corrected into *siṁ*.

7 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

8 Read *grihē*.

9 The expression means *Śuchēḥ Jyēshṭha-māsasya Amāṁ Amā-tithiṁ* (the fifteenth of the dark fortnight of Jyēshṭha), on which day Jagatsiṁha actually ascended the scales; and it also means *śuchēḥ grishmasya ramāṁ lakshmīṁ*, (the wealth of summer) in correspondence with *Kanyā-sampat* (the wealth of the sixth sign of the zodiac) of the first *pāda*. [See p. 62, n. 3 above.—Ed.]

26 भद्वयोदितां(ताम्) ॥ देवा नागा मनुष्येंद्राश्चक्रुरुत्प्रेक्षणं मिथः ॥९५॥[1] दृष्ट्वा त्वाम-
नुरागिणीव व(ब)हुधा रामादिकीर्त्तिः सिता भूप त्वत्कृतपांडुरातुलतुलास्तंभद्वय-
व्याजतः ॥ नीत्वोच्चै-

27 र्वसुधातला[2]त्करयुगं संमेलयंती मिथ(थ)स्त्वामालिंगितुमुत्सुका प्रतिपलं स्त्रीभावतो
जृंभते ॥९६॥[3] रेवामथ प्राप्य सुपुण्यदात्रीं स्नात्वा च दत्वा(त्त्वा) व(ब)हुभ्यो
द्विजेभ्यः ॥ इत्यं(त्थं) स्तु-

28 तिं भूमिपतिर्व्यतानीच्छ्रुत्वा यदेतत्सकलो विपाप्मा ॥९७॥[4] ये दिव्यांव(ब)रधारिणः
समदृशः सौम्यांगनोपासिता यां गंगामपहाय सेवनपराः श्रीनर्मदायास्तव ॥

29 तान्दृष्टे(ष्टै)व दिगंवरांस्त्रिनयनांखंडीश्वरान्सांप्रतं रूढा मूर्द्धनि नृत्यति त्रिपथगा
येनात्र सा वार्यतां(ताम्) ॥९८॥[3] उद्धृत्या सगरस्तुरंगममनो[5] यत्प्रापयन्मन्यते
तद्दैवाद-

30 गरेश्वरेण कपिलाभिख्यांतिके पा(प्रा)पितं(तम्) [।*] तस्यानुश्रितपापसागरकुलं
तच्चोपदृष्ट्या हृतं मानदंत्विणजाह्नवि त्वमधुना तस्यान्वयं मोचयेः ॥९९॥[3]
स्मृत्वा पातकमाहरामि ज-

31 गतां दृष्ट्वा सुरत्वं ददे स्पर्शादेव ददामि विष्णुतनुतां स्नानार्थिने किं ददे ॥
इत्यालोच्य महेश्वरस्य तनया रत्नाकरस्यांगना यन्निम्नं व्रजति त्रपाभरवशात्त-
त्रिजगा नर्मदा ॥१००[॥*][3]

32 ततः सुरें[6]द्रादिभिरर्चनीयमोंकारनामेश्वरमाशु गत्वा ॥ सर्वोपचारै रचयन् महा(ही)पती
रत्नैः सुवर्णैः स्तुतिमभ्यगादीत् ॥१०१॥[7] रेवाया[8] वनमध्यतः परिपतन् भित्वा(त्त्वा)-
[घ]संघं गजं कीलाल-

33 स्य कणान्मुहुः परिव(ब)मन् पाथोजसत्केसरी ॥ यावद्गंधवहो ह्यनंतजठरेन
प्रापयेत्त्वां प्रभो सोमस्तु कृपया कुरंगमपि मां तावन्नयस्वांतरे ॥१०२॥[3]
दिनांतरेप्येवममुं प्रपूं(पू)ज्य स्नात्वा पुरावस्तुमनो-

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] The syllable is engraved over the line.

[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] Metre : *Indravajrā.*

[5] Read °*m=ahō.*

[6] There is an erased vertical line before *drā*

[7] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[8] This syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

34 महींद्रः ॥ दत्वा(त्त्वा) सुवर्णानि पुरोहिताय या वर्णनीयाश्च सुराधिपाद्यैः [॥*]
१०३॥[1] देशदेशोद्भवं भव्यं गजाश्ववसनादिकं(कम्) [।*] विष्णुप्रीत्या ददौ भूप-
स्तत्संख्याता सहस्रहृक् ॥१०४॥[2] इत्थं वितीर्य मनसेप्सित(त)मर्थजातं भू-

35 पोचलत्स्वदिशमेव भयात्कृशानुः ॥ मार्गेपि वृष्टिमतुलां तपनीयसंघैस्तन्वन्नुपात्ततितिषु
प्रमदेन सक्तः ॥१०५॥[3] ग्राममथोभयमुखीं पथिमध्ये यां ददौ द्विजवराय
सुवर्णैः ॥ वर्णनां कथमहो रसनैका

36 संतनोति मनुजो हि कवींद्रः ॥१०६॥[4] इत्थं कियद्भिः सुदिनैः क्षितींद्रः[5] सन्मा-
लवक्षोणिपतेर्विमत्य ॥ दत्वा(त्त्वा) पदं मूर्द्धि रिपोः समागाद्देशं पुरं हर्म्य-
व[6]रं धनाढ्यं(ढ्यम्) ॥१०७॥[7] माता प्राणमिव प्रिया ईशमिव क्षो-

37 णीश्वरा नाथवद्वेष्टारी यमवत्प्रजा जनक[व*]द्ध(हृ)ष्टा(ष्टा) नृपं चागतं(तम्) ॥ देश-
ग्रामपुरेषु यः प्रतिगृहं जातो महानुत्सवः कस्तं ब(व)र्णयितुं क्षमः सुरपते-
राचार्यतोन्यः पुमान् ॥१०८॥[8] अथ द्विजाग्र्यान्बहुकाशिवासि-

38 नः स्वर्णस्य वृष्ट्यैव कृतार्थतां नयन् ॥ सुखात्स्वराज्यं परिपालयन्नभादसक्तचित्तो
रघुनाथवत्प्रभु[9] ॥१०९॥[1] स्फाटिक्यां वेदिकायां कलयति भुवि यो मूलदेशे
सुनीलं वैडूर्यं मस्तके द्राक् तदनु

39 गुरुगुणान(न्) हीरकान्स्कंधकेषु ॥ मौलिस्थे शाखिकाग्रे मरकतमतुलं वैद्रु(द्रु)मा-
न्पल्लवौघान् मुक्तागुच्छान्नरस्त्रीगजहयमणिगोसत्फलः पंचशाखः ॥११०॥[10] ब्रह्मा
रुद्रोपि विष्णुस्तदनु रतिपतिः स्था-

40 पिता यस्य नीचैः सोयं सत्कल्पवृक्षोपरतरुसहितः श्रीजगत्सिंहहस्तात् ॥ वा(बा)-
णब्यो(ब्धो)मर्षिचंद्रैः समुदितशरदि श्वेतभाद्रे तृतीयां प्राप्य प्रासो द्विजानां
गृहगृहमनिशं रम्यहर्म्याणि कुर्वन् ॥१११[॥*][10] स्वदेहव्य-[11]

41 यशोपुष्णात्द्वि(द्वि)जान् कल्पद्रुमा ह्यसौ ॥ जगत्सिंहकरस्पर्शात् किं च(चं)दनगुणं
दधौ ॥११२॥[2] भास्करभट्टजमाधवपुत्रश्रीरामचंद्रोक्तेः ॥ सर्वेश्वरस्तदंगाज्ज्योनाथः
कठो(ठौ)डीति ॥११३॥[12] श्रीराणोदयसिंहैः[13]स्तस्मै

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1 Metre: *Upajāti*.
2 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
3 Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
4 Metre: *Svāgatā*.
5 Read *kshitīndraḥ*.
6 *Va* is engraved below the line.
7 Metre: *Indravajrā*.
8 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
9 Read °*prabhuḥ*.
10 Metre: *Sragdharā*.
11 There is a cancelled *anusvāra* over *vya*.
12 Metre: *Upagīti*.
13 Read °*siṁhai*.

42 ग्रामो हि भूरवाडाख्यः । दत्तोमुखे ग्रामो होलीनामाप्यमरसिंहनृपैः ॥११४॥[1]
लक्ष्मीनाथसुतो रामचंद्रः कृष्णस्तु तत्सुतः ॥ अदात्तस्मै जगत्सिंहो मृगराजा-
ह्वयं हयं(यम्) ।।११५।।[2] चतुःसहस्रीं यन्मूल्यं दत्वा(त्त्वा)दह-

43 द्रणार्णवं(वम्) ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंहैः समो नास्ति कुतोधिकः ।[।*]११६।[।*][2]
वर्षे शास्त्रवियन्मुनींदुगणिते भाद्रे तृतीयातिथौ शुक्ले जन्मदिने निजे नृप-
जगत्सिंहः कृपाया निधिः ॥ दत्वा(त्त्वा) कांचनमेदिनीं सजल-

44 धिं श्रीचित्रकूटांतिके ग्रामं कृष्णबुधाय सद्गुणनिधिः श्रीभैंसडाख्यं ददौ ॥११७॥
राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहो मधुसूदनशर्मणे । प्रददावाहडग्रामे हलद्वयमितां भुवं(वम्)
॥११८॥[2] एकां लक्ष्मीमग्रहां[4]

45 तदपि सुरपतिः कुद्धहस्तेन भूमौ भूत्वा[5] म्लेच्छाब्धिमाथी सुगजसुरतरून् गा
द्विजेभ्यः प्रदाय ॥ कीर्त्तींदुं कृष्णभट्टे[6] हयमणिममलं भैंसडाग्रामचिंतारत्नं
दत्वा(त्त्वा)प्सरोभिर्जगति विजयते श्रीजगत्सिंहविष्णुः

46 ॥११९[॥*][7] ऋषिव्योममुनींद्वब्दे जगत्सिंहमहीपतिः । भाद्रशुक्लतृतीयायां सप्ताद(दा)त्[8]
सप्तसागरान् ॥१२०॥[2] गजव्योममुनींद्वब्दे जगत्सिंहः क्षमापतिः ॥ भाद्रशुक्ल-
तृतीयायां विश्वचक्र(क्रं) ददौ प्रभुः ॥१२१॥[2]

D[9]

1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीजगन्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥
श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्मणे नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

2 ॥ अथ श्रीराणाजगत्सिंहकारितश्रीजगन्नाथरायमंदिरादिवर्णनं(नम्) ॥ श्रीकृष्णभक्त्याथ
जगत्सु वर्ण्यं देवालयं श्रीकमितुर्व्यध(धा)त्स । यं वा[10]रवारं[11] सुरनागमा[12]म(न)-
वा विलो[13](लो)-

[1] Metre : *Gīti*. The fourth *pāda* is short by one syllabic instant.

[2] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] The stroke on the ellipse of *ha* is absent.

[5] The medial *ā* seems to have been engraved later on, and hence is indicated by a very small stroke narrowly drawn.

[6] The locative has been used instead of the dative.

[7] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[8] This word which was at first omitted is written below the line.

[9] This slab should rightly follow B. It may be noted here again that it is composed of ten different pieces of stone and is very carelessly engraved. Many of the letters are either obliterated or are not properly engraved.

[10] The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

[11] *Vāravāraṁ* is ungrammatical. It is used here for *vāraṁ vāraṁ.*

[12] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

[13] The *mātrā* on *lē* is inverted.

3 क्व चित्रोल्लिखिता इवाभवन् ॥१॥[1] यस्यापि देवा[2] भुवि वर्ण्णनां मुहुः कर्त्तुं न शक्ताः कुत एव मानवाः ॥ तस्य स्वशक्त्या वितनोति वर्ण्णनां श्रीकृष्णभट्टा-त्मज एष बाबूः ॥२॥[3] गं-

4 गाकेतुसुतः कपर्द्दघटभाक् भालाचिरत्नाकरः ।[4] कांत्यावेष्टित[कं]धकः सुरस[5]ह्व्यागेन वैराग्यभाक् । ध्यात्वाधाय हरिं तपस्यति हरस्तत्किं द्रुपं स्वैर्गु[6]णैर्व(र्ब)ध्वा(द्ध्वा) भक्तमहाद्विषद्रुत(ति)यशोमंडेन ना-

5 पोषयत् ॥३॥[7] पुण्यं प्राप्य तदेकलिंगविषये श्रीमेदपाटस्थलं ब्रह्मा भूपमघे[च]तु-र्मुखलसद्देवालयव्याजतः । वेदाध्यायिजनस्वनैः किमपठद्वेदान् यदेकाग्रहृत्तद्रूपं कमलोपभोगहृदयाः किं राजहं[8]-

6 साः श्रिताः ॥४॥[7] मत्का(त्वा)र्यं क्रियते नृपस्य यशसेत्युत्पन्नवैराग्यतः कृत्वा हंस-सद्मं शिलामयवपुर्देवालयव्याजतः ॥ ध्यात्वांतः स हरिं पठद्द्विजरवैर्मूर्ध्नीवु(बु)कुंभं दध(ध)त् ।[4] पू(पू)र्णाभ्यासवश[9] स्थिरे[10] पठति किं वे-

7 दान् द्विजेंद्रो विधुः ॥५॥[7] चाराचातिगभीरनीरधि(धि)जलादेत्य स्वचित्तं चिराद्दिष्टौ नैव विमुंचति क्षितिपतिः कृत्वा महामंदि[रं](रम्) [।*] [ल]ोकानामवलोक-नाय कृपया तन्नो[न्नते] निर्मले विश्वे पौरहृदी-[11]

8 व किं प्रतिकृतिं श्रीभर्त्तुरास्थापयत् ॥६॥[7] श्रीम(म)हानिशिरोमणिर्न्नृपजगत्सिंहो महीमंडले व्याप्तं यद्यशसा व(ब)भौ त्रिजगतीहंदं सुधांशुप्रभं(भम्) ॥ प्रासादं जगदीश्वरस्य रचितं म-

9 त्वामुना स्वर्गताः[12] दृष्ट्वा चेतसि विस्मिता इव निजं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा) निमे[13]षं स्थिताः ॥७॥[7] कर्णसिंहाब्धिसंभूतो जगत्सिंहः ।[4] सुधाकरः ।[14] यस्य मृदुकरस्पर्शे न प्रजा तापवत्यभूत् ।[।*]८।[।*][15]

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[1] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[2] There is an *anusvāra* over *vā* which is redundant.

[3] Metre: *Indravaṁśā.* The fourth *pāda* is short by one syllable.

[4] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] This *sa* resembles *ya* as it naturally does when written hastily.

[6] The *r* over *gu* is very faint.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] The stroke on the ellipse of *ha* is absent.

[9] This omission of *visarga* is grammatical.

[10] Read *sthiraḥ.*

[11] The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

[12] Read *svar=gatā.*

[13] First an *anusvāra* was engraved which was then corrected into the sign for medial *ē.*

[14] This *daṇḍa* is furnished with a top-line.

[15] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

10 भूपस्योन्नतविष्णुसद्मकलशव्याजाद्दिवस्वानसौ प्राप्तुं मार्गमहो रथस्य तरसारूढस्तदुच्चं पदं(दम्) ॥ स्थित्वैवात्र जगत्प्र(त्प्र)काशमघु(धु)ना कुर्यां मुदेति स्थितस्तेन त्वामरुणो हि सारथिरयं को-

11 पोभवत् संश्रित:[1] ॥९॥[2] स्वनामाढ्यां जगन्नाथराय[3] इत्यभिधां हरे: [।*] कल्पयन् श्रीजगत्सिंह: ख्यातकीर्त्तिरभूद्भुवि ॥१०[4]॥[5] पांडुच्चं हरिमंदिरं नृपजगत्सिंहेन

12 यत् कारितं राजद्रत्नघटं ममेति किमहो भारोच्छिराट् चिंतयन् ॥ भूलोके विधृते भुजेन नृपतेरीषत्च(च्च)लत्कं(त्कं)चुकं ॥[6] वातात् केतुमि-

13 षा[7]त् स्वरत्नमनयन्मेर्व(र्व)हि: स्वं शिर: ॥११॥[2] स्वर्वै नो भोगभूमिर्जलधिरपि गुरु ॥[6] र्नागराजोतिभीम: कुत्राहं सौ[ख्य]युक्तो हरगणपशिवा-

14 र्चान्वित: संवसेयं(यम्) ॥ चित्तेस्यागत्य दत्वा(त्त्वा) नृपमुकुटमणिं कर्णसूत्रं निजाज्ञां प्रसादार्थं विधायाकृत वसति ।[8] महो श्रीजगन्नाथराय: ॥[१२॥*][8]

15 जगत्सिंहो राज्ञ: कथमिह समागंतुममरा: समर्थो भूयाद्वै सकलजन[ता][9]रक्षणपर: ॥ जगन्नाथश्चेत्यं नृपहृदयभावं विदितवानवा-

16 वा[10] सौ(स्सौ)दत्रैव स्वजनकरुणानंदजलघि:(धि:)[11] ॥१३॥[12] धर्मोद्भूतयुघि(धि)ष्टि(ष्ठि)रं तदनुजं कीर्त्तिव्र(व्र)जं प्रार्जुनं वीक्ष्यैकं जितघा(धा)र्त्तराष्ट्रपृतनं स्त[ब्धो]

17 हरिर्विस्मये: ॥ सज्जे द्वारि रं(र)थे स्वसद्ममिषत: स्थित्वा चिरं तद्गुणाग्राह्यासीत् पुरुषार्थसार्थतुरगान् देशेऽखिले चारिण: ॥१४॥[2] श्री[:]।[।*]

18 ॥१४॥[13] सन्मु(न्मु)हूर्त्ते सुताराढ्ये ॥[6] सानुकूले नवग्रहे ॥ निघि(धि)व्योममुनींद्वब्दे ।[14] पवित्रे मासि माघं(ध)वे ॥[१५॥*][5] शुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे पूर्णिमायां तथा तिथौ ॥

1 *Aruṇa* here has *double entendre*, 'red' and the name '*Aruṇa*' of the charioteer of the sun. The anger of Jagatsiṁha towards the sun for the latter's having occupied a more exalted position is fancied as Aruṇa approaching the king for refuge when no longer required by the sun, as he (sun) resolved to illuminate the world from the top of the temple only.

2 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

3 After *ya* there are two small hollow squares indicating the erasure of two letters engraved by mistake.

4 There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

5 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

7 *Shā* is represented by three perpendicular strokes only.

8 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read *vasatim=ahō*. Metre: *Sragdharā*.

9 First *pā* was engraved which was then corrected into *tā*.

10 This *vā* is superfluous.

11 Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

12 The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

13 The number is wrongly repeated.

14 This is a superfluous *daṇḍa*.

19 गुरुवारे प्रतिष्टा(ष्ठा)प्य विष्णुं ग्रामान्[1] ददौ प्रभुः ॥[2] हिरण्याश्वं कल्पलता गोसहस्र[3]
च दत्तवान् ॥१३(१६)॥[4] तत्र प्रतिष्टां(ष्ठां) परमेश्वरस्य यथाविधा(धा)नं विरचय्य
भूपतिः ॥[5] स्तुतिं व्यजा(ता)नी-

20 ज्जगदीश्वरस्य पुनः पुनः सत्पुलकाकुलः सन् ॥१४(१७)॥[6] प्रा[7]दुर्भूतचतुर्भुजं कमल-
दृक् पीतांबरं चक्रभृत् पूर्णब्रह्मविकाशि कौस्तुभमणिश्रीवत्ससंदीपितं(तम्) ॥
यल्लीलं जगतां श्र-

21 यस्य जनकौ विस्माप्य सन्प्री(त्प्री)तिदं तद्रूपं गिरिधारिणः कलयतु प्रायेण लोक-
प्रियं(यम्) ॥१५(१८)॥[8] पूतनाशकट[9]कार्ज्जुनैस्तृणावर्त्तकाघबकमादिकैर्मिकृम् [।*]
धेनुकालियसमञ्जना-

22 नशाट्कंससूदन हृदि त्वमिह स्वाः ॥१६(१९)॥[10] इत्यादिसु(स्तु)तिमाधाय माधवस्य
महात्मनाः ॥ दामं दत्वा(त्त्वा) गृहं प्राप्तः पश्यन् मंगलमुत्तमं(मम्)
॥१७[11](२०)॥[4] वर्षे निध्यंव(ब)रर्षिक्षितिमथमुते[12]

23 माधवे पूर्णिमायां राणाश्रीकर्णपुत्रः सकलगुणजगत्सिंहभूपः प्रमोदात् ॥ विष्णुं
[सं]पूज्य चित्रैः प्रकटतररूपं श्रीजगन्नाथनाम्ना दामं श्रीकल्पवल्ला:(ल्लाः)
कनकहयमथो गोसुन्द्र(सह)-

24 स्रं च दत्वा(त्त्वा) ॥१८(२१)॥[13] ग्रामान् दत्वा(त्त्वा) सद्गुणान् पंच भूपो वर्णैर्धान्यै
रत्नमिश्रैर्द्विजाग्रान् ॥ संतोष्यायं श्रीजगन्नाथरायं ध्यात्वा ध्यात्वा तोषमाधत्त
भूपः ॥[5] १९[11](२२)॥[14] अथ प्रतिष्टां(ष्ठां) प्रविलोक्य

25 कौतुकाद्रमापतेस्तन्निकटे . महीपतेः ॥ प्रासादमालोक्य सुरासुरा नरा नागा
अकुर्वन्त्य(न्न)हतिं(तीं) सुवर्णनां(नाम्) ॥२०(२३)॥[6] भूप त्वत्कृतविष्णुसद्ममिषतो
वैकुण्ठलोको ह्ययं ।[15]वीक्ष्य त्वत्क(त्कृ)तमेरुमंदि(द)रगु-

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1 The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

2 This and the next half verse may be regarded to constitute one single verse.

3 Read *gō-sahasram*.

4 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

5 The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

6 Metre: *Upajāti*.

7 The medial *ā* in *prā* is very faint.

8 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

9 *Ṭa* is only partly engraved.

10 Metre: *Upajāti* of *Rathōddhatā* and *Svāgatā*.

11 There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

12 The medial *ē* sign is only faintly visible.

13 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

14 Metre: *Śālinī*.

15 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

26 वाग्पूर्वश्रुतानेव हि ॥ तद्दा(द्वा)र्येव विमूर्छित: स्थिर इति प्रायेण मंदाकिनी
सोत्त्केतुमिषाद्यथाव्यतिकृते तं श्रोतसा सिंचति ॥२१(२४)॥[1] प्रथालोक्य तदा-
सं(स)न्नां ।[2]सभां

27 मणिमयीं शुभां(भाम्) ॥ इत्यमुत्प्रेक्षणं चक्रुः सुरा विस्मयतो मुहुः ॥२२(२५॥)॥[3]
लोको[4] भूपयशःसुधांशुरनिशं प्राकाशयत्त[द्र]थं त्यक्ता(क्त्वा) केतुघटाक्तविष्णुभवनव्या-
(व्या)जं प्रमा(ता)-

28 पीशमान् ॥ च्मां वेगादटति द्विषद्वि(द्वि)षमहत्समीन् विमुच्यांतिके तान्बद्धुं कृतवा-
न्गुणाकुलतुलास्तंभानेनकान्नृप: ॥[5]२३(२६)[1]॥[5] श्रीराणामरसिंहकारितमिदं सौघ-
(धं) गु-

29 णौघै(घै)र्महद्भूपस्यास्य यशोजितो विधुरहो मूर्छामवाप्यापतत् ॥ तद्द(दृ)[ष्ट्वा]
नृपकर्णसिंहरचित[6]शुद्धांतहर्म्यव्रजव्याजात् सेवितुमागता: किमुडव: समाधि-
(धि)का विं-

30 शति: ॥२४(२७)॥[1] सौधं मध्येतडागं हृदयमिव सदाराममच्छं महद्वै विष्णोर्वा-
साय दूरे जलधिरिति धिया यज्जगत्सिंहकृसं(प्तम्) [।*] काले धर्मादिसेवी
नृपतिरयमहं नि-

31 त्यमिद्धः स्त्रिया[क्तः] कर्मत्यागीति लज्जोत्र वसति न हरिः किंतु चित्त(त्ते)स्य
लीनः ॥२५(२८)॥[7] कृत्वा मोहनमंदिरं मुनिमनोमुत्कर्णसत्सागरे ।[8] कैलासाधि-
(धि)कमद्भुतं त्रिजगति ख्या-[9]

32 तं स कर्णात्मजः ॥ रुद्रं नंदयिता न मामिति हरिर्वार्द्धौ रुजा मूर्छितः
शेतेद्या(द्या)प्यपटेपि शेषशयने शीतोष्णवर्षाहतः ॥[5] ॥[8]२६[10](२८)[1]॥[5] अथैकलिंगाख्य-
महाप्रभोर्मुदा

33 श्रीमोकलेंद्रेण कृतं च मंदिरं(रम्) [।*] दृ[ष्ट्वा] न कैलाश(स)गिरिं न चेतर-
(रा)न्[11]जा(ज्ञा)नंति देवाः स्म महाद्भुतस्थलं(लम्) ॥२७(३०)॥[12] तत्र(त्रा)गत्य
सु[राः] सर्वे देवदेवमहेशितुः । यथाशक्ति

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Read *lōkē.*

[5] The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

[6] A long syllable is expected here.

[7] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[8] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[9] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

[10] There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

[11] The *virāma* sign here resembles that of the medial *ū*.

[12] Metre: *Upajāti.*

34 शक्ति[1] स्तुतिं चक्रुरेकलिंगमहाप्रभोः ॥२८(३१)॥[2] गिरिश गिरिप्रभुतनयां स्वनयां
त्रि(वि)भ्रचमेकलिंग जय ॥ गिरितनयाधमुदाच[च]द[3] चचइंत: प्रजेशदचस्य
॥[4]२९[5](३२)[॥*][6]

35 सदैकलिंगस्य पदारविंदं भजाम नो याम कदाचिदेव ॥ इत्थं विधाय स्तुति-
मस्य देवताः स्वर्गस्य रचाकृतये त्वराकुलाः ॥३०(३३)॥[7] अथ श्रीमज्जगत्सिंह-
कारितं केलि-

36 मंदिरं(रम्) ॥ तदातोवाद्भुतं मत्वा वैजयंतं न मेनिरे ॥३१(३४)॥[2] अथ इ[ष्टा]
महादेवीमत्युच्चशिखरिस्थितां(ताम्) ॥ राठासेनाभिधां वंद्यां जानंति स्मेति द(दे)-
वताः ॥[4]३२[5] (३५)[2]॥[4] आगत्योदयसागरे-

37 च्चयजले मिष्टांभसि प्रायशो गंभीरे सततं वस(स) त्वमधु(धु)ना पचस्य रचा-
कृते ॥ राठासेनगिरींद्रजेति सततं मैनाकनामानुजप्रीत्याह्वानरता न चाव
जग[8] तेपायस्त्रिकूटाचलात्[9]

38 ॥३[३](३६)॥[10] अथ श्रा[11](श्री)मज्जगसिं(त्सिं)हकारितं रूपसागरं(रम्) । विहारस्थलमालोक्य
निनि(निं)दुर्मानसं सरः ॥[३७॥*][2] अथ दृष्टोदयसागरमग्ने विस्माप[कं] नृणां-
(णाम्) । श्रीराणोद[य]सिंहै[12] कारितपि(मि)त्थं [स्तु]तिं

39 चक्रुः ॥ ३४(३८)॥[13] अमृताकरेप्युदयसिंहकारिते कमलाकरेप्युदयसागराभिधे ॥ कमला-
पतिः शयितुमुत्सुकोपि संस्तट एव विस्मित इवावतस्थि[14]वान्॥[4][३५](३९)[15]॥[4]
रुद्रेणोदयसा-

40 गरद्यु(द्यु)तिमलं वीक्ष्यानिशं विस्मयस्तब्धे(ब्धे)न स्थितमत्र नो गिरिभुवः सौख्यं
गिरींद्रं विना ॥ तद्गौरीप्रियकाम्यया नरपतिस्तस्यैव तीरेतनोत् कैलाशा(सा)धि-
कनिर्मला(लो)नत्व(न्नत)म[हो] र[म्यं]

[1] These two syllables are repeated by mistake.

[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Although the number of syllabic instants in the latter half of this verse is complete, there is *yati-bhaṅga* between the third and the fourth quarters.

[4] The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

[5] There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

[6] Metre: *Gīti.*

[7] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[8] Read *na ch=āpi naga.*

[9] According to the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* this Trikūṭāchala is somewhere near Ēkliṅgjī.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[11] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top line.

[12] Read °*siṁhaiḥ.*

[13] Metre: *Upagīti.*

[14] The medial *i* is not completely engraved.

[15] Metre: *Mañjubhāshiṇī.*

41 सुवर्ण्यं न किं(किम्) ॥३६(४०)॥[1] अथ जावराभिधानग्रामे देवी[2] महाद्भुतां देवा
॥ ह[र्षा]वि(बि)काभिधानां नेमुर्यस्याः प्रभावतः सतत(तम्) ॥३७(४१)॥[3] मेद-
पाटमहींद्राणां [ख]सा[4] न्ये(नौ) रूप्यमयी शुभा । अनि-

42 श[5] स्वन्यमानापि पूर्वैव भुवि द(दृ)श्यते ॥३८(४२)॥[6] वर्षे निध्यंव(ब)रर्षिक्षितिगण-
गणिते भाद्रशुक्लद्वितीया[7] तिथ्यां श्रीकर्णसूनुस्त्रिजगति सुयशा[8] श्री[ज]।[9][ग*]त्सि-
(त्सिं)हभ(भू)पः [।*] दत्व(त्त्वा) श्री-

43 रत्नधेनुं मणिकनकमयीं कृष्णभट्टाय दुःखादुद्धर्त्ता पापरूपाद्दृढतरनरका[त्से]ष भूया-
च्चिरायुः ॥३९(४३)॥[10] भ्राता गरीव(ब)दासेन शत्रुसिंहेन च प्रभोः ॥
रामसिंहार(रि)सी[घे][11](सिंहे)ति क(कु)[मा[12]][राभ्यां*] र[4] नु(पु)-

44 रा ततः [॥*]४०(४४)॥[6] वर्षवर्षांतर(रे)णाथ जगत्सि(त्सिं)हो यमा(दा)तना(नो)त् [।*]
महादा[ना*]नि सर्वाणि कल्पद्रुम इव प्रभुः ॥४१(४५)॥[6] जगत्सिंहो महाराज-
चिंतामणिरिवापरः [।*] पुत्रैः पौत्रैः परि[वृ]तो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्)
॥४२(४६)[॥*][6] [श्रीम]-

45 त्सर्वमहीन्द्रराजजगत्सिंहो(ह)प्रभोराज्ञया प्रासादं किल मेरू(रु)जातिकमिमं श्रीरत्न-
मौर्णाख्यं(ख्यम्) । भंगोरप्रथितान्वयौ गुणनिधी भानोस्तनू[ज]ोत्तमौ शिल्पीशौ स[13]
मुकुंदभूधर[14] इति ख्या-

46 तौ चिरं चक्रतुः ॥४३(४७)॥[1] श्रीमद्भास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीसर्वेश्वरभट्ट-
सूनुरभ[व*]त्पूर्वस्थलक्ष्मा[15](क्ष्मी)पदः ॥ नाथस्तत्सुतरामचंद्र[त]नुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-
नाथकृता प्र-

47 शस्तिरतुला दद्यात्सतां मंगलं(लम्) ॥४४(४८)॥[1] इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणा-
श्रीजगत्सिंहजीकारिता कठौंडीग्रामाधिपकृष्णभ[ट्टांगजतै]लंगलक्ष्मीनाथापरनामबाबूभट्ट-
कृता प्रशस्तिः संपू-

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1 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
2 Read *dēvīṁ*.
3 Metre: *Gīti*.
4 This syllable is superfluous.
5 Read *aniśaṁ*.
6 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
7 Read *tritīyā* though the metre will suffer.
8 Read *suyaśāḥ*.
9 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
10 Metre: *Sragdharā*.
11 There is a dash after *ghē*.
12 This syllable is only partially engraved.
13 Read *cha*.
14 No *sandhi* is observed here.
15 The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

48 णा(र्णा)॥ ॥ अचल इव अ(इवा)चलश[क्ति:] कीर्त्त्या बुद्ध्या श्रिया क्रिया शक्त्या[।*]
युक्त्या निजपतिभक्त्या कायस्थेशोचलाख्यात: ॥[१॥*][1] तत्कुलकमलदिवाकरतुल्यो-
पूर्वार्थहर्दि(द्दि)भवयुक्ति: [।*] कल्याणक-

49 त्वजानां कलाभिधान: प्रमाणवचा: [॥२॥*][1] सद्दिजादिव[2] हृक्षो[3] कलां(ला)भिरति-
वर्द्धमाना(न)बहुशाख: [।*] स [4]अर्ज(र्जु)नाभिधानोर्जुन [इ]व भव्योर्ज्जुन[5] पांडो:
॥[३॥*][6]

C

1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नम: ॥ ॥श्रीजगन्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥श्रीएकलिंगजीप्र[सा]दात्] ॥
॥ श्रीभवान्यै नम: ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्मणे नम: ॥श्री[:*] ॥

2 ॥ वं(वं)शो रवेरपूर्वोयं यद्भूता भूरिभूभृत: ॥ अंत: क्षिप्ता रसांभोधिं ररक्षुस्तद्विप-
[क्ष]त: ॥१॥[6] [7]तत्रान्ववाये शिवदत्तराज्यो बापाभिधानोजनि

3 मेदपाटे ॥ संग्रामभूमौ पटुसिंहरावं लातीत्यतो रावल इत्यभाषि ॥२॥[8] राहप्प-
राणा भुवि तस्य वंशे राणेति शब्दं(ब्द') प्रथयन् पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥ र-

4 णो हि धातु: खलु शब्द(ब्द)वाची तं कारयत्येष रिपून् हुतार्त्त[र्त्ता]न् ॥३॥[9]
तस्मान्नरपतिराणा दिनकरराणा बभूवाथ ॥ अजनि जसकर्णराणा बभूव त-

5 स्माच्च नागपालाख्य: ॥४॥[10] श्रीपूर्णपालनामा पृथ्वीमल्लस्ततो जात: ॥ उदितोथ
भुवनसिंहस्तत्पुत्रो भा[11](भी)मसिंहोभूत् ॥५॥[12] अजनि जयसिंह-

6 राणा जातस्तस्माल्लष(ख)मसीराणा[13] ॥ अरसी तता[14] हमीर: संजात: क्षेत्रसिंहोस्मात्
॥६॥[1] तस्माल्लाखाभिख्यो(ख्यो) राणाश्रीमोकलस्तस्मात् ॥ श्रीकुंभ-

7 कर्णो उदभूद्राणाश्रीरायमल्लोस्मात् ॥७॥[12] संग्रामसिंहराणा जातो भूपालमौलिमणि: ॥
श्रीराणोदयसिंह: प्रतापसिंहस्ततो जात: ॥८॥[12] अमरस-

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[1] Metre : *Āryā.*
[2] Read *Sa-dvijarāḍ=iva.*
[3] Read *vṛikshaḥ.*
[4] Read *hy=Arjunā°.*
[5] Read *°rjunaḥ.*
[6] Metre : ***Anushṭubh.***
[7] [With this verse and the next cf. nos. 7 and 11 of A—Ed.]
[8] Metre : ***Indravajrā.***
[9] Metre : ***Upajāti.***
[10] Metre : *Udgīti.*
[11] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.
[12] Metre : ***Upagīti.***
[13] The second quarter of this verse is short of one syllabic instant.
[14] Read *tatō.*

8 मोमरसिंहस्ततो नृप: कर्णसिंहोभूत् ॥ गुणगणहरिस्ततोभूद्राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंह: ॥९॥[1] जगत्सिंहमहीभर्त्तुः कथं चिंतामणि: सम: ॥ चिंतनावधिदातायं

9 चिंतनाधिकदो नृप: ॥१०॥[2] राणाश्रीराजसिंहोस्मात्प्रद्युम्न इव कृष्णत: ॥ यस्य इ(इ)ष्ट्या कृतार्थीभूत्समस्तद्विजसंतति: ॥११॥[2] श्रीमान् राम: प्रजायां यशसि नलनृप:

10 सत्यसंधासु पार्थो दाने कर्ण: प्रतापे प्रकटदिनमणिर्धर्मसूनुर्दयायां[3](याम्) ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंह: क्षितिकुलतिलक: [श्री]जगत्सिंहपुत्रो जीयादाचंद्रतारागणरविधर-

11 णीक्षीरपाथोधिशैलं(लम्) ॥१२॥[4] वर्षे निध्यंबरर्षिक्षितिगणनयुते फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयातिथ्यां कृष्णाख्यपक्षे सकलनृपमणि[5] श्रीजगत्सिंहपुत्र: ॥ राज्यश्रीचिह्नभूतं त्रिज-

12 गति सुष(ख)दं हेमसिंहासनं सत्सल्लग्नेधिष्टि(ष्ठि)तोभूत्सकलरिपुकुलत्रासदो राजसिंह: ॥१३॥[4] वर्षे निध्यंव(ब)रर्षिक्षितिगणनयुते मार्गशीर्षेपि शुक्ले पंचम्यामेकलिंगे कनक-

13 मणिमयीं सत्तुलां राजताख्यां(ख्याम्) ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंह: क्षितिपतिमुकुट: श्रीजगत्सिंहपुत्र: कृत्वा तत्र द्वि(द्वि)जाग्र्यान्सपदि विहितवान् राजराजेंद्रतुल्यान् ॥१४॥[4] स्वछ(च्छ)त्वं नोभय-

14. त्र प्रभवति मुकुरे रोचना निंद्यजन्मा रक्षित्वं श्रोत्रिये नो तुरगवृषभगोहस्तिनो ज्ञानहीना: ॥ वह्नि ।[6] र्ज्वालाकरालो जलमयमखिलं तीर्थजातं ततोमुं राणाश्रीराजसिंहं

15 भजत भजत रे मंगलं मंगलार्थे ॥१५॥[4] लक्ष्मीचित्तस्थितं यद्विजपतिसुष(ख)दं कंटकासंगशोभं फुल्लाब्जित्रं समंतादसुर[कु*]मधुपैने(नै)व सेव्यं कदापि ॥ शूरोत्तापप्रदा-

16 नं जडकुलरहितं श्रीजगत्सिंहपु[त्र]श्रीराणाराजसिंहाद्भुतपदकमलं राजहंसा भजध्वं-(ध्वम्)॥१६॥[4] यौ नित्यं दापयंतौ त्रिदशतरू(रु)फलान्युच्चकै: प्रापयित्वा वैरिभ्योऽ

17 प्रीयमाणौ समरभुवि गलान्कृंतयित्वा विविक्तून् ॥ तिष्ठक्ष्योत्रैव दत्त: स(स्व)यमिह सुफलं यौ सुहृद्भ्यस्तयो: किं राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलकरयो: कल्पद्रु-

[1] Metre : *Upagīti*.

[2] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[3] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

[4] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[5] Read °*nṛipa-maṇiḥ*.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

18 चेण साम्यं(म्यम्) ॥१७॥[1] नंता यो हलिनं हिवेंद्रहचिरं नो हक्किवं हेविवं जिष्णौ दत्तसुभद्रको व(ब)लरत: सत्यात्मनि प्रायश: ॥ सूरोद्भूतसुत: सदा नरपति[2] श्रीमागधप्रस्तुत:

19 श्रीकृष्णस्तव मस्तको विजयतां श्रीराजसिंहप्रभो ॥१८॥[3] राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुल-विमला दृष्टिरेषे(षै)व गंगा नो चेत्तेशादवाप्ता कथमिह मनुजं पापमुक्तं विधत्ते ॥

20 मूर्द्धावाप्ता महेशं सपदि करतले पद्मगेहं करोति प्राप्ता चेद्दंघ्रिदेशे कलयति स[त*]तं तं नरेशं रमेशं(शम्) ॥१९॥[3] म(मं)थन् मां किल मंदरागं इह यश्चक्री ददौ मत्सुतां तस्मै श्या-

21 मजनार्दनाय तनुजं चंद्रं कपर्दश्रिये ॥ भूत्वा भूपकर: समुद्र इति यन्नूतनाथ-स्तन्नू(न्नु)व: पद्मा:[4]त्वा(त्वा)मजभूत्यवाडवकरं तज्ज[5] यशोधोनयत् ॥२०॥[3] राणाश्रीराजसिं-

22 हस्य प्रतापो वाडवानल: ॥ देहं गेहं हृचप्रायं जहज्जीवनमात्महृत् ॥२१॥[6] राणाश्री-राजसिंहोयं राजते भूमिमंडले ॥ यत्प्रतापासह: सूर्यो गगनेभूत्सहस्त्र(स्र)-पात् ॥२२॥[6]

23 राणाश्रीराजसिंहेंद्र गुणैर्हंसो भवान् ध्रुवं(वम्) ॥ सहाननीरदो नित्यं व(ब)लिभ्राणो नतानत: ॥२३॥[6] श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहनवीनभानो: श्रीराजसिंह: प्रतिबिंबरूप: ॥ चित्रं ज-

24 गत्प्राणहृतोप्यलोल: प्रकाशकृत्तापकरो[7] जडांत: ॥२४॥[8] अष्टापदतिरस्कारि सदयं हृदयं प्रभो: ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य हरिर्वसति तत्सदा ॥२४(५)॥[6] चित्तोत्सेध-वृष:

25 सदा समिथुन: कीर्त्या प्रतापेन सत्कर्कों नाब्जि तु सिंह एष हितभूषत्कान्यक: सत्तुल: ॥ सत्यालि: सुधनुर्मुखे हि मकर: सत्कं(त्कुं)भिमीनेक्षणो नित्यं द्वादशराशिसंगत

[1] Metre: *Sragdharā.*
[2] Read *nara-patiḥ.*
[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[4] Read *Padmā.*
[5] Read *taj-jaṁ.*
[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[7] Better read °*tāpa-harō.*
[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

26 इतो भास्वान् नवीनो भवान् ॥२६॥[1] वर्षे वा(बा)णांव(ब)रर्षिच्छितिगणनयुते माधवे शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णायां पूर्णकामः कनकमणिमयी सत्तुलां शूकराख्ये ॥ क्षेत्रे गंगा-तटांते

27 द्विजगणमहिते श्रीजगत्सिंहपुत्रः कौमारे संविधाय स्वजनपरजनावाकरोत्किं धनाढ्यान् ॥२७॥[2] अवतारमुनींद्वब्दे(ब्दे) मार्गस्यासितपक्षके ॥ त्रयोदश्यामथाशी-

28 तिं ददौ कन्या महाप्रभुः ॥२८॥[3] राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वमिह भुवि भवन् कल्प-वृक्षावतारो दत्वा(त्त्वा)संख्याश्वनागैः कनकमणियुताशीतिसंख्याः सुकन्याः ॥ व्यासेनोक्तं नृ-

29 कन्यागजहयमणिदः कल्पवृक्षस्तदेतन्मिथ्येत्युक्तिं नराणां दलयितुमभवस्त्वां मुनिस्तत्स पायात् ॥२९॥[2] मुनिव्योममुनींद्वब्दे(ब्दे) तडागांते स्वमंदिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीरा-

30 जसिंहोयं कौमारे कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥३०॥[3] शक्रः स्वानुजविष्णुमेत्य यदि चेद्याचेत पक्षच्छि(च्छि)दां नूनं चक्रधरादिहापि जलधौ पक्षस्य रक्षा न तत् ॥ मैनाकः किमु सेवते

31 बहुतरक्लेशाय कौमारतो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः प्रासादवर्यच्छ(च्छ)लात् ॥३१॥[1] व्र(ब्र)ह्मा वत्सहृतौ हरेरिव गुणान् ज्ञातुं तव प्रायशः संप्राप्तश्चतुरान-

32 नोपि न गुणप्रांतं यदा ज्ञातवान् ॥ वी(व्री)डाजाड्ययुतस्तदास्थित इह प्रायो गवाक्षाननो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः कौमारसौधच्छलात् ॥३२॥[1] मूढा यत्र वदंति

33 चित्रमखिलं यचि(च्चि)त्रकृच्चिचितं तन्मन्ये न कुमारमंदिरमिदं किंत्वद्भुतं प्रेक्षितुं ॥ आयातैस्त्रिदिवाधिपादिकसुरैर्द्र[ष्टा] मुहुर्वि(र्वि)स्मितैश्चित्रीभूय सदा स्थितं स्थि-

34 तमहो पातालदेवैरपि ॥३३॥[1] राणाश्रीराजसिंहोयं वाटी(टि)कामद्भुता(तां) व्यधात् ॥ वैजयंतमिव प्रा(प्रा)ग्र्यं तत्र प्रासादमातनोत् ॥३४॥[3] विष्णोश्च(श्च)क्रमिव प्रताप-दहनः श्रीमेदपा-

35 टप्रभोः सोढुं दुःसह एष मानकलितैर्नम्रानुकंपी परं(रम्) ॥ इत्थं चंद्रमसा विचिंत्य सुचिरं श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोरच्छा(च्छा)ने स्वकृताद्[4]सौधमिषतो नूनं निवासः कृतः ॥३५॥[1]

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Read *sva-krit-āchchha-*.

36 राणाश्रीजगदाख्यसिंहरचितं यन्मंदिरं श्रीपते राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहविहितं तस्यैव पार्श्वेप्वतः ॥ शंभुश्रीगणपार्यमाचलतनूजानां सुधांशुच्छविप्रासादांश्च-

37 तुष्टयं कविरिहोग्रोच्चमकार्षीदिमां(माम्) ।३६॥[1] राणाश्रीपतिराजसिंहनृपते[2] कीर्त्तिर्नटी खैरिणी स्पृ[ष्ट्वा] मोहमहो विधास्यति ततः सार्द्धं महाविष्णुना ॥ वत्सग्रामः

38 किल प(पं)चभिर्भवति यद्युक्तं हि तत्सम्मु(म्मु)खं इदं खैर्भवनैर्वस(सं)त्यपि शिवे-भास्येनशैलात्मजाः ॥३७॥[1] दृष्टुं देहजमर्दु(र्दं)दं हिमवतः श्रीविष्णुसद्मच्छलात् प्रा-

39 सस्थात्र सुपुत्सके स्थितवतः श्रीमेदपाटे चिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहकृतसद्देवा-लयानां मिषात्लो(ल्लो)के भिन्नरुचे[र्ष्ट्रं]देव दधतस्तं तं सुरं तत्सुताः ॥३८॥[1] राणाश्रीयुतरा-

40 जसिंहयशसा व्याप्तत्रिलोकीतले मायेशो हरिरेव नीलरुचितां धत्ते न चान्ये भुवि ॥ नाध्य[च्चा] वयमेतदंगकसुराः स्वामोनुमेया अपि प्रायः शंभुगणेश-सूर्यगि-

41 [रि*]जा ऐशानतस्तत्स्थिताः ॥३९॥[1] देवाः सर्वे सद्गुणैर्बंधमासा गेहान् कृत्वा श्रीपतेः पार्श्वतः किं(किम्) ॥ कृत्वा शैलीं मूर्त्तिमेवात्र तस्थुः श्रीमान्शं(न्शं)-भुः सद्मजास्येन चंद्यः ॥४०॥[3]

42 राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलहषतः सद्दृषैक्येन रुद्रः पृथ्व्यां दत्ताम्रजौघात् सजलघनर-वात्दं(द्दं)तिवक्त्रो गणेशः ॥ सूर्यस्तत्ते प्रतापात् तव भुजबलतश्चंडिका शस्त-

43 देवी कृत्वा गेहान् सलज्जा अभिहरिनिलयं पार्श्वतः किं निलीनाः ॥४१॥[4] सिंचेन्मां करशा[5](शो)करैः करिमुखो मां हृष्टिकर्त्ता रविर्मेघैरित्थसुभौ गणेशन(त)-पनौ किं त्वत्प्रता-

44 पाकुलौ ॥ सिंचेन्मां विधुमौलिरेष सुधया मां चंद्रवक्त्रा शिवा सिंचेदेवसुभौ हरो हिमगिरेः पुत्री च [तौ*] संमुखौ ॥४२॥[1] लोके यास्ति प्रतिष्ठा प्रति-दिनमुदयन्लोकया-

45 चाक्रदेश चातुं तां किं निमज्य(ज्ज्य) प्रतिरजनि जले वारिधेः साम्रसूतः ॥ भूयो लज्जालुरुघ(ध)त्ननुदिनमवशः प्रायशो याति वेगाद्राणाश्रीराजसिंहक्षितिपकुल-

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Read °*nṛipatēḥ.*

[3] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[4] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[5] The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

46 मणि: किं प्रतापोपतप्त: ॥४३॥[1] एकं पुत्रं समुद्र: कलयति हृदये वाडवं जीवनै: स्वैरन्यं नेत्रे महेशस्तडित इह सुता वारि[2]द(दे)भ्य: प्रदत्ता: ॥ तन्निश्चिंतो दि-

47 गंताब् व्रजति च जवत: प्राप्य दिग्भ्योन्निसेवो राणाश्रीराजसिंहक्षितिपकुलमणे: सत्प्रतापोपि हृद्य: ॥४४॥[1] राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलसुयश:सत्प्रता-

48 पाख्यभूषे कर्त्तं(र्त्तुं) चंद्रान् सुवह्नीन् हर इह वि[व]धये स्वर्णवा(का)राय दत्वा-(त्त्वा) ॥ मन्यैद्र(र्द्रे)व्यैर्न कुर्यादिति मनसि[2] भिया तत्परीक्षार्थमिंदो: खं[3]डं वह्निं च तत्तत्सद(दृ)शमिह दधत् पातु व-

49 श्चंद्रचूड: ॥४५॥[1] राणाश्रीराजसिंहोयं पुत्रत्रयविराजित: ॥ शंभुर्नेत्रत्रयेणेव जीयादा-चंद्रतारकं(कम्) ॥४६॥[4] श्रीमद्भास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीसर्वेश्व-

50 [र*]भट्टसूनुरभवत्पूर्वस्थलक्ष्मीपति:[5] ॥ नाथस्तत्सुतरामचं[द्र]तनुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-नाथकृति: सतां(ता)मधिमुदे भूवा(या)दियं निर्मला ॥४७॥[6] इति श्रीम-

51 न्निखिलभूपालमौलिमालामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणारविंदमहाराजाधिराजमहारां(रा)णाश्री-[म*]ज्जगत्सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य[7] राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य प्रशस्तौ[8]

52 ॥ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहै: कृप[या] [कृ]पाया[9]न्वित: ॥ प्रासादेस्मिन् महाकार्येप्यधि-कारी कृत: सुधी: ॥१॥[4] गुधावतकुलौं(लो)त्पन्न: पंचोली [च*] कलासुत: ॥ भर्ज(र्जु)नो नाम पुण्या:-

53 त्मा भूयात्कार्यकरो हरे: ॥२॥[4] भंगोराज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधी: सूत्रधारो हि भाणा[त]त्पुत्र: श्रीमुकं(कुं)दो वशस[कल][10]कलो भूधराख्यो द्वितीय: ॥ याभ्यां

54 प्राप्त: प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनिकरश्रीजम(ग)त्सिंहभूपैर्दत्तौ सौवर्णरौप्यौ क्रम[त*] इह कृपाख्यापकौ मापदंडौ [॥३॥*][1] राणाश्रीमज्जगसि(त्सिं)हकारितं मंदिरं शुभं-(भम्) [।*] ताभ्यां(भ्या)मेव कृतं

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[1] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[2] The medial *i* is not completely engraved.

[3] The *anusvāra* is very faint.

[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Read *Lakshmī-padaḥ*.

[6] Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] Better read *Jagatsiṁha-putrasya*.

[8] Read *praśastiḥ*.

[9] Read *kṛipayā*.

[10] These two letters are written above the line.

55 श्रीमज्जगन्नाथाभिधप्रभोः ।[।*]२(४)॥[1] ताभ्यां श्रीमज्जगत्सिंह(हा)था(ह्वा)भो देवदत्ता-
भिधः [॥*] चित्रकूटांतिकः ग्रामः प्रतिष्टा(ष्ठा)यां रमापतिं[2] ॥२(५)॥[1]

56 सूत्रमुकं(कुं)दोद्भववा(बा)धा अश्मरी[3] लिपिम(म)गमत्[4] ॥ संवत् १७०८ वर्षे
ज्ञिति(तौ)यवैशाख(ख)शु(शु)दिपु(पू)र्णमासि गुरुवासरे श्रीजगन्नाथरायजी पाट

57 पधराया [॥*] ज्ञातभट्टपुत्रबाबु(बू)क(क्र)ता [॥*]

No 12.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF GARUDAVAHANA-BHATTA : SAKA 1415.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The **Raṅganātha temple** at **Śrīraṅgam** has been eulogised by several **Āḻvārs** in the beautiful hymns of the *Nālāyiraprabandham*.[5] It was also the place where many eminent *āchāryas*[6] including the great Rāmānuja and Maṇavāḷa-Mahāmuṇi had sojourned.

The subjoined record (**A**), which is complete and in a good state of preservation, is engraved on three sides of a well-dressed slab of stone set up in front of the **Dhanvantari shrine in the fourth** *prākāra* of this temple. The documentary portion of this epigraph consists of one long sentence composed in correct **Tamiḻ prose**; while here and there a few Sanskrit words, engraved in Grantha characters, add a certain piquancy to the style.

The record does not refer itself to the reign of any king or chieftain, but simply states that it was issued in the régime of a certain **Iṟandakālameḍutta-Perumāḷ** *alias* **Kūḍal Uttama-nambi-Piḷḷai**. It is dated in **Śaka 1415**, corresponding to the cyclic year **Pramādi, on a** Monday with pañchamī-*tithi* of the first fortnight and Pushya-nakshatra. **These details** give the English equivalent **A. D. 1493, May 20,** Monday.

The **object** of the inscription is to register **a gift** of 2 *vēli* of land made by **Śrīnivāsa** *alias* **Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa**, son of Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa-**Maṅgalādarāya**, (a member) of the *bhaṭṭāḷ-koṭṭu* of the temple, who constructed a new the *ārōgyaśālai* which had been formerly erected by an ancestor of his by name Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa in the time of **Pratāpachakravartin and had** suffered damage during the *vāṇam*, and installed therein an image of **Dhanvantari–Emberumāṉ**. It is stated that this land, which was **situated in Pāṇḍamaṅgalam**,[7] had been in the enjoyment of the earlier Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa (and his descendants), having been granted to him as *pallakku-mānyam* for having composed a *prabandham* called the *Raṅgaghōshaṇai*,[8] evidently in praise of god Raṅganātha, and that it was now transferred to the temple for conducting worship to the newly installed image of Dhanvantari and for supplying *kuḍinīr-amudu*[9] to god Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha).

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Read *Ramāpatēḥ.*

[3] Read *aśmarīṁ.*

[4] The sentence means that Vā(Bā)ghā got (*the task of*) engraving (*the epigraph*).

[5] Such as Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār, Kulaśēkhara, Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, Tiruppāṇāḻvār and all the others except Madhurakavi.

[6] The *Kōyiloḻugu* (Ananda Press, 1909), pp. 39 and 116.

[7] Pāṇḍamaṅgalam is a village near Trichinopoly. It is also mentioned in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Dēvarāya II (above, Vol. XVII, p. 111).

[8] This work is not extant now, so far as it can be ascertained.

[9] *Kuḍinīr* is the Tamiḻ word for *kashāya* and is used in this sense in Tamiḻ medical works.

The record is important for Sanskrit literary history, as it helps us to identify this **Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493,** with the author of the hagiological *kāvya* called the *Divyasūri-charitam*, as will be shewn in the sequel, setting aside its traditional attribution to a contemporary of **Rāmānuja** (12th cent. A. D.), and as it mentions also that the earlier **Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1257** was probably the author of a *prabandham* named the *Raṅgaghōshaṇai.* **Further interest attaches to this epigraph** in its reference to the existence of a **temple-hospital at Śrīraṅgam and to the erection of a shrine for Dhanvantari,** which is not found elsewhere **in South India.**

The construction of the *ārōgyaśālai* referred to in this record is mentioned in an incomplete **inscription, engraved on another** slab set up near this, and dated in the **3rd year** of the Hoysaḷa **king Pratāpachakravartin Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva** (corresponding to A. D. 1257). It registers **a gift of land by** the general [Śi]ṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka to a certain Garuḍavāhana-**Bhaṭṭa for the maintenance of a** *śālai* in the temple. The inscription reads thus :—

(B)

Śrīmat-pratāpachchakkaravattigaḷ Śrī-Rāmanāthadēvar pradhānaril [Ś]iṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-**Deṇḍanāyakkaṉēṉ** mūṉṟāvadu Kāttigai-māsattu oru-nāḷ Śrīraṅganāthaṉ dhanmam=āga **Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya**-Nāyaṉār eḻundaruḷi-irukkiṟa tiru-ggōpurattukku mēl=arugāga=ttiruna-**ḍai-māḷigaiyile** oru śālaiyum śamaittu=chchālaippuṟam=āga=pPāṇḍikulāśaṉi-vaḷanāṭṭu **Viḷā-nāṭṭup** . . . . garam=āṉa Mummuḍiśōḻach-charuppēdimaṅgalattu[1] . . . . . **nāṉ** inda=kkāṇikkum iṟaiyilikkum=āga śrībhaṇḍārattu oḍukkiṉa varāhaṉ poṉ **āyiratt=oru-nūṟu** [|*] i-ppoṉ āyirattu oru-nūṟṟukkum ippaḍiyāl koṇḍa nilattil udayaṅ-**koṇḍu** vaijya-parichārakaṟkkum aushadhattukkum chandrādityavarai śelvadāga Śrīraṅ-**ganāthaṉ tandaruḷiṉa** tirumugappaḍiyum mahāniyōgappaḍiyilē i-ddhanmam śeyvadāga **niśchayit(ta)tu** vaijyaril eṉakkum rakshakarāy i-ddharmmam neḍunāḷpaḍa naḍatti-**kkoṇḍu** vanda nāyakaṉ=āṉa Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭarukku aiṅ-guṟuṇi nellum pari-chārakarāy kaḍaikkūṭṭāy i-ddharmmam naḍatta Tōḷmālaiyaḷagiyāṟkku mu-kkuṟuṇi ne-[l*]lum parichārakar iruvarkku tūṇi-ppadakku . . . . . . nīkki uḷḷadilē nāḷ **oṉṟukku nūṟu kāśāl** vanda aushadham koṇḍu . . . .

The *Kōyiloḻugu,*[2] a late Tamiḻ compilation of about the end of the 18th century, purporting to be a 'chronicle' of the happenings in the Śrīraṅgam temple for several centuries, in which, however, several incidents, historical and otherwise, are found somewhat mixed together in a haphazard sequence,[3] also makes mention of the institution of an *ārōgyaśālai* in the temple premises and its subsequent repair after its destruction during the Muhammadan raids. The relevant entries are the following :—

(i) A disciple of Yatipati (**Rāmānuja**) named Mudaliyāṇḍāṉ having inadvertently added some *jambu* fruits to the curd-rice offering of god Raṅganātha, Rāmānuja detected signs of indisposition in the face of the image and traced its cause to this injudicious offering. He at once ordered some *kashāya* to be administered to the deity and

[1] There is a village now known as Mummuḍiśōḻamaṅgalam in the Lalgudi taluk.

[2] This compilation, part 1 of which has been published (Ananda Press, 1909), takes the history of the temple to Śaka 1501, nearly to the end of the 16th century A. D. Further parts are expected to be published. In several places the contents of the inscriptions are seen to have been correctly incorporated.

[3] In cases where Śaka dates are also recorded, this jumbling is not harmful ; but in cases where the statements are not set off by dates, their chronological sequence is difficult to determine.

arranged for the regular supply of this decoction to the god every night, through the agency of his **disciple Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita**.[1]

(ii) The benefaction of Gaṅgaidēvar[2] Śiṅgaṇaṉ-Daṇḍanāyakkar :—

The *ārōgyaśālai* and the *tirunaḍaimāḷigai* are the gifts of Gaṅgaidēvar[2] **Śiṅgaṇaṉ-Daṇḍanāyakkar**, one of the agents (*kāriyappēr*) of **Pratāpachakravartin**.[3]

(iii) The benefaction of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitar :—

The *ārōgyaśālai* and the *tirunaḍaimāḷigai*, which had been erected by Gaṅgaidēvar[2] *alias* Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakar, agent of Pratāpachakravartin, and which had been a *kaiṅkarya* of Uḍaiyavar, having been damaged during the *tulukka-vāṇam*, this shrine, *gōpura*, rampart wall (*madil*), *tirumaṇḍapam* and the frontal *muhappu-maṇḍapam* are the benefactions of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita. The title of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is in use for the Superintendents of the *ārōgyaśālai* from the time of Uḍaiyavar.[4]

As in the *Kōyiloḻugu* a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is stated to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who lived (according to the traditional chronograms '*dhīr=labdhā*' and '*dharmō nashṭaḥ*'[5]) from A. D. 1017 to 1137, it is not possible to identify him with the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, who was installed as superintendent in the *śālai* in the 3rd year of Vīra-Rāmanātha corresponding to A. D. 1257, more than a century later. The incumbent in the hospital figuring in the present record of A. D. 1493 who lived more than two centuries later than the second Garuḍavāhana mentioned above, had also the same surname of Garuḍavāhana attached to his own personal name of Śrīnivāsa. Thus, as attested to by the *Kōyiloḻugu* also, the cognomen 'Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita' appears to have been in the nature of a hereditary title assumed by the successive superintendents of the *ārōgyaśālā* ; and so one has to proceed with caution in the matter of identifying persons having this same title.

Now the *Divyasūricharitam*,[6] a Sanskrit hagiology composed in the classic *kāvya* style and dealing with the lives of the Āḻvārs and Āchāryas (*Divyasūris*) up to Rāmānuja, is known to be the composition of a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita ; and it has been traditionally ascribed to an alleged disciple of Rāmānuja of that name. This work contains the following colophons, one in prose and the other in verse, at the end of its first *sarga* :

(i) Iti **Kāśyapa-kula**-tilakasya Raṅgādhip-ārōgyaśālā-vallabhasya Kavi-vaidya-purandar-āpara-nāmadhēyasya **Śrīraṅga**[7]**-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitasya Śrīnivāsa-kavēḥ** kṛitau **Divyasūricharitē** mahākāvyē prathamas-sargaḥ |

(ii) Yan-nāthaḥ phaṇirāja-bhōga-śayanō Raṅgēśvarō yat-pitā

Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhipa-vibhuḥ sarvajña-chuḍāmaṇiḥ |

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[1] The *Kōyiloḻugu*, p. 43.

[2] This name appears to be a misreading of Śiṅgadēva, given in the records.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 12. The inscription uses the word *śālai* simply, but apparently an *ārōgyaśālā* or 'hospital' was meant.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 120. In both these cases, the dates are not given ; but these extracts assuredly refer to the contents of the two records reviewed in this paper.

[5] *History of Śrīvaishṇavas* (T. A. G.), pp. 46 and 47.

[6] *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Madras, (1918), Vol. XXI, No. 12150.

[7] *Ibid.* In some printed versions the word 'Śrīraṅga' is omitted.

Yan-mātā Bhuvanādhipā Vihagarāḍvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ
Kāvyē dīvyati Divyasūricharitē sargō='yam=ādir=gataḥ[1] ||

From them we learn that the author of that *kāvya* was called Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, that his father's name was Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhipa,[2] his mother was called Bhuvanādhipā,[2] that he belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, that he bore the title of *Kavi-vaidya-purandara*, and that he was in charge of the *ārōgyaśālā* of god Raṅgarāja. As the donor figuring in the present record (A) is described as the son of Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa-Maṅgalādarāyar and was called **Śrīnivāsa** *alias* **Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa,** we are enabled to **identify him with the author of the** *Divyasūricharitam*. As this inscription does not, however, specify the title of *Kavi-vaidya-purandara* to the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa mentioned in it (not called a 'Paṇḍita' yet ?) in A. D. 1493, we may perhaps infer that this work,[3] whose composition may have earned for its author the title of 'Kavi' had not been composed yet, and that **it may therefore be ascribed** to the closing years of the 15th century A. D., *i.e.*, **to about A. D. 1500.** The hitherto prevailing idea that it was the work of a contemporary of Rāmānuja[4] may now be given up.

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[1] In an article on the *Divyasūricharitam* published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, pp. 131 *et. seq.*, the following alternative verse-colophon is quoted from the Mysore edition of the work :

Svāmī Raṅgapatir=gurur=Varavarādhīśaś=cha yasy=ātulō
Vādhūlō Varadaḥ pitā Varavara-Kshēmēśa-Lakshmīsakhaḥ |
Lōkēśā jananī tu tasya Garuḍaśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ
Kāvyē dīvvyati Divysūricharitē sargō='yam=ādir=gataḥ ||

From this we learn that author's tutelary deity was 'Raṅgapati'; his spiritual *guru* was Varavarādhīśa; his maternal uncle (*yan-mātulō* has been taken to be the probable correct reading in place of *yasy=ātulō*, which does not give a clear meaning) was Vādhūla-Varada; his father was vara-Lakshmīsakhaḥ (Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa) Kshēmēśa (Maṅgalādhipa) (*cf.* Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhipaḥ of the other verse); his mother was Lōkēśā (*cf.* Bhuvanādhipā of the other verse); and that his own name was Garuḍaśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ (*cf.* Vihagarāḍvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ of the other verse). These details agree with those given in the other colophon; while two additional names are mentioned in this verse. There is therefore no discrepancy in the biographical details furnished in the two colophons.

[2] Saumya-śrīsakha is clearly a Sanskritisation of Aḻagiya-maṇavāḷa. Another more popular translation was Ramya-jāmātṛi. Bhuvanādhipā appears to be a similar artificial translation of a Tamiḻ name, Bhūmiyāṇḍāḷ, Ulaguḍaiyāḷ or some equivalent of it.

[3] In *Sarga* 17 of this work, the author refers in an impersonal manner to the *jambu* and *dadhyannam* incident which led to the founding of the hospital under an earlier Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita thus :

Raṅgēśam yatipatir=ēkadā sva-śishyād=daddhyann-ānupada-nivēdyamāna-jambum |
Śrutvā tan-miḷanavaśād=vishātirēkī prahārīd=yatitilakas=sa Raṅgībhṛityam || (*v.* 86)
Rājñīy-ōpacharaṇa-lālasō Murārau tad-dōsha-praśamam=adāpayat=kashāyam |
Ārōgy-ōpapadam=ath=ākalayya śālām śrī-Dhanvantari-haridhāma tach=chakāra || (*v.* 87)

[4] It is interesting to note that Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M.A., who has examined the problem from a purely literary view-point has also arrived at the same conclusion. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, p. 186.)

In his *History* of *Śrīvaishṇavas*, (Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures, 1917), p. 56, Mr. Gopinatha Rao, however, identifies this author with the disciple of Rāmānuja and places him before Pinbaḻagiyaperumāḷ-Jīyar, the author of the *Guruparamparā* in Tamiḻ (*c.* 14th cent. A. D.)

In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Uttamanambivaṁśaprabhāvam* (p. 7) states that a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita Śrī-Uttamanambi *alias* Kavivaidyapurandara Śrīnivāsa-mahākavi lived in Śaka 995 (=A. D. 1073) and welcomed Rāmānuja on his first arrival at Śrīraṅgam. This statement appears to have been based on the usual tradition which connects one Garuḍavāhana with Rāmānuja; and the mention of Śrīnivasa as his personal name appears to be the result of a promiscuous mixing of different facts. He is enumerated as the 74th in descent from Periyāḻvār of Kali 46. The list of names of Uttamanambis with their respective ages, as tabulated in this pamphlet, cannot stand a critical examination.

It therefore follows that the three Garuḍavāhanas who figure in the above discussion, were different one from the other :—

(i) A Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, traditionally believed to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who started an *ārōgyaśālā* under instructions from his *guru*, for which we have only the authority of the *Divyasūricharitam* and the *Kōyiloḻugu* ;

(ii) a second Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Vīra-Rāmanātha in A. D. 1257, who received endowments of land for the hospital from the Hoysaḷa general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, and who was probably the author of a *prabandham* called the *Raṅga-ghōshaṇai*[1] ; and

(iii) a third Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1493, the hagiographer-author of the *Divyasūri-charitam*, who reconstructed the *ārōgyaśālā* which had fallen into decay owing to the Muhammadan invasions, and installed therein an image of Dhavantari-Emberumāṉ.

The historical and other facts contained in these two records may now be examined.

(*a*) As stated already, record (B) of the time of Vīra-Rāmanātha states that Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, the *pradhāna* of the Hoysaḷa king, partitioned off a portion of the covered corridor (*tiru-naḍaimāḷigai*) to the west of the Eḍuttakai-aḻagiya-Nāyaṉār-*gōpura* in the fourth *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple, and converted it into a hall for conducting a *śālai*[2] (a hospital). He then purchased 16 and odd *vēli* of land in Mummuḍiśōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Viḻā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍikulāśaṉi-vaḷanāḍu, for 1100 *varāhaṉ-poṉ* and arranged that, from the produce of this fairly extensive block of land, the doctor in charge of the temple-hospital, namely Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, be paid an allowance of 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day, his assistant and colleague[3] Tōḷmālaiyaḻagiyār 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, and two men-attendants (*vaidya-parichārakar*) 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* each, while medicines to the value of 100 *kāśu* per day were prepared. As this record is incomplete, it is not possible to know if this outpatients' dispensary simply ministered to the health-needs of the servants and others of the temple establishment only, or functioned in the more comprehensive sense of a philanthropic institution for the community at large. The famous hospital inscription[4] of Vīrarājēndra (A. D. 1069) at Tirumukkūḍal in the Conjeevaram taluk of the Chingleput District gives us a fairly detailed idea as to how such an institution worked at that time, and what medicines were prepared and kept in stock for the needs of the students of the Vedic seminary attached to the temple there. The present epigraph does not furnish any such illuminating details, but is, however, of topical interest in that it refers to the existence of a temple-hospital which, in addition perhaps to its usual pharmaceutical activities, also prepared and supplied a *kashāya* as an offering to god Raṅganātha every night, as an item of the temple ritual.[5] Though the explanation offered for the inclusion of this stomachic in the god's dietary may at first sight appear far-fetched, it shows with what royal pomp and reverence god Raṅgarāja was venerated by his devotees and how the daily routine of worship was regulated with such close adherence to meticulous detail.

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[1] See also note 7 on page 100 below.

[2] *Śālai* ordinarily means only 'a hall, a feeding hall'; but as provision was made for a doctor and drugs, an *ātulaśālai* is meant. It is actually referred to as an *ārōgyaśālai* in record (A).

[3] '*Kaḍaikkūṭṭaṉ*' is the word used in the inscription. It means 'one who actually carries out a certain duty', a '*nirvāhaka*'. In Periyavāchchāṉ-Piḷḷai's commentary on *Tiruppāvai* (*Mārgaḻi-nīrāḍal*) occurs this sentence : *Kṛishṇaṉ idukku kaḍaikkūṭṭaṉ=āgavum* (*niṟaivēṟṟi-vaippavaṉ=āgavum*) *kaḍavaṉ*.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 220 ff.

[5] The offering of a medicinal decoction to god at night is understood to be in vogue in one or two other temples in South India, at Madura, for instance.

(*b*) The expression *Vaidyaril enakkum rakshakarāy i-ddharmmam neḍunālpaḍa naḍattikkonḍu vanda nāyakan=āna* [1] *Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar* used in the record (B) in referring to the physician, has perhaps to be understood in the sense that something in the nature of a private hospital was already being conducted by Garuḍavāhana for a long time and that the Hoysaḷa general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka who had personally benefited by this doctor's services made this munificent donation of land to the hospital in token of his gratitude.

(*c*) A certain Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, a general in the army of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Sōmēśvara is stated to have invaded the Tamil country in about A. D. 1240-41, the 25th year of Rājarāja III, for an inscription[2] at Vēdāraṇyam in the Tanjore District dated in the 30th year of this Chōḷa king (A. D. 1246) refers to the effects of this invasion which necessitated the reconsecration of some images in the temple of Kōḍikkuḷagar at that place; while a general of the same name figures in a Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record[3] dated in the 5th year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1250). We have no means of determining their identity with the Śiṅgaṇṇa of record (B). In another record[4] from Śembāṭṭūr in the Pudukkotah State dated in the 23rd year of Vīra-Sōmēśvara (A. D. 1256-57), a general described as *Mahāperiyapradhāna* Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, son of *Mahāpradhāna* Śiṅgaradēva-Daṇḍanāyaka[5] is mentioned; and he was probably identical with this Śiṅgaṇṇa. It is possible that this Śiṅgaṇṇa was trampled underfoot by the *mast* elephant of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, as claimed in a record of his at Śrīrangam,[6] and that this event may have happened by A. D. 1261, as the Pāṇḍya king appears to have made his entry into Śrīraṅgam at about this time.

(*d*) Rāmānuja is mentioned in the *Kōyiloḷugu*[7] as having been in charge of the Śrīraṅgam temple for over 60 years, and as having regularised the respective duties to be performed by the several groups of temple priests and menials and introduced many salutary reforms in its internal administration. Among the ten sections into which he is stated to have classified the superior service of the temple establishment, the *bhaṭṭāḷ-kottu* is one; and the duties devolving on the several Brāhman families which were clubbed together into this administrative classification, consisted mainly of chanting the different *Vēdas* and of expounding the *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Śrībhāshyam*[8] in the temple. To this *bhaṭṭāḷ-kottu* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana[9] of this record belonged; and being the hereditary physician of the temple, it is but proper that he should have repaired the *ārōgyaśālā*, installed an image of Dhanvantari in it and arranged for the daily supply of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha of the main temple.

(*e*) As regards the Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ stated to have been consecrated in A. D. 1493, it is not definite if an already extant shrine was only renovated now. The incomplete record (B) of the time of Rāmanātha does not contain any allusion to it or to the provision of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha. The *Kōyiloḷugu*, however, says that a shrine of this deity which had been in existence even long before the time of Rāmānuja (*purāṇasiddha*) and had become dilapidated, was repaired during his trusteeship of the Śrīraṅgam temple and left in charge of his disciple

[1] *Nāyakaṉ* in the sense of 'the head' of the hospital.

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1909-10, p. 154 and No. 501 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[3] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VIII, No. 88. The general is called Mahāpradhāṉaṉ Maṇḍalikariyamarājaṉ Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇṇāyakka.

[4] No. 215 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] The name Śiṅgaradēva appears to be a mistake for Śiṅgadēva.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 507. The verse reads:
Ājau Simhaṇam=unmadasya kariṇō datvā parārtthan=tatō
Dṛishṭvā Rāma-mahīpatēḥ praśamita-kshēm-ābhishaṅgō bhuvaḥ |

[7] *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 46 *et. seq.*

[8] *Loc. cit.*, p. 47.

[9] In another place it is stated that Garuḍavāhana was included in the *Tiruppaṭiyār* class.

Garuḍavāhana[1]. The correctness of this statement is not now capable of architectural verification, as the present shrine is the result of a somewhat jumbled reassembling made in A. D. 1493 of stones and pillars from older structures.

The shrine of **Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ** or the 'Divine Physician' is quite an appropriate adjunct to a hospital, as he is the patron-deity of the art of healing. Dhanvantari, the father of Indian Medicine, was produced at the 'churning of the Ocean' and came out with a vessel of nectar in his hands. But according to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Dhanvantari was also one of the twenty-two *avatāras*[2] of god Vishṇu; and appropriately enough he is represented in this shrine as a four-handed image wielding the discus and the conch in the back pair of hands, while one of the frontal pair of hands is in the *abhaya* pose, and the other carries his special attribute the *amṛita-kalaśa*. Shrines to Dhanvantari have not been met with elsewhere in any of the numerous temples of Vishṇu in South India, and, as such, this shrine and its deity acquire a special iconographic importance.

(*f*) Similarly also the image of **Eḍuttakai-aḻagiya-Nāyaṉār** or 'the god beauteous with the uplifted hand' referred to here is of iconographic interest, as it furnishes a rare instance in which an image ensconced in the *gōpura* of a temple gets the status of separate worship. This stucco image of Narasiṁha represented with one of his arms raised aloft in the act of striking down Hiraṇyakaśipu, forms the central figure facing north in the first tier of the northern *gōpura* of the fourth *prākāra*; and a lofty *maṇḍapa* erected on a high platform in front of it serves the purpose of a shrine for the image. In Vaishṇava hagiologies, Āliṉāḍaṉ or Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār is stated to have built this *gōpura* for the god[3]; but the ascription of the image and the *gōpura* in their present form to such an early date cannot be substantiated by structural or inscriptional evidence. In literary tradition, this deity is said to have nodded his head in appreciation of Kamba's *Rāmāyaṇa*, when that poet expounded it to a literary coterie in the *maṇḍapa* in front of this self-same *gōpura*; and some verses of that work[4] eulogising the Narasiṁha incarnation are believed to have been composed in specific reference to this deity. Be that as it may, this god and the *gōpura* are described in the *Śrīraṅgarājastava*[5] of Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa (*c.* A. D. 1150), the son of Śrīvatsāṅka-miśra (Kūṟattāḻvār) and the successor of Rāmānuja on the pontifical seat at Śrīraṅgam. The name Eḍuttakai-aḻagiya-Nāyaṉār is mentioned in some inscriptions[6] of the temple—of Vīra-Rāmanātha (*c.* A. D. 1257), of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (*c.* A. D. 1269) and of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (*c.* A. D. 1272).

(*g*) **Iṟandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chakravāḷanambi** *alias* **Uttamanambi-Piḷḷai**, who was evidently the sole Trustee of the temple at the time of this record, belonged to the Uttamanambi family, several of whose members are said to have wielded great influence with the contemporary kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty, perhaps as trustees of their munificent benefactions to the Śrīraṅgam temple. The *Kōyiloḻugu* mentions some of them, such as, Vaḻiyaḍimai-nilaiyiṭṭa-Uttamanambi, his brother Uttamanambi-Chakrarāyar (Śaka 1337), Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi (Śaka 1366) and Kṛishṇarāya-Uttamanambi (Śaka 1409)[7].

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 43.

[2] T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 123.

[3] *Kōyiloḻugu*, p. 10. The orthodox date for Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār is B. C. 2714, but he could have lived only about A. D. 800.

[4] *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam, Hiraṇyaṉ-vadai-ppaḍalam.*

[5] Vyāpi rūpam=api gōshpadayitvā bhaktavatsalatay-ōrjjhita-vēlam |
Tad-vishantapa-Nṛikēsari-rūpaṁ gōpur-ōpari vijṛimbhitam=īḍē || (*v.* 46)
Nivasad=upari-bhāgē gōpuraṁ Raṅga-dhāmnaḥ |
Kvachana nṛiparipāṭī vāsitaṁ kv=āpi siṁham || (*v.* 47).

[6] Nos. 99, 80 and 23 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 121, 123, 124 and 125.

This family which belonged to the *Pūrvaśikha* community of Brāhmans of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, claims to have migrated to Śrīraṅgam from Śrīvilliputtūr in the Tinnevelly District along with the Vaishṇava saints Periyāḻvār and his daughter Kōdaiyāṇḍāḷ (of the 9th century A. D.). The genealogy of some of its members is given in the Sanskrit work called the *Lakshmīkāvyam*[1] and in a pamphlet entitled *Uttamanambivaṁśaprabhāvam.*[2] Kūḍal Chakravāḷanambi of the present record was the brother of Kṛishṇarāya-Uttamanambi according to the *Kōyiloḻugu*, but the *Lakshmīkāvyam* states that its author Tirumalainātha had a brother named Kūḍal Śaravāḷa-Nayiṉār. The *Vaṁśaprabhāvam*[2] noted above mentions that he was Tirumalainātha's son and had the other name of Chiṉṉa-Kṛishṇarāyar. This Chakravāḷanambi is stated to have purchased a few villages on behalf of the temple and to have repaired the Rājamahēndran-tiruvāśal[3] which had also been damaged during the Muhammadan raids.

The title 'Iṟandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ' (he who revived the past) attached to his name does not appear to have been coined after the *biruda* of any king[4] or chieftain, but may, in all probability, have been bestowed on him by the temple in recognition of his meritorious services in having brought it to its former greatness after its desecration by foreigners. Several instances of similar titles, such as 'Ellai-nilaiyiṭṭa' and 'Rājākkaḷ-perumāḷ' etc., said to have been 'granted by the god himself' for such deserving services, have been mentioned in the *Kōyiloḻugu.*

(*h*) This record which is dated in Śaka 1415, as noted already, does not mention any ruling king. The date falls in the period following the extinction of the first Vijayanagara dynasty and before the accession of Vīra-Narasiṁha of the Tuḷuva line *i.e.*, during the Sāḷuva interregnum. In the *Kōyiloḻugu*[5] it is stated that 'Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja, the local governor of the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi-śīrmai was succeeded by Kōnēṭirāja in about Śaka 1393, and the latter who had a partiality for the Śiva temple at Jambukēśvaram imposed certain unauthorised taxes on the Śrīraṅgam temple lands and otherwise coerced the Śrīraṅgam people. A deputation headed by a certain Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsa went to Narasā-Nāyaka and appealed to him for relief. Thereupon this general marched against Kōnēṭirāja[6], killed him in a fight and restored order in the temple administration at Śrīraṅgam'. It is therefore possible that in this period of confusion when the Vijayanagara throne itself was occupied by an usurper and also because the Uttamanambis were themselves recipients of several honours including the 'Rāyar-mudrai' from the previous kings[7] this inscription as well as a few others[8] of this period which were concerned with simple temple transactions omitted the mention of the Sāḷuva king's name and were issued with the simple quotation of Śaka dates.

(*i*) As regards the *vāṇam* (*tulukka-vāṇam* of the *Kōyiloḻugu*) during whch the *ārōgyaśālā* had suffered damage, the reference is to the anarchy which followed in the wake of the Muhammadan invasions of South India in the first half of the 14th century A. D.

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139.

[2] This pamphlet was compiled and published by S. Narasimhachari in 1912. The reason for the title 'Kuḍal Śāravāḷa' given in this book that the Trustee ripped open his entrails (*kuḍal*) and measured it out in lieu of the paddy due to the king, is fanciful.

[3] *Kōyiloḻugu*, p. 125.

[4] 'Iṟandakālam-eḍutta' was a title borne by the later Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha of A. D. 1535 (*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 54). Iṟandakālam-eḍutta Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷadāsaṉ figures as the Warden of the Śrīraṅgam temple in a record dated in the cyclic year Saumya, probably corresponding to Śaka 1411 (No. 92 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 129.

[6] Kōnēṭirāja's records dated in Ś. 1409 and 1412 are found in the Tamiḻ districts (*Madras Ep. Rept.* for 1912, p. 73).

[7] *Kōyiloḻugu*, p. 115 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 141.

[8] Nos. 87, 92 and 93 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

If the *Kōyiloḻugu*'s narrative can be relied on, there were **two**[1] distinct **raids** during both of which Śrīraṅgam appears to have fallen a victim to the invaders' rapacity and iconoclastic zeal. It is stated that as a result of the **first raid**[2] the image of Raṅganātha was absent from the temple for a period of 59½ years, until its restoration in A. D. 1372 by a 'Chandragiri-prabhu', thus pointing to **A. D. 1310-11** coinciding with Malik Kāfūr's southern campaign, as the date of its occurrence. The date of the **second sack of Śrīraṅgam** is Śaka 1249, and as this coincides with the date of the southern campaign undertaken in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in **A. D. 1327-28**,[3] it has been surmised that the Muhammadan army which was sent out from Warangal passed along this route and raided Śrīraṅgam. The Raṅganātha image which escaped capture by being smuggled out of the temple by Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya[4] had, as described in the *Kōyiloḻugu*, an eventful itinerancy through several places for over forty years, until it was brought back to Śrīraṅgam by **Gōpaṇārya** of Gingee, an officer of the Vijayanagara prince **Kampaṇa** in Śaka 1293 (=A. D. 1372). The heroic part played by these two persons, prince and officer, in defeating the Muhammadans at Madura and in restoring the Raṅganātha image to its own habitation, is already known from the *Madhurāvijayam*[5] of Gaṅgādēvī and from the two Sanskrit verses[6] engraved on the Dharmavarma's wall in the second *prākāra* of the Śrīraṅgam temple. Epigraphical references to these incidents are also found in records copied at Kaṇṇaṉūr,[7] Tiruppattūr, Tirukkaḷākkuḍi and several other places.

When Śrīraṅgam slowly recovered from the effects of the *tulukka-vāṇam*, the work of renovating the fallen *gōpuras*, *prākāra* walls and *maṇḍapas*, appears to have been taken in hand in easy stages, and the turn of the *ārōgyaśālā* and its annexe the Dhanvantari shrine came when, in Śaka 1415 (=A. D. 1493), Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, the hereditary Physician of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the author-to-be of the *Divyasūricharitam*, came forward to do his little bit in rehabilitating the Śrīraṅgam temple to its former state.

(A.)

TEXT.

Front Side.

1 [8] Svasti Śrī [||*][9] **Śakā-**
2 **bdam 1415**-n-
3 mēl śellā-
4 niṉṟa Pramādi-sa-
5 ṁvatsarattu Ṛisha-
6 bha-nāyaṟṟu pūṟu-
7 va-pakshattu pañcha-
8 miyum Sōmavā-[10]

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 12 and 103 *et. seq.* There seems to be some duplication in the *Kōyiloḻugu*'s narrative.

[2] These facts are dealt with in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 138 and in greater detail in S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 113 and 155 ff.

[3] *South India* etc., p. 158.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 104. Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya died on the way at Jyōtishkuḍi.

[5] Published by G. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 322 ff.

There is some slight vagueness in the *Kōyiloḻugu* narrative. The first image was brought back through the help of a 'Chandragiri-prabhu', while the second image was restored by Gōpaṇa of Gingee. Apparently both these images were restituted on the same occasion, which necessitated the discriminative test applied by the temple washerman for their identification (p. 29). The Sanskrit verses referring to the restoration by Gōpaṇa do not make specific mention of two images, however.

[7] No. 162 of 1936-37, No. 119 of 1908 and No. 64 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] A *vaḍagalai* mark (without the central line) flanked by a *Chakra* and a *Śaṅkha* are engraved at the top of the inscription.

[9] Many of the Sanskrit words are engraved correctly in Grantha letters.

[10] The secondary length of the letter is engraved in the next line.

9 ramum peṟṟa Pū-
10 śattu-nāḷ Tiruvara-
11 ṅgaṉ-tiruppati I-
12 ṟandakālam-eḍu-
13 tta-Perumāḷ [Kū]-
14 ḍal Chakravāḷanam-
15 bi āṉa Uttamana-
16 mbi-Piḷḷai kāla-
17 ttilē [1]baṭṭāḷ-
18 kottu Aḻagiyama-
19 ṉavāḷa-Maṅgalā-[2]
20 darāyar putran Śrī-
21 nivāsan āṉa [Śrī]-
22 raṅga-Garuḍav[ā]-
23 hana-[1]Baṭṭar ka[yi]-
24 ṅkariyam=āga Śrī-
25 [Cha]ntrapushkaraṉikku[3]
26 mēlpuṟam=āga mu-
27 ṉṉāḷ Pratāpa-
28 chakrava[r*]tti kālam
29 tuḍaṅgi ivaruḍai-
30 ya pūrvāḷ Ga-
31 ruḍavāhana-Bha[ṭṭa]-
32 r naḍatti-vanda ā-
33 rōgyaśālai[4]
34 vāṉattilē
35 khilam=āgaiyil
36 ippoḻudu ā-
37 rōgyaśālai-[4]
38 yum śamaippi-
39 ttu Dhanvantari-Em-
40 berumāṉaiyum
41 ēṟi-aruḷappaṉ-
42 ṉugaiyil

Back Side.

43 nāḷtōṟu-
44 m Perumāḷ
45 kuḍi[ṉī]r[5] amudu-
46 śeyd-aruḷugi-
47 ṟa kaṭṭalaikku-
48 m Dhanvantari-E-
49 mberumāṉ
50 tiruvārādhana-ka-
51 ṭṭaḷaikkum naḍa-
52 kkumbaḍi muṉṉā-
53 ḷ Garuḍavāha-
54 na-Bhaṭṭar Perumā-
55 ḷukku Raṅgaghō-[6]
56 shaṇai praba-
57 ndham paṇṇi
58 Perumāḷ tiruvu-
59 ḷḷam ugandu ti-
60 rukkaivaḻakkam-[7]
61 āga=ppallakku-mā-
62 ṉi[ya]m-āga=tti-
63 ruvuḷḷam-paṟṟiṉa
64 tirumugappaḍiyilē[4]
65 anubavittu-va-
66 nda teṉkarai [ti]-
67 ruviḍaiāṭṭam Pā-[6]
68 ṇḍamaṅgalat-
69 tu Irājavibhā-
70 ṭaṉ[8] nilaṉ iru-vē-[9]
71 liyum nāḷadu
72 Perumāḷukku
73 viṉṉappañ-
74 śeydu Dhanvanta-
75 ri-Emberumāṉu-
76 kku tiruviḍaiāṭṭa-
77 m=āga samarppikkai-
78 yil inda nilam
79 iru-vēliyum Dha-
80 nvantari-Emberumā-
81 ṉukku tiruvārā-
82 dhana-kkaṭṭalaikkum

[1] The Tamiḻ letter *pa* is used instead of *bha*.
[2] The secondary length of the letter *la* is engraved in the next line.
[3] Correctly 'Chandrapushkariṇī'.
[4] The letter *la* is engraved in the next line.
[5] This should be correctly *kuḍinīr* here as well as in line 83 below.
[6] The secondary length is in the next line.
[7] *Tirukkaivaḻakkam* ordinarily means 'offerings distributed to devotees etc.' Here it implies that the land had been granted by the god himself.
[8] 'Rājavibhāṭaṉ' was the title of some king, after which the measuring-rod was so named.
[9] The letter *va* is in the next line.

83 kuḍiṉīr[1]-amudukku-
84 m Garuḍavāha-
85 na-Bhaṭṭar adhi-
86 shṭhānam-āga[2]

Third Side.

87 putra
88 pau-
89 tra-
90 param-
91 parai-[3]
92 y-āga
93 āchā-[4]
94 ndrārkka-
95 sthāyi
96 āga na-
97 ḍatta-[k*]ka-
98 ḍavad-ā-
99 gavum [|*]
100 inda
101 dharmmat-
102 tukku
103 ahita-
104 m niṉai-
105 ttavarga-
106 ḷ Gaṅgai
107 kkarai-
108 yil ka-
109 vila-
110 yai va-
111 [5]dhaittavar-
112 gaḷ pāpa-
113 ttilē pō-
114 ga-kka-
115 ḍavarga-
116 ḷ-āgavu-
117 m [||*] Śubha-
118 [m]=astu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the (*cyclic*) year Pramādi which was current after **Śaka 1415**, in the month of **Ṛishabha**, on Monday, with pañchamī (*-tithi*) of the first fortnight and Pushya (*-nakshatra*) : in the time of **Iṟandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ [Kū]ḍal Chakravāḷanambi** *alias* **Uttamanambi-Piḷḷai** of (*the temple of*) Tiruvaraṅgaṉ-Tiruppati,—

Śrīnivāsan *alias* **Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar**, son of **Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Maṅgalādarāyar** of the *bhaṭṭāḷ-koṭṭu*, reconstructed the *ārōgyaśālai* to the west of the Chandra-pushkariṇī (*-tank*), which had been conducted in the past by an ancestor of his named Garuḍa-vāhana-Bhaṭṭar from the time of Pratāpachakravartin and which had become dilapidated during the *vāṇam*, consecrated (*the image of*) **Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ** (*therein*), and arranged for the service of (*supplying*) daily *kuḍinīr*-offering to **Perumāḷ** (god **Raṅganātha**) and for worship to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ, in the following manner :—

The two *vēli* of Rājavibhāṭaṉ-nilaṉ[6] in **Pāṇḍamaṅgalam**, a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* (*village*) on the southern bank (*of the river Kāvērī*), which had been in the enjoyment of (*the earlier* ?)[7] Garuḍa-vāhana-Bhaṭṭa, having been graciously granted to him through the god's *tirumugam* as *pallakku-māṉyam*,[8] for (*his*) having composed the *prabandham* (*called*) *Raṅgaghōshaṇai* to (*i.e.*, in honour of)

[1] *Kuḍiṉīr* is correctly *kuḍinīr*. It was intended for being offered to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha), as specifically mentioned in line 44.

[2] *Adhishṭhānam* means 'under the supervision of'.

[3] The letter *ra* is engraved in the next line.

[4] Read *ā-chandr-ārka*.

[5] The *ai* sign is engraved in the previous line.

[6] *I.e.*, land, as measured by the Rājavibhāṭaṉ measuring-rod.

[7] There is a slight vagueness in the wording, which would also admit of considering the *Raṅgaghōshaṇai* as the work of the Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493.

[8] *I.e.*, land granted for the maintenance of a palanquin for his use, as a special honour.

the god, was on this day made over as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ after due intimation[1] to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha). And it was stipulated that this two *vēli* (*of land*) was to be utilised, as long as the moon and sun last, for providing worship to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṉ and for *kuḍinīr*-offering (*to Perumāḷ*), under the supervision of Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa and in his lineal succession of son and grandson.

Those that contemplate evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Be it well!

No. 13.—REWAH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KARNA : THE [CHEDI] YEAR 800.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, at **Rewah** in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewah. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenana Mahal of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. I edit the inscription here from two excellent impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a **large slab**. The inscribed surface measures 7′-2″ in breadth and 3′-1½″ in height. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewah from somewhere else.[2] The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which in some places only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *sh* have in many cases disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in l. 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole record is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king **Karṇa** and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-one of these occur in the Goharwa plates[3] of that king. In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the **Kāyastha caste** as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have consequently lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A. D. about the caste of the Kāyasthas, which has latterly become a subject of keen controversy. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

[1] This means that the formal permission of the god was obtained for the transaction.

[2] In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that the slab might have been 'brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now kept in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace'. (*A. S. R.* for 1935-36, p. 89.)

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of letters varies from ·8″ to 1″. Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās*. *Kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *nikhāta*, l. 8, but *ṅ* is still without its dot, see *e.g. Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-*, l. 6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhantu*, l. 3 and *pīṭha*, l. 6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *pāthō-mashī-*, l. 16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *sthalē*, l. 15. The left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped. The letter is, therefore, distinguished from *v* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *=avaidhavya-vidhāna-*, l. 15. The right hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *phala-*, l. 3, or a little lower down as in *sphāl-*, l. 13. The curve of *ś* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *śāsana-*, l. 18; the letter can in many places be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahati*, l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, of which thirty-three fall in the first and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part our inscription has as many as twenty-one verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, there being only slight variations in their readings here and there as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (vv. 20 and 26) the order of verses in the present inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records[1]; but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards **orthography** we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see *e.g. Śambhōr=jjaṭā-maṇḍalam*, l. 2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *vaddh-ō°*, l. 1; *mvra* is used for *mra* in *tāmvrapaṭṭaiḥ*, l. 18. Similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *pānśu*, l. 21. In *surā-pāṇa*, l. 11, we have the change of *n* to *ṇ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form. After two more verses—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty. His pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous king mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription[2] and the Benares plates of Karṇa[3]. As I have shown elsewhere[4], his father Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III and may, therefore, have flourished from *circa* A. D. 915 to 945. Lakshmaṇarāja has thus to be referred to the period A. D. 945-970. In v. 11 of the present inscription which is also found in the Goharwa plates he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated the Pāṇḍya, who was adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gūrjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmaṇarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmīr, but as regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujarāt we have the statement in the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja, in the course

[1] An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kshama-dṛik*, etc. employed to describe Yuvarājadēva II in the plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather, Yuvarājadēva I, in the Benares plates of Karṇa.

[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 259.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 307.

[4] *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 ff.

of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently Sōmanātha near Verāval in Kāthiāwār and dedicated to the deity the effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold[1]. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line[2] in the contemporary Kārītalāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the Chōlas who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the South in the latter half of the tenth century A. D., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja, before he could press as far south as the Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not yet recovered from the attacks of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[3] when his country was raided by Lakshmaṇarāja. The Gūrjara king defeated by him must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla II as pointed out by R. D. Banerji[4]. The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala[5]. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva[6] and conjectured that he must have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gūrjaras. But these suppositions do not seem to be correct. Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Ōḍra. The Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Chhattīsgarh and the adjoining states. Further, Lakshmaṇarāja, who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P., must have flourished long before the Lakshmaṇarāja of our record; for, Rājaputra, the next prince mentioned in the Kahla plates, who, however, was not his immediate successor, must be referred to *circa* A. D. 775, as his third lineal descendant Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I was a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Bhōja I (*circa* A. D. 836-885). Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with the homonymous king mentioned in the Kahla plates.

Our inscription next mentions **Yuvarājadēva (II)** as the son and successor of Lakshmaṇarāja. He is evidently the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Benares plates of Karṇa. The name of his elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa who is known from the aforementioned two records as well as from the Kārītalāi stone inscription[7] has been omitted here probably because he was a collateral. The description of Yuvarājadēva II and his son and successor **Kōkalla II** given here is quite conventional.

After Kōkalla II, his son **Gāṅgēyadēva** came to the throne. Of the four verses devoted to his description in this record, three (*viz.* vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the Goharwa plates, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karṇa. Verse 19 which is not known to occur anywhere else describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

[2] Only the lower portions of a few letters in the beginning of this line are preserved. The line has been omitted in Kielhorn's text. I read the letters as *nitarāṁ dalēna* || *Tāmraparṇṇī-taṭē*.

[3] Compare ज्ञात्वा दक्षिणदिग्जयोद्यतधिया चोलान्वयोन्मूलनं तद्भूमिं निजभृत्यवर्ग्गपरितस्सेरम्बपाण्ड्यादिकान् । in the Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. IV, p. 285, v. 35). Perhaps the poet's intention was to name the peoples living on the borders of India, and the Pāṇḍyas are mentioned here as living in the extreme South.

[4] *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 12.

[5] Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 179.

The latter gives the following description of Gāṅgēyadēva's achievements—'From him (*i.e.* Kōkalla II) was (*born*) Gāṅgeyadēvā who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra, who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) Aṅga, who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) Kuntala in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean after vanquishing the (*king of*) Utkala'. Most of the statements regarding these victories are substantiated by other evidence. We do not of course know if Gāṅgēyadēva succeeded in actually extending his dominions as far as the Kīra country which comprised the territory round Baijnāth in the east of the Kāngrā District[1]; for, references to victories over the king of the Kīra country and even a pun on his name are found in other records[2], which show that such descriptions were more or less conventional. But Gāṅgēyadēva had certainly the Doāb under his control. He fixed his residence at the holy city of Prayāga (Allahābād) where he lived to the last. It is not therefore unlikely that he extended his sway in the North-West up to the Kāngrā valley, on the downfall of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king Trilōchanapāla some time after A. D. 1027[3]. His victory over the king of Aṅga seems to be a historical fact; for, from the colophon of a manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Durbar Library, Nepal[4], he seems to have established himself in Tīrabhukti as early as A. D. 1019 and this country he must have wrested from the contemporary ruler of Aṅga and Magadha, who was probably Mahīpāla I. It seems that there was another expedition against the king of Magadha towards the close of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. This expedition was led by his son Karṇa. Tibetan tradition tells us that some time before A. D. 1040[5], which is the approximate date of Atīśa-Dīpaṅkara's departure for Tibet, there was an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karṇya of the West, who is obviously none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa. As Gāṅgēyadēva was ruling till A. D. 1040, this invasion cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have taken place towards the end of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēyadēva. From the description in v. 18 Gāṅgēyadēva seems to have exacted a heavy tribute from his vanquished adversary.

Gāṅgēyadēva's victory over the king of Kuntala is also referred to in other records. Both the Khairhā[6] and Jabalpur[7] plates state that 'wishing to run away in haste from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear[8].' Kuntala included the Southern Maratha country and

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 97.

[2] See *e.g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217; above, Vol. II, p. 188.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

[4] *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal*, p. 18.

[5] Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 189. Babu Sarat Chandra Das gives A. D. 1038 as the date of Atīśa's visit to Tibet. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LX, p. 51.

[6] Above, Vol. XII, p. 211, v. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

[8] यस्मादकस्मादपयानमिच्छन् कुन्तलः कुन्तलतां व(ब)भार ॥ (v. 11). Kielhorn's reading of the hemistich was incorrect probably owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions supplied to him. The correct reading was first given by R. B. Hiralal while editing the Khairhā plates. But his translation 'wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again' (above, Vol. XII, p. 215) and his conjecture based on it that Gāṅgēyadēva restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated (*ibid.*, p. 205), do not seem to be correct. The hemistich apparently means 'wishing to run away from whom, the Kuntala ceased to be the Kuntala'. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *virōdhābhāsa*; for the words really mean 'wishing to run away suddenly from whom the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear'. There is a pun on the second word *kuntala* here, (1) the king of Kuntala and (2) one who wields his spear, *kuntaṁ lāt-īti*. For the second meaning compare a similar derivation of *kuśala* (one who handles *kuśa*) referred to in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (II, 9). [The term in question is better explained by taking it as a compound of *kunta* and *latā* on the analogy of *asi-latā*.—Ed.] There is therefore no reference here to the deposition or reinstatement of the king of Kuntala.

the adjoining Kanerese districts and was at this time under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. The king of Kuntala, over whom Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have obtained a victory, was probably Jayasiṁha II[1] who ruled from about A. D. 1015 to 1042. From the Kulenur inscription[2] it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājēndra I to attack Jayasiṁha from three sides. Victory does not appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasiṁha's cousin[3] Kundarāja and the Baḷagāṁve inscription[4] states that Jayasiṁha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava.

In his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa) Gāṅgēyadēva was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāṇa. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I state that Kamalarāja vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva[5]. The king of Utkala was, it seems, one of the Guptas of Dakshiṇa Kōsala, perhaps Mahā-Śivagupta-Yayāti who calls himself the lord of Utkala and Trikaliṅga[6]. In one of his grants[7] Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas and devastated the Ḍāhala country. The war seems therefore to have continued for some time and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he may have assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Karṇa mentions this title in his first grant issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death[8].

Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor Karṇa is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (*viz.* 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) were already known from the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it provides us for the first time with a contemporary record of some of Karṇa's victories; for, though two other grants made by the king had already been discovered, they contained mere conventional praise. Our knowledge of his achievements was, therefore, entirely derived from the records of his descendants and his adversaries. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.* Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country, who lost his life in the fierce fight. Who was this king of the Eastern country? He could scarcely have been a Pāla king, for the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihār and North-West Bengal. From the Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī[9], on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenor of the description suggests that the dynasty of the latter was supplanted and his kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact we find the Varmans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A. D. Śrīchandra is the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal. The name of one more king, *viz.* Gōvindachandra, is known from the Tirumalai rock inscription[10] of Rājēndra Chōla I, which mentions him

[1] [If Krishna Sastri's translation of verse 11 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇadēva (above, Vol. XII, p. viii) is correct, the Kuntala king who was the adversary of Gāṅgēyadēva would be Vikramāditya (V).—N. L. R.]

[2] Above, Vol. XV, p. 330.

[3] [It is doubtful if Kundarāja was a scion of the Chālukya family and hence a cousin of Jayasiṁha II (see *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.)—N. L. R.]

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 79.

[6] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

[7] *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. I (1905), p. 4.

[8] Above, Vol. II, p. 309.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 232.

as the ruler of the Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in *circa* A. D. 1021 by Rājēndra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (A. D. 1012-44). Either this prince or his successor was on the throne when Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal. After the overthrow of the Chandra prince, Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and given his daughter Vīraśrī to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter seems to have distinguished himself in the Aṅga country[1] in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa. The present inscription which is definitely dated shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected before A. D. 1048-9 and thus furnishes us with a landmark in the mediæval history of Bengal.

Verse 25 refers to Karṇa's conquests in the South. 'Overrunning the district of Kāñchī he thoroughly enjoyed the Southern direction, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (*in kissing*).' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's *penchant* for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra[2] and is taken by some scholars[3] to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the South. In later times poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa[4]. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in v. 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in the present verse, had long before ceased to be supreme in the South, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in about A. D. 890[5]. A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nolambavāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A. D.[6], but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long lists of his conquests intimated in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the present verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgāpurī or Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājēndra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital[7]. Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karanbēl inscription of Jayasiṁhadēva[8]. R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Vīrarajēndra Rājakēsarivarman, who was reigning between A. D. 1062 and 1067[9]. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in v. 25 of the present inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in A. D. 1048-9. Karṇa's adversary must therefore be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājēndra Chōla I, who ruled from A. D. 1018 to 1054.

[1] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 20.

[2] See No. 2515 of the *Subhāshitāvali* (Bom. Sk. series), p. 429. See also *Kavīndra-vachana-samuchchaya* (Bibl. Ind.), Introd., p. 68. The verse is ascribed to the poetess Vidyā in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (Punj. Or. Series), p. 196.

[3] *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. III, pp. 788-89.

[4] See p. 197. Two of these are ascribed to the poets Śabdārṇava and Jayadēva.

[5] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

[6] Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Aiyangar), pp. 371-2.

[7] See, *e.g.* Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* I, 115; III, 76; IV, 28, etc. Bilhaṇa mentions Gāṅga-Kuṇḍapura also as a Chōla Capital. *Ibid.*, VI, 21-24.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

[9] Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives A. D. 1063-1069 as the period of his rule. See *The Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 293.

The account of Karṇa's conflict with the king of Kuntala is substantiated by other evidence. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. Though the Kalachuris and the Later Chālukyas sometimes combined, as they did for instance when they overran the Mālava country some time after Bhōja's death[1], they frequently came into conflict with each other. Bilhaṇa records that Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa[2], while an Apabhraṁśa verse mentions Karṇa's victory over the mighty Vikrama[3], evidently Vikramāditya VI, the son of Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The conflict referred to in the present inscription must have occurred during the early part of Āhavamalla's reign when his son Vikramāditya was too young to take the field against Karṇa.

Verse 27 of the present inscription states that 'when Karṇa approached (*the Gūrjara country*), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gūrjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of thier non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the king of the Gūrjara country, but, unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karṇa's relations with the contemporary Gūrjara king were already strained. Later on the two kings seem to have combined for the common objective of crushing out of existence the kingdom of Mālwā, but their amicable relations did not last long; for, Hēmachandra records Bhīma's defeat of Karṇa[4] while an Apabhraṁśa verse gives Karṇa credit for the extermination of mighty Gūrjara forces[5]. These

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[1] cf. दक्षिन्वासवव(व)श्रुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले
मग्नलाक्षिणि तस्य व(ब)न्धुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपति: ।
येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपममिलत्कर्णाटकर्णप्र[भु]-
मुर्व्वीपालकदर्थितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहायितम् ॥ Verse 32 of the Nāgpur *praśasti*, above, Vol. II, p. 185.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently suggested (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 291, n. 4) that Karṇa mentioned in this verse is the Chaulukya Karṇa and not Kalachuri Karṇa. He takes the *svāmin* in the above verse to be Jayasiṁha, the son of Bhōja. But the Chaulukya Karṇa was not a contemporary of Jayasiṁha; for, his father Bhīma was reigning till V. S. 1120 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 172), while Jayasiṁha was succeeded by Udayāditya some time in V. S. 1116 (see Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 133 and 134). The later references to Jayasiṁha are either doubtful (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 56, n. 3) or refer to some other Jayasiṁha, perhaps the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 57, n. 8). The Kalachuri Karṇa, on the other hand, was a contemporary of the Paramāra Jayasiṁha. It seems that he invaded Mālwā at least twice. The first invasion occurred in *circa* A. D. 1055 about the time of Bhōja's death. Karṇa and Bhīma attacked Mālwā from the east and the west. Jayasiṁha, the son of Bhōja, was then obliged to seek Sōmēśvara-Āhavamalla's help to turn back the invaders (see the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, III, 67). Karṇa's second invasion seems to have occurred about five years later. His ally this time was probably Sōmēśvara II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya VI. Karṇa achieved greater success this time. Jayasiṁha was probably killed in battle and parts of Mālwā annexed to the Chālukya and Chēdi kingdoms. In the Sūḍi inscription of Śaka 996 (A. D. 1075) Sōmēśvara is described as a blazing submarine fire to the ocean, that is, the race of the Mālavyas. An Apabhraṁśa verse in the *Piṅgalārthapradīpa* to which Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar drew attention long ago (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 339) clearly says that the Kalachuri Karṇa had by force uprooted the family of the king of Mālwā (हत्थ उज्जरगुज्जरराअदलं दलदलिअचलिअमरहट्ठबलं। बलमोलिअमालवराअकुला कुलउज्जलकलचुलिकण्ण फुला ।). Such statements could have been made only if Jayasiṁha being killed in the battle, there was for some time no scion of the royal family on the throne of Mālwā. Though the Chaulukya Karṇa also is said to have waged war on the king of Dhārā, he is nowhere credited with eradication of the family of the Mālava king.

[2] Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Canto I, śl. 102-3.

[3] के ब्रह्मिण मोलाविअ राअ उङ्कड उड्डअड समथ पराच ।
गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ बुज्झ ॥ *Collected Works* of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 339.

[4] Above, Vol. II, p. 303.

[5] See n. 1 above.

statements show that the two kings must have measured swords before A. D. 1063 at the latest, each side claiming victory over the other. Verse 27 of the present inscription suggests that the battle may have been fought even before A. D 1048-9.

The object of the present inscription appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karṇa, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste. Verse 34, with which commences the second part of the record, states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who are possessed of the other two powers, *viz.*, the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*mun-indra*) named **Kāchara** who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Śiva. He made the town **Kulāñchā** an ornament of three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turīya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.* Ganges). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage apparently to the Śūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.* Bṛihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of Kāyastha, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Śūdra) from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats, who gave security from fear to (all) beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion[1]. Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name again is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaṇarāja as Vishṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of v. 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From l. 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have consequently lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karṇa. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in v. 54, that it was as it were due to the laughter of Śiva who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the statement in v. 58 that the person, who had caused the temple of the 'enemy of Smara' (*i.e.* Śiva) to be constructed, himself composed the present *praśasti*. The last verse seems to name him as the great poet Kāchara, but the reading is not free from doubt. The record closes with the date 800 expressed in numerical figures only[2]. This must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and corresponds to A. D. 1048-9. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries

[1] His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

[2] The first two figures of the date are certain. The third also is clear in one of the impressions.

earlier[1]. The fanciful derivation of the caste name Kāyastha given here occurs also in the *Naishadhīyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchara. The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages, but the name of Kāchara as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature[2]. It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A. D.[3] From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, *viz.* v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in v. 36 to a Śūdra (*turīya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription it is now impossible to say how the Śūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇahood which seems to have been made in v. 34[4].

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara. The latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kārītalāi stone inscription[5] A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kārītalāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein[6] and is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*[7]. From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms[8]. Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for from vv. 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kārītalāi inscription.

Of the geographical names occurring in the present record **Baṅgāla, Kāśmīra, Kāñchī** and **Himālaya** are too well known to need identification. **Aṅga** comprised the country round modern

[1] In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sañjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (871 A. D.) and the Gurmha plates of Jayādityadēva II (870 A. D.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

[2] In the Ajayagaḍh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

[3] Is Kāchara, like Khachara (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 31), identical with Khazar?

[4] It is, of course, possible to take *turīya-janmā* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turīyārthaṁ (yajñārthaṁ) janma yasya saḥ*, *i.e.* one who is born for (the performance) of a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersberg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspatyam* give this sense of *turīya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, 2, 3, 11, etc. in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced; since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turīya-varṇa* in the sense of a Śūdra. Note also *agra-janman* (first born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yō bhūmi-dēva-pada-pāṁśu-pavitra-mauliḥ* suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 174.

[6] *Ibid.*, v. 9.

[7] *Ibid.*, v. 2.

[8] It must, however, be stated that v. 16 of the inscription states that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battle-field.

Bhāgalpur and Kīra that near Baijnāth in the Kāngrā valley. Lāṭa is generally identified with Central and Southern Gujarāt; but may have included some northern territory also[1]. Kuntala has already been shown to be the name of the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. Kulāñchā, the town founded by the sage Kāchara, is evidently identical with Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñchi or Krōḍāñja met with in the epigraphic records ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth century A. D. which have been discovered in the modern provinces of U. P., Assam, Bihār, Orissa and Mālwa[2]. From the statements in these records the place seems to have been a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāṇḍilya-*gōtra*, most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. According to the tradition recorded in the *Kula-pañjikās* of the Rāḍhī and Vārēndra Brāhmaṇas, five ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha at the invitation of the king Ādiśūra for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. The present inscription shows that the place was also the home of the Kāyasthas. In a copper-plate inscription from Assam[3] the village is said to have been situated in Śrāvastī. Our inscription seems to indicate that it was situated on the Ganges, but its exact location I am unable to fix.

TEXT[4].

[Metres: Vv. 1, 20, 33 and 54 *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 3, 9, 12, 15, 18, 19, 24, 30 and 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 43, 50 and 53(?) *Āryā*; vv. 5, 14, 17, 38, 44, 48, 49, 56 and 57(?) *Anushṭubh*; vv. 6, 8, 11, 22, 26, 32, 37, 40, 41, 46, 47, 51, 52 and 59 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 7 *Pushpitāgrā*; vv. 10, 13, 16, 23, 25, 29, 34-36, 39, 45(?), 55 and 58 *Upajāti*; v. 21, *Drutavilambita*; v. 27, *Indravajrā*; v. 28, *Mālinī*; v. 42 *Ruchirā*.]

1 . . . . . . [*] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑[5] सं मण्डलोग्रपक्ष-
[घे]के [सं*][वे]ल्लत्पद[ताम्र]व्यतिकरिणि जटाजूटकूटोदयाद्रौ । देयादुच्चैःप-
(व)नोरग[म]णि[किरण*]ग्रैविणीना सुधांशोर्लेखालक्ष्मीचिरं वस्तिमिरमवलितोद्वीय-
मानेव [शम्भोः] ॥[१॥] व — — वन मन्दरोरुस्थलामुखार — — ⏑ —

2 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —[वेणि]म[व्] ।
तच्चन्दा[जित्]नेत्रवदहनज्वालाजटालीकृ[तं] स[र्वा]ङ्ग[रि]व लोद[रं] विजयते
शम्भोर्ज्जटामण्डलम् ॥ [२॥*] व्यालव्याकुलम[ई]म[ई]मप[रं] लीलालस-
[लोचनम्] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑[मर्द्दमपरं] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —[॥*]
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

[1] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 85 f.

[2] Mr. J. C. Ghosh mentions six such charters (see *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 358-9). To them I would add the Kahla copper-plate grant of the Kalachuri Sōḍhadēva, above, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff. In l. 44 Kielhorn doubtfully read *Kulāndhiya*, which should be Kulāñchiya (*i.e.* of Kulāñchā). It is noteworthy that the Brāhmaṇa Jālu mentioned therein as hailing from Kulāñchā belonged, like other Brāhmaṇas of that place, to the Śāṇḍilya-*gōtra* and the Sāmavēda.

[3] See Padmanath Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, p. 165.

[4] From inked estampages supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[5] There is space for about nineteen *aksharas* in the beginning, of which the first six may have been ओं नमः शिवाय.

[6] Restore वक्षस्थल.

Rewa Stone Inscription of the time of Karna: the Chedi year 800.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 1846 E'38-275.

Scale: One-seventh.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

3 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —[रं] वपुः ॥ [३॥*] [यु]ष्मे
दुहरकन्दे व[ह्मो]मिव रोचयन्ति यां मुनयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी व्रा(ब्रा)-
[ह्मी श्र]त्यापि सा जयति ॥[४॥*] रसामृतसुधावाचः कवीनां सद्गुणा-
श्रयाः । लुठन्तु विदुषां कण्ठे [अवे च?] [वि]ततं यशः ॥[५॥*] क्षीरोद-
वेलावि[मि][यसुधाविधानमाविर्व(र्ब)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दु-*][1]
4 [रेषः । तस्मादजायत वु(बु)धः स किल द्वितीय*]मार्द्यं पुरूरवसमाप तनूज-
रत्नम् ॥[६॥*] इति महति सुधामयूखवं[वं]शे नृपतिरजायत [को]र्तिकाय-
मानः । फलभरनमितः स चक्रवर्ती त्रिभुवन[भूष]णभूवमेक एव ॥[७॥*]
त[स्यो]दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीना[मी]शः [क्रमा]दजनि [हैहयचक्र][वर्ती ।*]
[यस्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जर*-]
5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]स[भं] दशास्यः ॥[८॥*] वैरिध्वान्तभिदः
सहस्रकरतो भूपालचूडामणे[र्य]स्मादद्भुतवा(बा)हुव(ब)न्धविधुरो न[क्तं]चरग्रामणीः ।
हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्ध(द्धृ)ति[2][:*] प्राग्विक्रान्तममन्यत स्वय-
[मपि स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम्][3] ॥[९॥*] यस्मा[त्रि][धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मा-*]
6 [दभूवन्न(न्न)हवो नरेन्द्राः ।*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षां] विरराम वृ[ष्टिर्वि]पक्षनारी-
नयनाम्बु(म्बु)वा[हैः] ॥[१०॥*] व(ब)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्ड्या(ण्ड्यो)
लाटेशलुण्टनपटुर्जितगूर्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटार्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि
लक्ष्मण[राजदेवः] ॥[११॥*] आसोद्यद्विजयप्रयाण[जनित][व्यायामखेदोदयोन्मज्ज-]
7 [त्कैलिकगात्रसिन्धुरशिरः*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुणः । त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाशोणोभृदम्भोनिधिः
पूर्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठदलनास्रक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव[4] ॥[१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललना-
भुजङ्गो निःशेषधात्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यश्चेदी[न्द्र]-
च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेवः ॥[१३॥*] [यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र-]
8 [तापेनारिमूर्द्धसु कुला*][द्रिकुञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्विमिस्तु[त्यं] प[दं] दधे ॥[१४॥*] दिक्कर्य-
न्तनिखातयूपनिचयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणि[5]स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामा-
भवत् । यस्मिन् व[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलतू[र्य]का[र्य]-
मह्हितच्छोणीपती[नां] रसन्[6] ।[।१५॥*] य[स्मिन्सुखैकप्र-]

[1] The letters in square brackets marked with an asterisk in ll. 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karṇa (above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.).

[2] The Goharwa plates also read श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धति:, but the sense requires शैलोद्धृति:.

[3] The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here. Read स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the unpublished British Museum first plate of Karṇa.

[4] The Goharwa plates have a faulty reading in this place, which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change as कठोरकंठ दलनात्स:सिंधुपूरैरिव. Our reading gives a better sense.

[5] In the corresponding verse in the Goharwa plates Dr. Hultzsch read क्ष्मापालचूडामणे. The *aksharas* here are quite clear.

[6] The Goharwa plates read ससं(ञ्म).

9 [भवे प्रजानां*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[र्त]माने ⏑ तस्ये(स्मे) पयस्विनिव योगभा[जां] नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम् ॥[१६॥] आशासमू[हे] प्र(प्र)सरत्करप्रस्फुटि[तं] यश: । धत्ते यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराधाराकरमध्य(ध्य)रे[1] ॥[१७॥*] काराप्रवरवरवीर- नृपति[र्दी]नोद्भवत्मौचयैस्तस्मात्कुन्तलमन्थभिषिष[सि]क्तो मा[हे]य-

10 [दे*][वो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारक्रमा नि[र्नि]त्योत्कलम- वि(वि)सोन्नि विजयस्तम्भ: स्वकीयो भुज[:] ॥ [१८॥*] यस्येनाचरणक्रवाल- दलितप्राणालदन्तावलश्रेणीमौक्तिक[पं]क्तिषे[षु] परित: प्राप्ते[षु] प्राथोनिधे: । दृप्यद्दारवदारवोदतम[दैलीनं] सत्त[नौ]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक-]

11 न्दरोदरदरी[छिद्रेषु कण्ठीरवै:] ॥[१९॥*][2] यत्कुन्तप्रोतश[त्रु]तरुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रवृत्त- वेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितककुप्चक्रपर्यन्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालब्ध(ब्ध)वाचां समि[ति] सरभसं दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ग्राम्यापारिणामरी[णां] वरवरणविधि: क[ष्ट][3]मासीन्मुहू[र्त]- म(म्) ॥[२०॥*] अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्थि]जने

12 [धनं दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्तरु: । रिपुयश:कुमुदाकरभास्कर: सुतमसूत स क[र्ण]नराधिपम् ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमन:सुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमि- भृ[तां] पुरस्तात् । वीरस्य वीरचरि[तं] नटते कव(ब)न्धैर्दोर्दण्डचण्डभुजकठोरभुज- स्य यस्य ॥[२२॥*] दर्पैककु[र्वा]तरयेव गुर्वी नगाद्रि-

13 — — ⏑[4] [वि]टौर्वसन्धि: । अन्त[र्य]टीयस्य व(ब)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशि[र्म]मज्ज पूर्व्वावनि- राजपोत: ॥ [२३।*] मा[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति[र्मं] त्यक्तपूर्व्वक्षितिर्यस्या- स्त्यातुमितीव चेदिनृपतेर्दिक्चक्रमाक्रामत: । प्रान्तभ्रान्त[5]वनेचरीकरिकरास्फालावहे- लोल्लसत्कल्लोलावलिवा(बा)हुदण्डमुदधिव-

14 [क्रन्द सान्द्रस्वनै: ॥*] [२४॥*] हठग्रहाम्दोलितकुन्तलश्री[र्वि]लम्बमानाम्बरपल्लवा च । आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेव येन दिग्दक्षिणा संबु(बु)भुजे प्रकामम् ॥[२५॥*] [6]आशा- जये समदसिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्व्योमवदायतकरा[:] कक्कु[भां] करीन्द्रा: । पूत्कारमात्त- मिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्रु[:] कपोल-

[1] The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराधाराकारतां गतं.

[2] In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति: (v. 24 below) and therefore describes Karṇa.

[3] The Goharwa plates have कुशमासी° which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to कष्ट मासी° . Here the *aksharas* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *sh* has been obliterated.

[4] Restore कूटेषु.

[5] The Goharwa plates read भ्रान्त°.

[6] In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed before अभिमुखैकप्रभवे etc. (v. 16 above) and is, therefore, intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II).

15 [मधुपव्यतिमिर्मि]राम्रा[:] ॥[२६॥*] यस्मिन्समासीदति गूर्ज्जरो[णां] गण्डस्थले साञ्जन-
का[च]लिङ्गा: । आलाद्वैधव्यविधानवर्ण्णा: पर्य्यन्तभाजां स्खलिता इवासन् ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरलघिम[र्य्यं] यस्यटालोत्रटाले[र्य]दप[रिमि]तस्व[र्ण्ण] वारवैर्दीयमं
यत् । विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ह्निस्तदुच्चै]रदह-

16 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — कमेक[:] प्रताप[:] ॥[२८॥*] भूर्ज्जत्वच: सङ्कलितेभदानपाथो-
मषीव[र्ण्ण]विशेषभाज: । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवन्नृपा-
[णां] ॥[२९॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राग्व्र(ग्ब्र)ह्मचारित्र[तं] सा[र्द्ध]
व(ब)न्धुतया गृहस्थपद[वीं] कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं

17 [वनान्तरवशाद्भैक्ष्य*] भिक्षो[:] स्थि[तिं] येनै[वं] चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु
॥[३०॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभू: प्राक्कल्पम्धरणीधरान्त-
रचर[1]स्थावरत्कुरवोमया: । एतन्निर्मितमा[:] पुरा परिमि[तं] व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डम[स्मिन्कथं
संमास्यन्ति] यशांसि[2] [चे-]

18 [दिनृप*]ति[रित्याकुलो[भूच्चि]रं ॥[३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्ण्ण]नृपत(ते)र्व्वत
वर्ण्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्र[3]पट्टै: । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(बि)डाक्षरचक्रवा-
लवाचालितैर्व्वं(र्व्व)धिरभावमियाय विश्वम् ॥[३२॥*] यावद्भूचन्द्र चन्द्रो [दि]युति-
श्चिरमिदा [सू]र शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] — —[4] [रिपुक्रक्र[5]प्रदहन दह]नो या[व]-

19 — — ⏑ — — । — — — यावदब्धि(ब्धि)[र्म]हदधिपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मत्[त्वां]-
स्तावत्तावस्य धात्रीमिति पदमजनि व्र(ब्र)ह्मणामाशि[षां] य: ॥[३३॥*] ॥
उत्साहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जां] प्रवर्द्धनायाखिलमन्त्रशक्ते[:] । द्विजातिरे[षा] पृथि[वी-
पतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] व(ब)भूव [हेतु:] ॥[३४॥*] रा-

20 — ⏑ — — [विमलश्चिनेत्यपवित्र]जन्मा किल काचराख्य: । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिल-
कायमा[नां] पु[रीं] कुलाख्यामकरोन्मुनीन्द्र: ॥[३५॥*] तमादरादात्मवि[दां] वरिष्ठमा-
राधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [।*] स्व[:]सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्यो] ⏓ — ⏑ —
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ॥[३६॥*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑

[1] The Goharwa plates have प्राक्कल्पम्धरणीधरान्तरस्थपरत which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to emend as धरणीधरान्तरस्थापारात्

[2] Read यशांसि.

[3] Read ताम्रपट्टै:.

[4] Restore दुग्धा—.

[5] This *akshara* is superfluous.

21 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — मनसा तस्य अकिम्पति दिक्चातिकाभिकामः । यो भूमिदेव-
पदपान्व[1]चरित्र[मै]त्रि[र्वं] त्यानुरूपचरितं भुवनमपुरीति ॥[३७॥*] संस्थाम-
नोत्थ कार्य[व]कव प्रसादकृते[ऽक]र: । अन[:] कायि[स्त न]ता[स्यां]
जाति[मात्माभि][2] — ⏑ ⏑ ॥[३८॥*] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
कुले ⏑ — —प्रथि-

22 त ⏑ — — । [च]मौक्तिकपुष्पमनन्तकी[र्त्ति] कायकर्मणः आचचार तस्मात् ॥
[३९॥*] तदन्वये कर्मविदः सुधियः जाताः समस्ताः सुजनियो गुणिनः
क्रमेण । प्रासु[र्व(र्व)]भुवनमण्डलि[भौ]मचक्रदत्तावधयः कमलाकर ⏑ र — ⏑ — —
॥[४०॥*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —कुलेविवेकः

23 ⏑[3] — [स्मर इति प्रथितो] म(ब)भूव । [सर्वोंसु] गुणगणा[भि]रामसुरवी[षु] रवेषु
सोमसुत प्रवानुपमप्रभावः ॥[४१॥*] पुरः पुरो विप्रकुलाभिषेकाः सिद्धवत[:]
पुरुषवरा[निह्नान्व]ये । चकार यः [प्रथितगुणप्रपु] [4]— ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ॥[४२॥*] . . . .

24 . [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवत्स[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणसतकेशवस्य ॥[४३॥*] [तस्मा] सुत-
कवीन्द्रा[णां] वन्द्यमिन्द्रपतिं [सदा ?] । समासान्यति यशोभिः कीर्त्ति[र्की]
[र्त्त]त्रा[चं]द्रि[कां] ॥[४४॥*] [कमल ?]विलसता जनानुरा[गैः] त्रातमू[ल ?]
— — । प्रा — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ [कलंकितकोटि-
कूटे ?[5]] ॥[४५॥*]

25 — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —, — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ य[स्य तस्मात्] । — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [श्रो]त्रि[इ]ताचकस्य सोमे-
[श्व]रस्य महितस्य वरं च जन्म ॥[४६॥*] [प्रज्ञा]व(ब)[लाद्]जव(ब)ला-
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — रविरिव व(ब)ला ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — । — — ⏑
— [प्रकरपरिष्कृतपुण्डरीकाः ?] त[स्मात् ?] प्रतापपक्ष[पं] ⏑ — ⏑ — —
॥[४७॥*]

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[1] Read पांशु-.

[2] Restore शाश्वति.

[3] The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.

[4] Restore पुरःसरान्.

[5] I am not certain about the metre of this verse. If it is *Upajāti*, some *aksharas* have been dropped before कमल.

26 ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓, जगतीपाल — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[४८॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — यत्र ध्वान्ते ⏓ ⏓ य भूमिपां । [यो] व(ब)भूव गुणिग्रा[मैर्ग्रा]मणीलोकबा[न्धवः] ॥ [४९॥*] . . . . व[स्रा]त इव जातः । धर्म्मावतारसचिवस्त- स्य[ख्यातिभवः ?]

27 . . . ॥[५०॥*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [धर्म्मः] । [आ]स्थाय यस्य भुजद[ण्ड]मखण्ड- [कीर्त्तिः] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — मिव कालकूटात् ॥[५१॥*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — निपीता स्फीतारिकण्ठ[रुधिर]-

28 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — । — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ॥[५२॥*] . . . . । . . . . कर्पटेन्दुमौलरस्य ॥[५३॥*] लक्ष्म्यैव स्फाटि[काद्रे]स्तदविगुणतयालिङ्ग[नैः] स्वैरद- [त्तैः] [illegible] प्र[मोदं] [दधत इव भवस्याट्टहासावदातैः] । कीर्[त्तिं] द[र्श ?]यत[न्याः] पदमिव ⏑

29 ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ॥[५४॥*] ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [कां]तिं बि[राज]ति पा[ण्डुर(वै)]जयन्ती । कपर्दपिङ्गी[च]जटाकला[पे] ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ॥[५५॥*] [कृती कारितवान्किञ्च काञ्चनेनायकं ?] मठा[1] । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ [जनताप्राणत्यैकुण्ठ] ⏓ ⏑

30 — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[५६॥*] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[५७॥*] [धाम] स्वारोचिषि कारयित्वा कृता च येनेति महाप्रशस्ति[ः] । [महात्मनो] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏓ — ⏑ — — महतः [प्रसादात् ?] ॥[५८॥*] — — ⏑

31 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — प्रशस्तेका[न्] ।*] [illegible] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ [का ?]रय महाकवि(?)[2][काचरस्य] ॥[५९॥*] — — [नाम्ना महामङ्गलं संवत्सरे] ॥ ८०० ॥

[1] It would perhaps be better to read मठम्.
[2] The reading appears to be कवेः but it would not suit the metre.

No. 14.—THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The first conjecture about the epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, which was found used in dating several records in the Central Provinces, was made by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall who, in his article on the Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī dated Saṁvat 907 and the Tēwar inscription of the time of Jayasiṁhadēva dated Saṁvat 928, showed that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about A. D. 250.[1] Subsequently in 1878 Sir A. Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, that he had found among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, two, which were specifically dated in the Chēdi Saṁvatsara, and two others in the Kalachuri Saṁvat. He identified the two eras, 'as the princes of Chedi were of the *Kalachuri* branch of the Haihaya tribe'. He also stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 being the year 1 of the Chēdi Saṁvat. The details of these eight dates were given by him together with the corresponding Christian dates in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 which showed that only four of them were found to be regular, with the epoch of A. D. 249. But Sir A. Cunningham felt satisfied with the result and stated in his *Indian Eras* that A. D. 249=0 and A. D. 250=1 was the true starting point of the Chēdi era.

Cunningham's conjecture about the epoch of the era was corroborated by the dates of the Nausāri plates and the odd Kāvi plate of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III, which on calculation appeared regular[2] with the epoch of A. D. 249-250. No definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* when the era actually commenced was, however, made until Dr. Kielhorn published his article entitled 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. In that article Kielhorn showed by an examination of 12 dates of the later Kalachuris and their feudatories and of two dates of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III, that 'the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi-Saṁvat 0=A. D. 248-249 and Chēdi-Saṁvat 1=A. D. 249-250; and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a *uniform* process we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, A. D. 249=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307, current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era'. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as that beginning with Bhādrapada but he preferred the latter because 'Albērūnī *does* mention a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada'. As regards the arrangement of fortnights Kielhorn found that it was the *pūrṇimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the light half.

Kielhorn's calculations made on the basis of the epoch of A. D. 248-249 showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year was qualified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year, which is to be taken as expired if the Chēdi year commenced on Bhādrapada śu. di. 1, but as current if it began on Āśvina śu. di. 1. This proportion of current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras, such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar among others that

[1] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77. The grantor of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the [Kalachuri] year 486 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.) is the same as of the Kāvi plate. He should, however, be taken as Jayabhaṭa *IV* and not as Jayabhaṭa *III*.

" the Hindus' usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date is not ' in the year so and so ' but ' after so many years had elapsed since such and such event had taken place ' ".[1] The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Fleet[2] in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era, which were not qualified as current or expired, should be taken as current. This controversy about the general practice of the Hindus in dating their records in the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article ' Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera ' contributed to the *Festgruss an Roth*[3] and in another on the Bherā-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadēvī in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 7ff. both of which were published in 1893, he expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed A. D. 247-248 as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the Chēdi year he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nāgpur on the 30th October 1799 : " The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina ; but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day[4]." Kielhorn thought that the Āśvinādi year, which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom, might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year and, as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 248 as the first day of the first current year and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 249 as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable Chēdi dates in the inscriptions of the Later Kalachuris and their feudatories, which were known till then, were, without exception, in expired years. The two early dates, 456 and 486, of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*.[5]

Three more Chēdi dates containing the necessary data for verification were subsequently discovered and were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, *viz.*, (1) the Sārnāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karṇa[6] dated *Sa[mvatsarē* 8]10 *Asvina* (*Āśvina*) *sudi 15 Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday, the 4th October 1058) ; (2) Tahankāpār (first) plate of Pamparāja[7] dated *Saṁvata(t)* 965 *Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mṛiga-ri(ṛi)kshē [Sōma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current Chēdi year 965, to Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213) ; and (3) Tahankāpār (second) plate of Pamparāja[8] dated *Saṁvat 966 . . . . Īsva(śva)ra-saṁvatsarē Kārti(rtti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ṛi)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūry-ōparāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October A. D. 1214). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, *viz.*, (4) that of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription which he now read as *Kalachuri-saṁvatsarē |898| Asvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē*[9] from a photograph supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar and found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145.

[1] See *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, pp. 388-389. The paper was communicated to the *Bom. Br. R. A. S.* on the 1st August 1889.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

[3] See pp. 53-56.

[4] See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

[5] Above, Vol. V, Appendix p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

[6] *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1906-7, p. 100.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 129-130.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is A. D. 247-248 was confirmed by these new dates; for while two of them (viz., 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, the other two (viz., 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.[1]

Since 1893 scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in A. D. 248. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, has suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.[2]

Since Kielhorn's time as many as thirteen new dates of the Chēdi era have come to light and though they have been calculated and the corresponding Christian dates have, generally, been given by the scholars who have edited the records in which they occur, none has so far comprehensively dealt with them with a view to see how far they support or go against Kielhorn's view regarding the epoch of the Chēdi era and the beginning of the Chēdi year.

Having recently had to verify all the Chēdi dates I have come to the conclusion that the epoch A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn is correct so far as it concerns the later Kalachuri dates; but taking all the dates into consideration I am convinced that with that epoch the Chēdi year could not have commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 as held by Kielhorn. On the other hand some of the lately discovered dates go to show that the year must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśirsha to Phālguna as current in any of the provinces under the Kalachuris[3], I think it probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, especially because the era seems to have originated in Western India, where the Kārttikādi variety was the standard one.[4]

To prove my view I give below nine[5] out of the thirteen lately discovered Chēdi dates together with their corresponding Christian dates according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248. These dates are arranged below under two heads A.—Dates in expired years and B.—Date in current year. As according to my view the Chēdi era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 130.

[2] See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), Second ed. p. 376.

[3] Albērūnī mentions a year beginning in Mārgaśirsha, but from the account he gives of it, it seems to have been current in the north-west of India from Multān to Sindh and Kanauj (see *Sachau's Tr.*, Vol. II, pp. 8-9).

[4] Since this article was sent to the press, the Government Epigraphist has, at my request, sent me estampages of the Makundpur stone inscription dated [K.] 772. The existence of this inscription was known to Kielhorn. He has referred to it twice (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85 and above, Vol. I, p. 354), but had no opportunity to examine its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyadēva and is dated *Samvat 772 Kārttika śu di 12 Vu(Bu)dhadinē*. This date, falling in the month of Kārttika, would have proved invaluable for fixing the later limit for the commencement of the Kalachuri year, but unfortunately the details do not work out satisfactorily. The nearest equivalent is Tuesday the 13th October A. D. 1019 when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 11 h. after mean sunrise, *i.e.*, there is a mistake of one day. In A. D. 1020 the *tithi* fell on Monday and in A. D. 1021 on Friday. So neither of these would be more suitable. If we overlook the mistake of one day, this date would show that the Kalachuri year 772 was a current year and that it could not have commenced later than Kārttika śu. di. 12. If the above supposition is correct, this date and the dates Nos. 5 and 6 given below, p. 121, may be said to furnish the necessary evidence to prove that the Kalachuri era commenced on the *purṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248.

[5] I omit the following four dates for the reason stated in each case: (1) The Goharwā plates of Karṇadēva, because they mention no year of the Chēdi era; (2) the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, because the date is found to be irregular; (3) the Ghotia plates of Pṛithvīdēva II, because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect and (4) the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva (II), because the last figure of the date is uncertain.

A. D. 248 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 170), to convert a current Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in all other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

A.—Dates in Expired Years.[1]

1. The Rewah stone inscription of the time of Karṇa (Bhandarkar's *List* No. 1226) (from an ink-impression with me)—*Sampatsata(ra) 812 śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāsa(śa)-vyavaharaṇayā navama-samvatsarē Māgha-sudi 10 Gurau*, i.e., the year 812, the ninth year of the administration established by Karṇa, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Thursday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 812+170=982) is Thursday the 4th January A. D. 1061 when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

2. The Sheorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21ff.)—*Saṁvata(t) 878 Bhādra-sudi 5 Ravau.*, i.e., the year 878 the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Sunday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 878+171=1049) is Sunday the 14th August A. D. 1127. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

3. The Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159ff.)—*Tēn=ās(ś)īty-adhik-āshṭa-vatsara-śatē jātē dinē Gīḥpatēḥ Kārttikyām=atha Rōhiṇ-ībha-samayē rātrēś=cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vidām=agrataḥ sarvva-grāsam=anushṇa-gōḥ pravadatā tūrṇṇā pratijñā-nadī* [(v. 19), *i.e.*, the expired Chēdi year 880 Kārttika śu. di. 15, a Thursday with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 880+170=1050) is Thursday the 8th November A. D. 1128. The moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

4. The Amōdā plates (first set) of Pṛithvīdēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 409ff.)—l. 24, *Chaitrē Sōma-grahē sati*; l. 33, *Saṁvat 900*, i.e., the Year 900 with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 900+171=1071) is Friday the 25th March A. D. 1149. On that day there occurred a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

5. The Amōdā plates (second set) of Pṛithvīdēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412ff.)—*Saṁvat 905 Āsvi(śvi)na-sudi 6 Bhaumē*, i.e., the year 905, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Tuesday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 905+171=1076) is Tuesday, the 14th September A. D. 1154. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. With the Chēdi year commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1152 if the Chēdi year is taken as current and in A. D. 1153 if it is taken as expired. But in A. D. 1152 the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September) and in A. D. 1153 it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

6. The Jubbulpore Kotwali plates of Jayasiṁha (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 91ff.)—*Saṁvat 918 Āśvina-sudi paurṇamāsyām tithau Sa(Śa)ni-dinē Tripuryāṁ Sōma-grahaṇē*, i.e., the year 918 the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Saturday, at Tripurī, a lunar eclipse. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 918+171=1089) is Saturday, the 30th

[1] For the verification of dates I have used throughout D. B. S. K. Pillai's indispensable work '*An Indian Ephemeris.*'

September A. D. 1167. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. With the Chēdi era commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1165 if the year is current, and in A. D. 1166 if it is expired. But in A. D. 1165 the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in 1166 it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

7. The Rewah plates of the time of Vijayasiṁha (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 295ff.)—*Saṁvat 944 Bhādrapada-sudi 1 Śukrē*, i.e., the year 944 the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Friday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 944+171=1115) is Friday, the 30th July A. D. 1193. On that day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. The Pendrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 1ff.)—l. 26, *grāmō Makara-saṁkrāntau dattaḥ saṁkalpa-pūrvakaḥ*; l. 35, *Saṁvata(t) 965 da Palasadā-samāvāsidai (ta-vi)jaya-kaṭakē | Māgha-sudi 10 Maṁgala-dinē |*. As it stands, the date is irregular; for in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha connected with a Tuesday. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi* it corresponds (for the expired Śaka year 965+170=1135) regularly to Tuesday the 7th January A. D. 1214. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-saṁkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December, A. D. 1213.

B.—Date in Current Year.

9. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78ff.)—ll. 27-28, *Gha(Phā)lguna-kṛishṇa-saptamyāṁ Ravi-dinē*; l. 41 *Chēd-īsa(śa)sya saṁ 831*, i.e., the year 831 the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, a Sunday. The corresponding date (for the expired Śaka year 831+169=1000) is Sunday the 27th January A. D. 1079. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

A careful examination of these nine dates will show that—

(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn; for though the dates 1-8 might also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, that epoch will not at all do for the date 9. This date, therefore, clearly proves the correctness of the epoch A. D. 247-248. There were only two such dates in current years[1] known to Kielhorn.

(2) The dates 2 and 7 clearly show that with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 the Chēdi year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. There was only one date of this type[2] known to Kielhorn, which rendered his earlier view about the Chēdi year commencing in Bhādrapada impossible when he changed the epoch to A. D. 247-248.

(3) As seen above, an Āśvinādi year with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 will not at all suit the dates 5 and 6. For them a year beginning in some month later than Āśvina is required. Now the date 9 shows that the Chēdi year must have commenced before Phālguna va. di. 7. The beginning of the Chēdi year must, therefore, lie between Āśvina śu. di. 15 (the *tithi* of the date 6) and Phālguna va. di. 7 (the *tithi* of the date 9). Though it is not yet possible to settle this question definitely, I think it probable that the era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 for reasons already stated.

[1] See above, p. 117, the dates 2 and 4.

[2] The date of the Rewah copper-plate inscription of Kīrtivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 219 and 224ff.

(4) Among the nine dates there are only two (*viz*. the dates 8 and 9)[1] which fall in the dark **fortnight. They corroborate** Kielhorn's conclusion that the arrangement of fortnights in the **Chēdi era was the** *pūrṇimānta* one.

(5) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 8 : 1, which is in accordance with that **observed in the case** of the dates of other eras.

A Kārttikādi year will also suit almost all the dates known to Kielhorn. The only dates **that require to be** specially considered here are those falling in Āśvina. Only two such dates **were known to Kielhorn,** *viz*., (1) the date of the Sārnāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of **Karṇadēva**—*Saṁvatsarē 810 Āśvina-sudi 15 Ravau*, the corresponding Christian date being Sunday the 4th October A. D. 1058; and (2) the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription—*Kalachuri Saṁvatsarē* | 898 | *Āśvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē*, the corresponding Christian date being **Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145.** Of these the former presents no difficulty. Only, it will now have to be considered as citing a current year and not an expired one as was supposed by Kielhorn. In regard to the latter it may be noted that its reading has been a matter of controversy for a very long time. Sir R. Jenkins first published it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505 as *Saṁvat 898 Ashwin shudh saptami*. Cunningham in his *A. S. R*., Vol. IX, gave it as *in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudi Some* on p. 86 and as *898 Aswina sudi 7, Monday* on p. 111. Subsequently in his *A. S. R*., Vol. XVII, plate XX, he published a photozincograph of only part of it which reads *Kalachuriḥ saṁvatsarē 898*. He again referred to it in his *Indian Eras*, p. 6 where he remarked 'A fresh examination has shown the date to be *Aswin su. di. 2* (and not *Aswin su. di. 7*)'. Kielhorn at first accepted this last statement of Cunningham and on calculation found that the date corresponded to Monday, the 9th September A. D. 1146, on which day the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. As he was then of opinion that the Chēdi year was Bhādrapadādi and the era commenced in A. D. 249, he concluded that the year 898 of this date was a current year. Subsequently in his article on the era in the *Festgruss an Roth* he confirmed the aforementioned reading from a facsimile and gave the same corresponding date as before, but as he had then come to the conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, he took the year of the date as expired. Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar next stated in his notice of the inscription in *P. R. A. S., W. C*. (p. 53) for 1903-4 that the inscription was dated 898 Kalachuri era, Monday, the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina. From a photograph of the inscription supplied by him, Kielhorn also finally read the inscription as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē* | 898 | *Āśvina-sudi* 7 *Sōma-dinē* and stated that it regularly corresponded, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145, when the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. This date seemed to confirm Kielhorn's opinion that the Chēdi year began in Āśvina, for it showed that the month of Āśvina fell, in any case, in the beginning of that year. But the recent discovery of the dates 5 and 6 noticed above, which show that the Chēdi year began in some month later than Āśvina, has rendered the accuracy of the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ inscription open to question. There is of course no doubt about the reading of the date. I have satisfied myself that the reading finally adopted by Kielhorn is correct; but with that reading the date appears to be irregular; for, with the Chēdi year commencing in some month later than Āśvina, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina would, in the current year 898, fall on Saturday (the 14th September 1146) and in the expired Chēdi year 898, on Friday (the 3rd October A. D. 1147). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Monday. The question, therefore, arises whether we should take the Chēdi era to be Āśvinādi on the authority of this date and treat the dates 5 and

[1] [The actual reading in No. 8 is *sudi*.—Ed.]

6 as irregular or whether on the authority of these latter dates we should take the Chēdi year to have commenced in some month later than Āśvina (probably in Kārttika). I choose the latter course not only because a larger number of dates would otherwise appear irregular but also because the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for taking the Chēdi year to be Āśvinādi is, as shown below, questionable. As for the date of the Sheorinārāyan inscription the conjecture may be hazarded that owing to the similarity in the Nāgarī figures 2 and 7 of the twelfth century A. D., the writer or the engraver committed a mistake in recording the *tithi* and wrote or engraved 7 in place of 2. The confusion in reading the figure of the *tithi*, which persisted for a long time, shows that such a mistake is not unlikely. The intended date Monday the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina regularly corresponds, for the current Kārttikādi Chēdi year 898, to Monday the 9th September A. D. 1146.

Let us next turn to the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1. As stated above he found the following statement in a letter written by Colebrooke at Nāgpur on the 30th October 1799: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' Kielhorn took this usage as reminiscent of the Chēdi year, for according to him the country round Nāgpur was previously included in the Chēdi kingdom. But Colebrooke's statement is clearly due to some misunderstanding. He was appointed Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and he stayed at Nāgpur from the 18th March 1799 to the 19th May 1801. The statement referred to by Kielhorn occurs in the *Journal of Occurrences at Nagpur*, which Colebrooke privately kept and from which some extracts have been printed in the *Life of Colebrooke* by his son Sir T. E. Colebrooke. As the context shows, the statement in question refers to the festival of Durgā which is to this day celebrated with great eclat not only in the Central Provinces but in other parts of India also. In the Mahārāshṭra the Dasarā or the Vijayā-daśamī, as the 10th day of the festival is called, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour during the Marāṭhā rule, as marking the end of the monsoon and the commencement of the season for military operations. Under the date 30th October 1799, Colebrooke gives in the *Journal* a graphic description of the Dasarā festival which he attended at the Rājā's invitation. He seems to have thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year, but he was clearly mistaken in this.[1] The era current in the country round Nāgpur during the 18th century was the so-called Śālivāhana or Śaka era. That the Śaka year did not then begin in Āśvina even at Nāgpur there can be no possible doubt. Dates of contemporary state papers cannot unfortunately be cited to prove this; for the Bhonslas, like other Marāṭhā chiefs, almost invariably used the Muhammadan year in dating their records. But if proof is needed, it would be furnished by the following date which occurs in two Marāṭhī letters[2] written evidently at Nāgpur by Raghōjī II, the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and by his brother, Khanḍōjī *alias* Chimṇājī Bāpu to record a mutual agreement, *viz.*, *Śakē 1701 Vikāri nāma saṁvatsarē miti Āśvina bahula paṁchamī, Bhṛigu-vāsarē.* This date corresponds, for the *amānta* Āśvina, regularly to Friday, the 29th October A. D. 1779. The cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka year 1701 was Vikārin according to the southern luni-solar system. This date clearly shows that the era current in Nāgpur in the time of Colebrooke was the Śaka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina.

[1] In a note added to the statement the Editor of the *Life of Colebrooke* remarks: 'It would appear too from a passage in Niebuhr's travels that the reckoning in use at Nagpur was followed in Bombay and Gujerat at the time of the traveller's visit. The year is said by him to begin with the month of Kārttika, evidently referring to the Autumnal Equinox.' The Editor is here evidently confounding the Durgā festival in Āśvina with the Divālī festival in Kārttika.

[2] See *Aitihāsika Patra-vyavahāra* (Historical Letters, Marāthī, pub. in 1933), pp. 147-48.

Even supposing that in Colebrooke's time the year began at Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina it can have no bearing on the question of the commencement of the Chēdi year for the simple reason that the country round Nāgpur was probably never under the rule of the Kalachuris[1]. No inscriptions dated in the Chēdi era have been found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār. These districts which were evidently comprised in the three Mahārāshṭras mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II were successively under the Early Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Paramāras, the later Chālukyas and the Yādavas, but never under the Kalachuris of Tripurī or of Ratanpur. In the present Central Provinces the use of that era was confined to the Chhattīsgarh and the northern Hindī-speaking districts.

Kielhorn's view that the territory round Nāgpur was once included in the Chēdi kingdom was evidently due to his wrong identification of the kings Siṁhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription with the homonymous kings of the Raipur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty[2]. The inscription is fragmentary and has not been edited so far. Kielhorn's knowledge of the kings mentioned in it was derived from a faint rubbing which he obtained from Fleet. My examination of the inscription has convinced me that it belongs to the Yādava (and not the Kalachuri) dynasty; for l. 4 of it names the royal family as *Yādavō vaṁśaḥ*. The kings Siṁhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in ll. 14 and 19 are evidently the well-known kings of the Yādava dynasty[3]. That the rule of the Yādavas extended in the east as far as Lāñji in the Bālāghāṭ District, about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur, is clear from a fragmentary stone inscription of the dynasty, found at Lāñji[4], which has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Chēdi era was current in the Nāgpur District, nor to show that the Chēdi year commenced in Āśvina. On the other hand the testimony of some of the recently discovered Chēdi dates renders it probable that **the Chēdi era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248.**

No. 15.—A DUTCH MEMORIAL SLAB IN INDIA.

BY F. W. STAPEL, LIT. D., UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM.

In 1911, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, at present professor in the Leiden University, and at that time the officiating Director-General of Archæology in India, noticed a memorial slab with a Dutch

[1] Some parts of Berār may have been under the Early Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja as a hoard of his coins was found at Dhamōri near Amraoti in Berār, but these coins were used by other dynasties also.

[2] Kielhorn has incidently mentioned this identification at the end of his article on the Khalāri stone inscription of Haribrahmadēva of the (Vikrama) year 1470, above, Vol. II, p. 230. He may also have had in mind the fact that the Kalachuri king Karṇa made his Benares grant (above, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.) after bathing in the Vēṇā. Kielhorn at first identified this river with the Waingaṅgā which flows about 40 miles from Nāgpur, but later on he corrected himself (see, above, Vol. IV, p. 122 n.) and took it to be a tributary of the Ganges which it joins at Allahābād.

[3] The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal also, following Kielhorn, at first thought that the princes mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, but he has not asserted that view in the second ed. of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 3. That these princes were of the Yādava dynasty is clear also from the fact that the first eight lines of the inscriptions, though much damaged, intimate the victories of these princes over Rudra, Āndhra, Chōla and perhaps Gurjarēndra also. It is clear that we have here references to the brilliant exploits of the Yādava kings Jaitugi and Siṅghaṇa. The petty kings of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty who ruled in the fifteenth century A. D. did not distinguish themselves in this way.

[4] See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.) p. 20.

inscription in the wall of the kachahri (court-house) at Chingleput. He drew the attention of the Government of the province of Madras to it, suggesting at the same time, that it should be transferred to the Government Museum in Madras. Evidently this hint was taken, for the stone is now preserved in the aforementioned Museum.

The rectangular stone is well preserved, measures 1·40 m. by 50 c.m. and bears the following inscription in letters 3 c.m. high.

TEXT.

1 Onder de Hoek van de Flank, hier naast deser Fortificatie, aangelegt,
2 door den heer, Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave, en
3 ingenieur tot Colombo, ten tyde van Joannes Spits, en Philippus
4 Jacobus Dormieux, als opperhoofd, en secunde: is den eersten steen
5 gelegt, door Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, dogter van gem:
6 Dormieux, en syn huysvrouw, Elizabeth Maria Mestral d'Meserie,
7 op den 14 [.] May a[nn*]o 1749.

TRANSLATION.

Under the corner of the flank, next to this fortress, built by Mr. Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave of Colombo, engineer, at the time of Joannes Spits and Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, chief and assistant, the foundation stone was laid by Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, daughter of the mentioned Dormieux and his wife, Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, on the 14th of May Anno 1749.

So far nothing was known about its origin, but a recent search in the records of the Netherlands-East-India Company has revealed the following facts:

In 1747 and the following years a fierce struggle was going on in the Carnatic Lowlands among the native authorities. Owing to his advanced age, Nabob Annawardi-chan (Nawab Anwar-ud-din) wanted to hand over his office to his eldest son, Mahometh Mafus-chan (Mahfuz Khan), but a number of visiadors (governors) strongly opposed this wish. The managers of the Netherlands factory at Sadraspatnam (usually called Sadras for short) situated about 35 miles south of the Madras city, *viz.*, the Under-Merchant Joannes Spits and his assistant or deputy, the book-keeper Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, approached the Netherlands governor of Coromandel, Mr. Librecht Hooreman, who resided in the castle at Negapatnam, asking his permission to build a fortress in order to be able to protect the Company's money and merchandise. The request was granted and in 1749 a small garrison was drafted from Negapatnam into Sadras, consisting of 1 sergeant-major, 2 corporals, 1 constable, 6 musketeers and 12 common soldiers, armed with a number of small guns. At the same time an order was placed for the building of a small fortress, which was erected by an engineer, named Coenraad Pieter Keller, "borrowed" for this purpose from the governor of Ceylon. The building was started in 1749, the memorial slab referred to was placed in it and towards the end of the same year the fortress was completed. A report was forwarded to the High Government in Batavia, who sent a message of thanks and satisfaction to Spits, for his tactful action through which he had succeeded in obtaining permission from the native ruler to build the fortress, and by way of reward promoted him to the rank of Merchant. Keller, however, came in for a rebuke, because he had built the fortress in so grand a style that the cost of it stood the Government in over 10,000 gold pagodas.

The way, in which the memorial slab, placed in the fortress, found its way to Chingleput, is described in pages 35f. in the book, written by Jacob Haafner: *Reize van Madras naar Ceilon* (Voyage from Madras to Ceylon) published in Haarlem in 1806. Haafner had been employed in the Company's office at Sadras since 1779. We get the following information from this work. Jacob Pieter De Neys was the chief there at the time. In the fortress there was then still a small garrison, not even 20 strong, in charge of a sergeant. Yet this garrison was sufficiently strong to hold it against the Callouris, a predatory tribe living in the Carnatic jungle. On the 17th of June 1781 De Neys had a party of all the qualified (higher) officials and their wives at his house, to celebrate a birthday. At the height of the revels the arrival of a British officer was announced. De Neys asked him to enter and join them. The young officer, however, was the bearer of a very distressing message. The British had received an intimation of a war that had broken out between England and the Dutch Republic. He had been sent by his chief, Captain George Mackay, the Commander of the strong garrison of Chingleput, situated 3 miles north-west of Sadras, who with the whole of his troops had marched to within a mile's distance. Mackay demanded the Dutch fortress and lodge to surrender at discretion. The alarm of the guests may be easily imagined. De Neys immediately held a meeting and all the persons present realised that it would be useless to offer resistance to the British, who outnumbered them ; yet, a surrender at discretion was out of the question. Only if fair conditions of capitulation should be granted, would they open the gates. The assembled company stated their terms : A. the property of the officials and inhabitants should be held in respect ; B. fair treatment of the prisoners-of-war should be guaranteed up to the conclusion of peace or the time of their exchange. Haafner being the only one who could speak English well, was sent to Mackay, who, at first, refused stubbornly and scornfully to sign the conditions of capitulation, but in the end proceeded to do so, when the Dutch stuck to their point.

The same evening the British troops marched into the fortress and now that it was in their possession, Mackay did not hold to the conditions he had signed. He had the prisoners taken to Madras without allowing them to take their possessions which they never saw again. Before their departure they witnessed how Mackay blew up the whole of the fortress. Though Haafner does not say anything about the memorial slab, it is obvious that the British troops took it as a trophy with them to Chingleput, where it was noticed in 1911 by Dr. Vogel.

It is common knowledge that in 1784, at the conclusion of peace in Paris, Sadras and the other conquered places, with the exception of the important settlement of Negapatnam, were restored to the Dutch Company.

In conclusion we are able to give the following information about the persons, whose names are stated on the tablet.

Coenraad Pieter Keller born in Steynfeld in Germany, sailed for the Indies as a lanspassaat (non-commissioned officer) on board the Watervliet in 1735. In the same year he entered the Civil Service in Batavia as an assistant and in 1737 was appointed assistant-surveyor in the same town. The High Government decided in 1740 upon sending him to Ceylon as an engineer, with the rank of Under-Merchant. He worked for several years in Colombo and in 1746 was appointed lieutenant-dessave (dessave being the title of the Governor of a province in Ceylon). On the 13th of September 1754 he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. Soon afterwards he went to Coromandel, where he took part in building a fortress at Bimlipatnam. In 1765 he got into trouble ; the Governor suspended him and afterwards imprisoned him in consequence of an effort made by him to run away. On his trial the public prosecutor demanded that he should be executed, but the Governor not being convinced of his guilt, sent him to Batavia with all the documents bearing on the case. He came up for trial before the Superior Court of Law and finding the charges

against him not proven, his case was dismissed. On the [illegible] the Government decided to reinstate him in his former rank on the same salary. Soon after that his death must have taken place, because after 1767 his name does not occur any more in the registers of the Company.

Joannes Spits was born in Negapatnam about [illegible], and in [illegible] he entered the service of the Company as a soldier. Owing to his clever penmanship he obtained a clerkship and after five years he finally entered the Civil Service as an assistant. In succession he occupied the following posts: 1705, book-keeper; 1708, senior clerk in the Negapatnam police office; 1712, Under-Merchant and Secretary in the same place; 1717, Adigaar (Collector) of the subsidiary; 1724, Chief in Palliacatta (Pulicat) and in 1725, Chief in Sadras. This last position he held for more than 25 years. In 1750, on the 12th of June, he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. At that time he was over 70 years old and soon afterwards he died. He was in the employ of the Company on the coast of Coromandel for about 55 years.

Philippus Jacobus Dormieux was born about 1708 in Porto Novo, where his father, who had a large family, was Secretary to the Company. In [illegible] Philippus started life as a soldier, was soon given a clerical job, became a provisional assistant in [illegible], and assistant in [illegible] and a book-keeper in 1737, in which capacity he was employed in Sadras for many years. He, too, was for a long time, about 50 years, in the service of the Company on the coast of Coromandel. He rose to greater heights than Spits, although in the 18th century promotion was slower than in the 17th century. His record of service reads: 1751, Under-Merchant; 1764, Merchant; 1765, Chief in Palliacatta; 1769, titular rank of Chief-Merchant; 1775, substantive rank of Chief-Merchant, Senior Administrator at Negapatnam and Second in the Coromandel Government. As such his name is mentioned for the last time in 1777, when he was about 70 years old. Soon after that his death must have occurred.

The memorial tablet records the name of his wife: [illegible], a name, which is not mentioned in the registers of the Company. Very likely she was not a Dutch woman, but probably the daughter of one of the many Frenchmen who lived along the coast at that time. For that matter the Dormieux, too, were supposedly of French origin.

No. 16.—NOTES ON THE NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, CALCUTTA.

The above grant has appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52-56. We congratulate Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the editor of the plate, for his fine critical acumen. Although he has not been able to identify the village of Ambila, from where the charter was issued, nor the village of Jaṅgōyikā, in which lay the donated land, the indication he has given of their locality has come very true. He, from a study of the nature of the script, the phraseology used in the Baigrām and other contemporary inscriptions discovered in North Bengal, and the standard measuring reed used, came to the conclusion that the land given away must have belonged to North Bengal, although the donee came from Nandapura in the Monghyr District of Bihār.

We find that a village named Ambulia or Ambalia still exists in *thānā* [illegible] of the Dinājpur District, in North Bengal. There is also a village named Jaṅgai in *thānā* Nawābganj of the same district. Baigrām is also in this *thānā*.[1] The village of Jaṅgōyikā seems to be a very ancient one. Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of a variety of sandal wood, a variety of

[1] *Village Directory*, Dinājpur (1885).

agaru (resin of aloe) and also a kind of *tailaparṇika* (leaves producing oil such as Eucalyptus) named *Joṅgaka* which might have taken this name from its place of origin. The commentator says that all these are the products of Kāmarūpa[1]. We do not know the time of this commentator. He might have flourished in the seventh century, when this part of Bengal was under Kāmarūpa. It is interesting to note that a variety of *agaru* is named *Dōṅgaka*, and a variety of *tailaparṇika* as *Aśōkagrāmika*[2]. This Dōṅgaka might be the same as the Dōṅgā-grāma in *Himavachchhikhara*, occurring in the Dāmodarpur plate No. 4[3]. The commentator placed Aśōkagrāma also in Kāmarūpa[4], but we find a village of this name in *thānā* Gaṅgārāmpur of the Dinājpur District[5].

We would now like to make some observations on some of the terms used in the first two lines of the plate. For ready reference, we give below the text and the translation by Mr. Majumdar :—

TEXT.

1 Svasty=Ambvi(mbi)la-grām-āgrahārāt=sa-viśvāsam=adhikaraṇām(ṇam) **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=saṁvyavahā-

2 ry-ādi-kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kuśalam=anuvarṇṇya bōdhayanti(ti) likhanti(ti) cha[|*] Vijñāpayati naḥ vishayapati-Chhattramahaḥ.

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-2) Hail! From the (*royal*) grant (*agrahāra*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the District (*Vishayapati*) **Chhattramaha**, with confidence intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikaraṇa*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being :

Agrahāra.—This has been translated as '(*royal*) grant'. The word, no doubt, ordinarily conveys this meaning. But it is doubtful if it has been used here in the same sense. Charters are usually issued from some headquarters or camps. There appears no reason why the present charter should be issued from a village of royal grant. In the Mallasārul plate of Vijayasēna, issued in the third year of the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpachandra (c. 508 A. D.), we find the designation of an officer as *Āgrahārika*. In the same plate the grant has been made by adressing several '*Agrahāriṇa-mahattaras*' of the neighbourhood[6]. So it seems that Agrahāra was meant to be the headquarters of a *Mahattara*, who was also an *Āgrahārika*, or *Agrahārin*.

Let us see what *agrahāra* literally means. It is derived from *agra*=first or prior and *hṛi*=to take. *Agra* here has to be taken in the sense of *agra-bhāga*, *i.e.*, king's share, because the king has got the priority or the first charge on the produce of land. *Agrahara* means 'one who takes or collects king's share'. The *Śukranīti* has used the words *bhāgahara* and *bhāgagrāhī* in this sense[7]. *Agrahāra*, therefore, means 'the place of business or headquarters of the *Agrahara* or *Agrahārin*'.

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Above, Vol. XV, p. 140.

[4] *Arthaśāstra* (Gaṇapati Śāstri's ed.), p. 189.

[5] *Vill. Diry.*, Dinajpur.

[6] *Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā* (B. S. 1344), pp. 17-21; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

[7] *Śukranīti* (Venk. Press), ch. II, vv. 120, 419.

Now we shall try to see how *agrahāra* came to mean 'a grant made to a Brāhmaṇa.' We have seen that in the Mallasārul grant *Agrahāriṇs* were *Mahattaras* also. The title *Mahattara* implies 'a head-man of a village.' When he performs also the function of 'a revenue-collector,' he is called *Agrahāriṇa-mahattara*.[1] Manu says that the king should appoint a head-man for every village, every ten villages and so on. The head-man of one village will get as his remuneration what food and drink the villagers are to pay to the king every day. The head-man of ten villages will get land which requires six bulls to cultivate, and so on[2]. Kauṭilya also says that the *Adhyakshas* or 'Superintendents of departments' should be endowed with lands[3]. The *Śukranīti* again says '*grāmapō Brāhmaṇō yōjyaḥ*'[4] *i.e.*, 'a Brāhmaṇa should be appointed as the headman or *Mahattara* of a village'. In this way the land granted as maintenance for the *Agrahāriṇa-mahattaras* who were invariably of the Brāhmaṇa caste came to be known as *agrahāra*.

Sa-viśvāsam—This has been translated as 'in confidence'. No question of confidence comes in here. We think that Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, has rightly raised the point that after *agrahārāt* some officers should be mentioned. We take *Viśvāsa* to be the designation of some officer. '*Sa-karaṇān*', a word similar to '*sa-viśvāsam*', is found in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmmapāladēva, as '*jyēshṭha-kāyastha-mahāmahattara-mahattara-dāśagrāmik-ādi-vishaya-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān*'[5], *i.e.*, 'the District-Officers such as the Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha, etc., with their *Karaṇas*, *i.e.*, Sub-Departments or the officers constituting their respective Sub-Departments.' Here it appears that the *Mahattara* was an officer higher than the *Dāśagrāmika* or the head of ten villages' and the *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha* was at the head of the *Vishaya-Vyavahārins* or 'officers of the district', probably employed in the work of revenue collection. *Viśvāsa* literally means 'trust,' hence 'any officer in charge of some work of trust.' Here it probably refers to the post of revenue-collector of the Ambila *agrahāra*.

Let us see if there is any evidence to show that there really existed any post of the name of *Viśvāsa*. The present-day surnames such as *Viśvāsa*, *Niyōgi*, *Bhāṇḍāri*, *Biśi* (*Vishayi*), *Majumdar* (correctly *Majmuādār*), *Munshi*, etc., are nothing but the names of posts, which were held by some forefathers, probably for some generations, of the present holders of these surnames. Arjuna Miśra, the Bengali commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, says that he wrote the *Mōkshadharmmārthadīpikā* under orders of the '*Gauḍēśvara-mahāmantri-śrīmad-Viśvāsa-rāya*'[6]. Again Rāmachandra Guha, the poet of the *Aindavānanda-Nāṭaka*, says that he was the son of '*Gauḍēndra-mahāmātya-kavi-paṇḍita-prāpta-Viśvāsa-sthāna(khāna)-padavīka*'[7]. We find that both *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* held high posts under the king of Gauḍa. Rāmachandra clearly states that his father held the post (*padavī*) of *Viśvāsa-khāna*. *Padavī* literally means 'a situation, a place,' but surnames after the post-designations have become so very common in Bengal that *padavī* means 'a surname'. The term again is so very popular that surnames such as Banerji, Ghosh, etc., which are not strictly *padavīs* go by the name of *padavī*. *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* seem to be similar to the modern 'Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.' After this there cannot be any doubt that *Viśvāsa* in the present plate has been used as the designation of an officer.

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1 [*Agrahāriṇa* of the Mallasārul Plate evidently stands for *agrahārika* and has been formed on the analogy of *grāmiṇa*.—Ed.]

2 *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. VII, vv. 115-19.

3 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 1.

4 *Śukranīti*, ch. II, v. 420.

5 Above, Vol. IV, p. 250, text l. 47.

6 *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, H. P. Sastri, 2nd. Series, Vol. I, No. 295.

7 *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, Tanjore, Vol. VIII, No. 4335.

Adhikaraṇam—This has been translated as 'court'. We think it would be more suitable to say 'department' or 'officers constituting the department'. Court ordinarily carries the sense of 'a Court of Justice.' Kauṭilya has used this word in the sense of 'a department.'[1]

Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān—This has been rendered as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others.' In the charters of the Sēna and the Varman kings of Bengal, we have '*Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*,' which has been translated by Mr. Majumdar as 'Brāhmaṇas, and the best or chief among Brāhmaṇas'[2]. Again in the Rāmapāl copper-plate of Śrīchandra occurs only '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān.*' This has also been rendered as 'the best among Brāhmaṇas.'[3] We think in the first case '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*' means 'other than the Brāhmaṇas,' and in the second case as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others,' as has been interpreted in the present case. No other rendering will be suitable to the context.

Saṁvyavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ—This has been translated as 'the chief officers and the householders'. In the Dāmōdarpur plate No. 3 a distinction has been made between the *adhikaraṇa-grāmika-kuṭumbinaḥ*, and the *-prakṛiti-kuṭumbinaḥ*.[4] The first seems to refer to those, who by virtue of their position in society held some office, such as *mahattara*, etc., while the second are the lay or ordinary householders. In the present plate these householders are not the ordinary householders, but belonged to the first class.

Kuśalam-anuvarṇṇya—This has been interpreted as 'enquiring about the well-being of'. This is the same as '*kuśalam=uktvā*' of the Dāmōdarpur plate mentioned above. It should, we think, be translated as 'after saying or wishing well-fare' such as '*śubham=astu bhavatām*'. Manu ordains that *kuśala* should be enquired of the Brāhmaṇas only, and not of the other *varṇas*.[5] Here in the assembly people other than the Brāhmaṇas were also present. So enquiring of *kuśala* of all would have been against law and etiquette.

No. 17.—SVALPA-VELURA GRANT OF GANGA ANANTAVARMAN.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Ootacamund.

This grant is one of the nine sets of copper-plates which were acquired by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the year 1935, and seven of which have already been published.[6] Their exact find-spot is not known, but, as stated above,[7] they were unearthed in a village of the **Badakhimedi Estate** in the Ganjām District.

The charter consists of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 7" × 2¾". They were strung on a ring, about 3½" in diameter, to which was fixed a **seal**. This is now badly defaced, but it probably contained the figure of a recumbent bull. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 108¼ *tolas*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on the inner face, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. Their rims are left flat, still the inscription on them is intact. There are altogether thirty lines of writing, each face of the second plate containing eight and the other two seven each.

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[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. IX.
[2] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 24, 66, 78 and 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[4] Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.
[5] *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 127.
[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.; 78 ff.; 141 ff. and 261 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The **characters** belong to the northern variety of alphabet, which is generally found in the Gaṅga records. The script of the present inscription resembles to a great extent that of the Vishamagiri plates of Indravarmadēva,[1] and, at the same time, appears to be somewhat more archaic than the latter. It is, however, decidedly much later than that of the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman.[2] With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be observed that *k*, *dh*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *s* and *h* have two signs each, as found in the following examples : *Śvētak*- and *śakala* (l. 1) ; -*ādhishṭhā*° (l. 1) and °*dhirāja* (l. 7) ; °*parika* (l. 10) and *janapa*° (l. 11) ; *māhēśvarō* and *mātā* (l. 6) ; *pralaya* (l. 2) and *nāyaka* (l. 10) ; °*dhirāja* and *paramē*° (l. 7) ; *śakala* (l. 1) and *kamal*- (l. 4) ; *nivāsi*° (l. 3) and *sāmanta* (l. 5) ; *hētō*° (l. 2) and *māhē*° (l. 6). Similarly *n* is represented by two distinct forms one of which is identical in shape with the same letter in Nāgarī, while the other looks like Nāgarī *v*. Both of them may be compared in *nivāsina* (l. 3). The same word also illustrates the two ways in which the medial *i* is expressed. The medial long *ī* is likewise denoted in two ways, cf. *śrī* (l. 3 *et passim*) and *kuśalīḥ* (l. 8). Attention may be called also to *śrī* in l. 29 the form of which totally differs from the sign of the same word occurring several times in the rest of the inscription. As to the signs for initial vowels, *a* is met with in ll. 8, 22, 27, *i* in ll. 24, 26, 29, and *u* in ll. 18, 29. Here again, two diverse forms of initial *i* are seen in *iti*, appearing twice in l. 29. The sign for final *t* (ll. 15, 23) is equally noteworthy.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose, except that five of the customary verses occur in ll. 19-26. Concerning **orthography** the following points are noticed : (1) In certain cases *sandhi* rules have been disregarded, as in l. 15. (2) In a few instances the *sandhi* observed is wrong, as in °*rājyō parama*- (l. 6). (3) *Anusvāra* has taken the place of a final *m*, as in *phalaṁ* (l. 20) and (4) occasionally also of a class nasal, as in *Kaliṁg*- (l. 6), (5) whereas in some cases it appears redundantly before a nasal, as in *Gaṁṅg*- (l. 7) and *bhavatāṁm=ētad=* (l. 13). (6) *Visarga* is sometimes omitted, as in *nivāsina* (l. 3), (7) while it is wrongly used in *kuśalīḥ* (l. 8). (8) The letter *t* preceding *r* in *śakti-ttraya* (l. 4) and in *attra* (l. 27) is reduplicated. (9) A consonant after *r* is in most cases doubled, as in *Gōkarṇṇ*° (l. 3), and (10) left single in others, as in -*ārka* (l. 16). (11) As in many other records of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed in this inscription, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. The composition of the record also shows a few mistakes such as wrong spellings or incorrect grammar, which have been rectified in the transcribed text.

The document is issued by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* **Anantavarmadēva** from his capital or seat of government (*adhishṭhāna*) Śvētaka. Its **object** is to record the grant, made by the king himself, of a village called **Svalpa-Vēlura** (or Svalpa-Vēlurō), included in the district (*vishaya*) of Khalgukhaṇḍa, to one *Bhaṭṭa* **Nānaṭaśarman** belonging to the Vatsa *gōtra*, the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, and the Kāṇva *śākhā* (of the white Yajurvēda). *Mahāsāmanta* Aśōkadēva acted as the *Dūtaka* for this charter, while it was composed by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Gōvindadēva, registered (*lāñchhita*) by the chief queen (*Mahādēvī*) Vāsabhaṭṭārikā and engraved by Mahindrabhīma. The **date** of the record, which is given at the end, is **the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna in the nineteenth year** which, in all probability, refers to the regnal year of the king.

The donor, *M. P. P.* Anantavarman, belonged to the Early Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga. One of the conventional attributes attached to his name describes him as 'one who wields the supreme power over the entire Kaliṅga (*country*) conquered by the strength and might of his own arms', but this in common with a number of other Gaṅga grants has no special significance

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 134 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

here. Although several of the Early Gaṅga kings are known to bear the same name Anantavarman,[1] none of them appears to be identical with the grantor of the present charter. Unfortunately there still prevails a good deal of uncertainty with regard to the chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings, in spite of the fact that the number of their known records, which was already not a mean one, has during recent years been appreciably augmented by fresh discoveries. From the varied and extensive data available divergent opinions have been formed in respect of the many vexed problems connected with the history of the Gaṅgas, which it will serve no useful purpose to repeat here. Hence a brief and relevant discussion may suffice.

It has been supposed that there were at least five collateral branches of the Early Gaṅgas, ruling over different parts of Kaliṅga. Even an attempt has been made to fix the genealogy of each of them.[2] A verse appearing in Vajrahasta's grants[3] has been cited in support of that. There is indeed nothing against such a supposition. In fact, there is an additional piece of evidence in its favour. We know that there were various capitals from where the Gaṅga records have been issued. This diversity of capitals is better explained by accepting the above view than by assuming, with Mr. T. C. Rath, 'that the capital was changed from time to time'.[4]

Latterly, it has been suggested[5] that one branch of the Early Gaṅgas had Śvētaka as its capital, whence it ruled over the surrounding territory. It may parenthetically be pointed out that Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma asserts that the name of the city has hitherto been 'wrongly read as Śvētaka' but 'is really Śchētaka'.[6] His assertion is based on his examination of the four grants then available to him. There is no gainsaying that the forms of conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* are often very similar to and hardly distinguishable from each other in those records, as is the case in many others for the matter of that. Again, the evidence of the Vishamagiri plates, as adduced by Mr. Sarma, even substantiates his alleged reading *Śchētaka*. In spite of all that the latter does not seem to me acceptable. Considering that the names of the other Gaṅga capitals are purely Sanskrit ones, one would expect in the present instance also a familiar Sanskrit word as *Śvētaka* rather than a quasi-Sanskrit term like *Śchētaka*. This in itself, I admit, is not a sufficiently cogent argument for the acceptance of the former reading, but, as we shall presently see, it is strengthened by concrete evidence. As remarked above, Mr. Sarma had only four charters for comparison, whereas we have now six or seven more issued from the self-same capital city. If the *śvē* of *Śvētaka* is not clear enough in any of the previously known four grants, it is absolutely clear in at least three[7] of the latter group. It will be seen that the conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* there have distinct forms. We have, therefore, to treat the reading *Śchētaka* of the Vishamagiri plates as a mistake for *Śvētaka*.

Assuming now that the kings who issued charters from Śvētaka belonged to a separate branch of the Early Gaṅga rulers, we find that Anantavarman of the present grant is the only king of that name so far known in that line. The earliest known prince of this family is

[1] See above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 273 ff.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 38.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 189; Vol. IX, p. 96; Vol. XXIII, p. 71. The verse runs as follows :

पूर्वं भूपतिभिर्विभज्य वसुधा या पञ्चभिः पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो भुजबलात्तामेक एव स्वयम् ।
एकीकृत्य विजित्य शत्रुनिवहान् श्रीवज्रहस्तश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दुदारचरितः सर्वामरक्षीत्क्षमाः ॥

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 276.

[5] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 60 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 59 and n. 9.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIII, plates facing pp. 80, 262 and 267.

Sāmantavarman, as would appear from his Dhanantara plates,[1] which are not dated but are assigned to the seventh century A.D. on the evidence of their more archaic characters. Two points are noteworthy in this last-mentioned record; firstly Sāmantavarman does not bear any royal title; secondly he is described as *sva-bhuja-bala-parākram-ākrānta-sakala-Śvētak-ādhirājya*. This latter epithet, we know, occurs in connection with many other Gaṅga kings, with the only difference that there it has *Kaliṅga* instead of *Śvētaka*. From the above observation we may conclude that Sāmantavarman must have been a petty chief, ruling over a small territory called Śvētaka after the name of the capital city. Incidentally, this last reference further supports the theory of the separateness of the Śvētaka branch of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. As will be seen below, Sāmantavarman later on rose from his humble position to considerable power.

Recently, an important discovery has been made in the shape of a copper plate grant.[2] The charter is likewise issued from Śvētaka. It is dated and records the gift of a village, named Phērava, to four Brāhmaṇas. The donor is *Mahārāja* Sāmantavarman who has been rightly identified with Sāmantavarman of the Dhanantara plates. The identification is vouched mainly by the similarity of the script used in both the records. It may be noticed that in the Phērava grant Sāmantavarman is styled *Mahārāja* and bears the more common epithet *sva-bhuja-bala-parākram-ākrānta-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya*, whereas in his Dhanantara plates he bears no such title as *Mahārāja* and his corresponding epithet there contains *Śvētaka* and not *Kaliṅga*. This indicates that, during the interval between the times of the issue of his Dhanantara plates and Phērava grant, Sāmantavarman somehow or other managed to have his dominions expanded and thereby to acquire more authority. We have at present no means to ascertain either the exact duration of that interval or the circumstances that led to his success and achievements.

As has already been remarked, the Phērava grant is dated; and that is again a point inviting controversy. The date[3] is expressed only by three numerical symbols which the editor, Mr. Sarma, has read as 185. The first and the last figures no doubt represent 100 and 5 respectively The middle one, however, answers neither to 8 nor to 80, as a comparison of it with the known symbols of those numerals[4] will prove. Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as 185 is thus not warranted. The precise value of the disputed symbol cannot be determined unless we come across the same sign used elsewhere in a Gaṅga record in a date expressed both in words and in numerical symbols. Tentatively, however, I propose to explain the sign under discussion as representing 6, because it closely resembles the symbol for six occurring in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga.[5] The date would thus be the year 165 and not 185. No era has been specified in the record, but the year 165 possibly refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era.

According to Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as the year 185 of the Gāṅgēya era, Sāmantavarman becomes contemporaneous with Guṇārṇava's son Dēvēndravarman, a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅganagara, whose records of the years ranging from 183 to 195 of the same era are known.[6]

[1] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

[2] This has been edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma in *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vol. XIV, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 223 ff. and Plates; and *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 55 ff. (and Plates, *ibid.*, Pt. II).

[3] The date portion has come out more distinct on the plates accompanying Mr. Sarma's article in Telugu.

[4] For the signs of 8 and 80 see above, Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 333, text l. 23; Vol. III, plate facing p. 129, text l. 23, has the symbol for 80, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, plate facing p. 121, text l. 29, has that for 8.

[5] Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 145, text l. 20. It will be seen that in both the cases the symbol is identical in form with the letter *ha* of the alphabet used, but that in the case of the Kōmarti Plates it has the sign of medial *ā* added to it.

[6] See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1478, 1479 and 2048; also *I. H. Q.*, Vol. X, p. 301.

Mr. Sarma is inclined to believe that Sâmantavarman's subsequent rise was presumably due to a successful invasion by him on Dêvêndravarman's territory. This belief is not tenable in view of the fact that the reading of the date as the year 185 of the Phêrava grant is not correct.

Besides *Mahârâja* Sâmantavarman and *M. P. P.* Anantavarman, the following are the names of the other Gaṅga rulers of the Śvētaka branch as known from their respective characters : *Mahārāja* Indravarman ;[1] *Mahārāja* Pṛithivivarman, son of Mahindravarman ;[2] *M. P. P.* Indravarman, son of Pṛithivivarman ;[3] *Mahārāja* Jayavarman ;[4] *P. M. P. Rāṇaka* Dānārṇava, son of Pṛithvīvarman ;[5] *M. P. P.* Bhūpēndravarman ;[6] *Rāṇaka* Jayavarman ;[7] and *Mahārāja* Indravarman.[8] Sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.

As regards the localities mentioned in the present inscription, no satisfactory identification is forthcoming. Commenting upon **Śvētaka**, Mr. R. Subbarao says : "It would appear from the *Sthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Pushkaraṇi* (*sic*) ; and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam ".[9] Mr. Sarma, on the other hand, identifies Śvētaka with the modern Chikaṭi Zamindari in the Sōmpēṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.[10] **Khalgukhaṇḍa** *vishaya* of the present grant is evidently the same as Khalugakhaṇḍa *vishaya* occurring in the charters of Bhūpēndravarman and *Rāṇaka* Jayavarman,[11] but it has not yet been identified. The name of the granted village, **Svalpa-Vēlura**, suggests that there must have been two villages of the name Vēlura, one *svalpa* (small) and the other *bṛihat* (large). I am unable to offer any plausible identification of either.

Finally we may consider in brief the significance of the designations of some of the officers figuring in this record, as they illustrate in a way the administrative history of India. The list of officials to whom the charter is addressed is headed by *Mahāsāmanta* and *Śrīsāmanta*. From the context they appear to be some dignitaries rather than 'feudatory chiefs' as the term *sāmanta* ordinarily signifies. Moreover, I am inclined to take *śrī* in the latter term as an integral part of the designation and not as merely an honorific prefix. The first of these two ranks appears to be superior to the second one. May be they denote 'officers in charge of or posted on the frontiers'. *Daṇḍanāyaka*[12] is probably the same as *Sēnāpati* 'army-leader' or 'general'. *Daṇḍapāśika*

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 134 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 198 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 261 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 265 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 267 ff.

[8] He is known from a recently discovered copper-plate grant which has not yet been published. As the characters of this record are much earlier in appearance, *Mahārāja* Indravarman of this does not seem to be identical with either of the two rulers of the same name mentioned in the above list.

[9] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

[10] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58. It may be recalled that Mr. Sarma reads *Śchētaka* instead of *Śvētaka*. The latter reading may not upset his identification of the place with Chikaṭi, *śvē* being equally transmutable into *chī* through the supposed intermediary forms *śē* (which actually occurs in one instance, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 268) and *chē*. He observes that "the term Śchētaka can be explained philologically to be the same as the modern Chikaṭi ...., the intervening forms being, Śchēkata (through metathesis), Chēkata Chēkaṭa and finally Chikaṭi in popular parlance." Further on in his essay he also connects Sēdā- or Sōdā-maṇḍala with Śchētaka (*op. cit.*, p. 61).

[11] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 266 and 268.

[12] Mr. N. G. Majumdar thinks that *Daṇḍanāyaka* means 'a judge'. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185. The same term has been rendered by R. G. Basak as 'magistrate'. Above, Vol. XII, p. 43. The title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, which denotes a higher rank than that of *Daṇḍanāyaka*, appears also in the famous Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, where Fleet takes it for a military title and discusses its significance in detail. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 16, n. 5. Prof. Vogel, however, renders this *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* by 'prefect of police' in *Antiquities of Chamba*, Pt. I, p. 123, where he discusses the title *Kumārāmātya*.

may mean 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals'.[1] The term *Antaraṅga* is not of frequent occurrence and has been subjected to much discussion. It possibly signifies 'a court physician'.[2] The title *Kumārāmātya* has been explained as to denote 'councillor of the crown prince'.[3] No satisfactory explanation of the term *Uparika* has yet been found, though it is met with in many inscriptions and several scholars have discussed it.[4] The office of *Uparika* seems to have existed even in very olden days, for we find it defined by so ancient an authority as Bṛihaspati who is quoted by Viśvarūpāchārya in his commentary *Bālakrīḍā* on the *Yājña-valkyasmṛiti* while commenting on the verse 307 in the *Rājadharma-prakaraṇa* of this work[5]. The definition runs as follows: *avikāryō='vikal-ēndriyaḥ pratāpavān subhagaḥ sumukhō='kṛipaṇō='pramādī dakshō dākshiṇya-chāritra-rakshaṇ-ārtham=adhikaraṇa-sandigdha-vivēka-kṛid=uparikaḥ syād*, *i.e.*, 'a man who is resolute, sane, energetic, blissful, personable, generous, vigilant, dextrous and capable of administering justice in legal disputes should be (*appointed as*) *Uparika* in order to maintain impartiality and morality'. The office of an *Uparika* may thus correspond to that of 'a magistrate'. *Vishayapati* and *Grāmapati* are 'district-officer' and 'village-head' respectively. The meaning of the terms *Bhāgin* and *Bhōgin* is not very clear. They are apparently the same as *Bhāgika* and *Bhōgika*, occurring elsewhere.[6] They possibly denote 'collectors of revenue'. Explaining the latter designation Mr. Vaidya writes: "the collector of the Bhōga, *i.e.* the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule, one sixth. The term Bhōga is still in use in Kathiawad for the share usually ¼th which land-holders receive from land-cultivating tenants".[7] The *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabhas* belong to the inferior staff. The first two have often been rendered as 'irregular soldiers' and 'regular troops' respectively. Prof. Vogel has, however, shown that the office of *chāṭa* still exists in the Chamba State where the corrupt form *chāṛ* is used and it means 'the head of a *pargaṇā*', while *bhaṭa* is taken in the sense of 'an official subordinate to the head of a *pargaṇā*'.[8] *Vallabhas* are mentioned also in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* where the word is translated as 'courtiers'.[9]

TEXT.[10]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[11] Svasti [|*] **Śvētak-ādhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-guru[ō]ḥ śakala-**

2 **śaśāṅka-śēkhara-dharasya sthity[12]-utpatti pralaya-kāraṇa-hētō-**

3 **r=Mmahēndr-āchala-śikhara-nivāsina[ḥ*] śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-**

4 **sya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punya(ṇya)-nichayasya[13] śakti-ttraya-**

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 254, n. 2; J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183; N. N. Das Gupta, *A Note on the Term 'Antaraṅga'* in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

[3] J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[4] *Ibid.*; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 183, here also see under *Antaraṅga*.

[5] *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* with the commentary *Bālakrīḍā* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXIV), pp. iv and 184.

[6] See J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[7] C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 157.

[8] J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

[9] R. Shamasastry's English translation, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (2nd edition), p. 52.

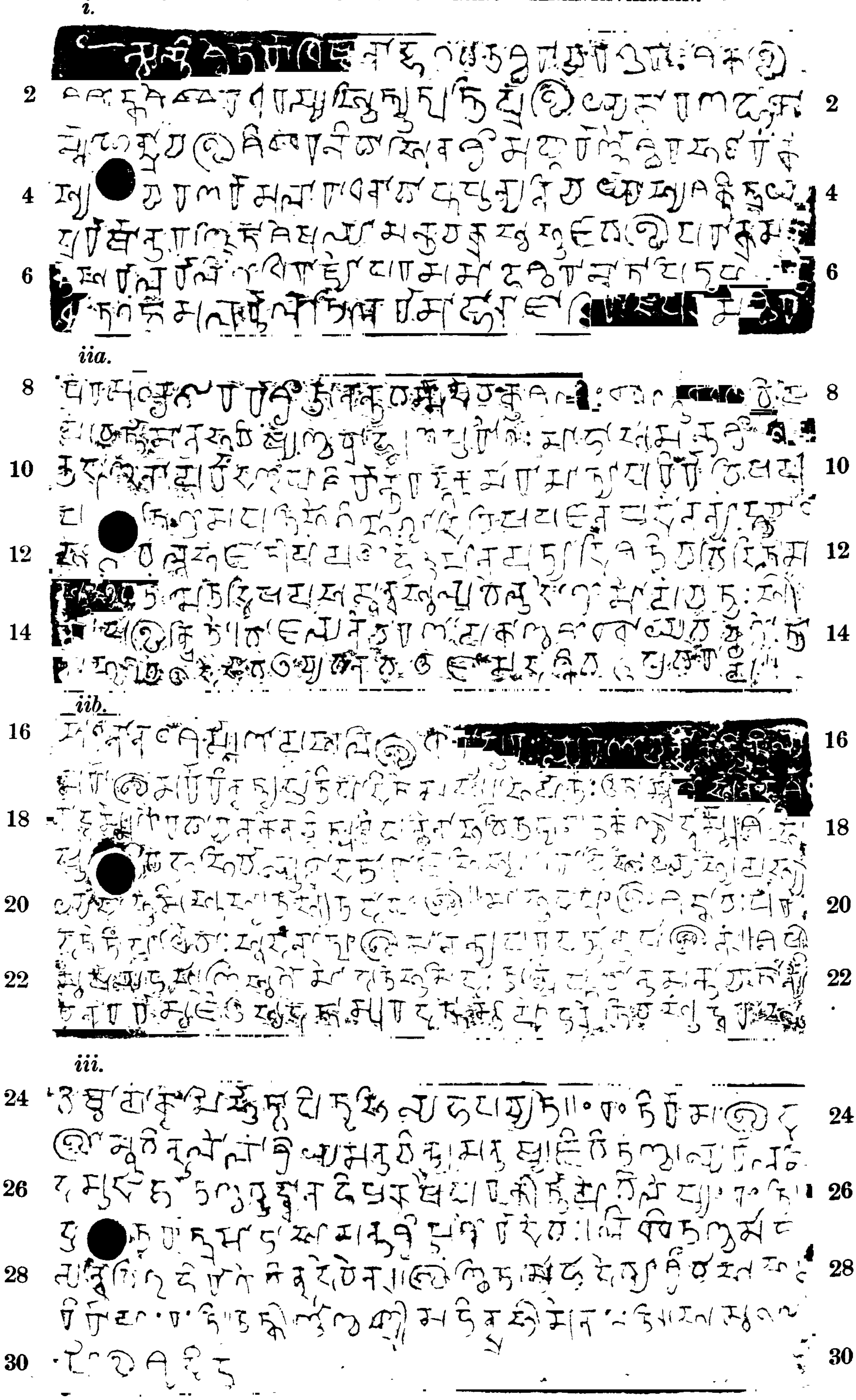
[10] From ink-impressions.

[11] Expressed by a symbol.

[12] The letter *t* in this conjunct appears to be doubled, but in reality it is single; cf. the same in °*kṛitya*, l. 17.

[13] Read -*nichayaḥ*.

SVALPA-VELURA GRANT OF GANGA ANANTAVARMAN.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. NO. 1838 E'38-295.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

5 prakaraṇ-āvanamit-āśēsha-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākrama-[ji]-
6 ta-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyō(jyaḥ) paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu-
7 dhyāta(tō) Gaṅg[1]-āmala-kula-tilaka(kō) mā(ma)hārājādhi[2]rāja-paramēśvara-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 parama[bha[3]ṭṭā]raka-śrī-[4]Anantavarmmadēva[ḥ*] kuśalīḥ[5] Khalgukhaṇḍa-visha-
9 yē |[6] Varttamāna(nān) bhavishyaṁñcha(shyāṁś=cha) vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgaḥ(gān) mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śrīsāma-
10 nta-daṇḍanāyaka-daṇḍapāśik-āntaraṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishaya-
11 pati-grāmapati-bha(bhā)gi-bhōgy-ādi-vishaya-janapadā[1]ṁn=anyāṁnś(nyāṁś)=cha chāṭa-
12 bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyān(yān) yath-ārhaṁ[7] mānayaty=ādiśati cha viditam=a-
13 stu bhavatāṁm=ētad-vishaya-samvandha(mbaddha)-**Svalpa-Vēlurō** grāmō=yaṁ cha-tuḥ-sī-
14 m-ōpalakshitō |[9] Vājasanē[ya*]-charaṇāya Kāṇva-śākhāya Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrā-
15 ya Bhṛigu-vat[4] Dairda-vat[4] Chyavana-vat[4] Jā(Ja)madagni-vat-[8] pravarāya |[9]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

16 bhāṭa-Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇāya[10] salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇ[11]=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sa-
17 ma-kālam=akarīkṛitya pratipāditēma[12]=smābhir=yataḥ[13] tāmvra(mra)-śāsana-darśa-
18 nād=dharmma-gauravācha(ch=cha) na kēnachit=paripanthinā bhavitavyaḥ(vyam) | uktaṁ[14]ñ=cha d[1]dharmma-śāstrē-
19 shu Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā[9] datā(ttā) rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya
20 yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) | [1|*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-

[1] Here the anusvāra is redundant.

[2] The letter dh here is in fact single, but it looks doubled as compared with the one in *-ādhishṭhānād=*, l. 1, and *-ārādhan-*, l. 4. The form in question may be compared with the same letter in *°dhārasya*, above Vol. III, pl. facing p. 18, text l. 2.

[3] Here *bha* is reversed and is engraved upon a partly erased letter which was perhaps *śrī*, while *ṭṭā* is differently shaped from that in *-bhaṭṭāraka*, l. 3.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] Here *visarga* is superfluous. Read *kuśalī*.

[6] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[7] There is a superfluous sign after the letter *rhaṁ*.

[8] The Vatsa *gōtra* is known to have the following *pañch-ārshēya pravara* : Jamadagni-Ūrva-Apnavāna-Chyavana-Bhṛigu (see the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* (Bombay edition), p. 25). In the present instance, while Apnavāna has obviously been omitted through inadvertence, Ūrva is replaced by Dairda which is not a well-known name. In the case of the donee in the Ganjām plates of Jayavarmadēva (who likewise belongs to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, the Kāṇva *śākhā* and the Vatsa *gōtra*), Apnavāna and Ūrva are substituted by Vatsa and Dairdda respectively, as he is described to be *Vatsa-vat Dairdda-vat Bhṛigu-vat Jā(Ja)madagni-vat Chyavana-vat-pañcha-pravar-ānvita* (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 492, text ll. 23-24).

[9] These *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[10] Read *bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē*.

[11] Better read *-puraḥsaram-*.

[12] Read *pratipāditō*.

[13] There is a superfluous sign of final *t* after the syllable *taḥ*.

[14] Here *d* is redundant. Read *dharmma-*.

21 datē(tt=ē)ti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupāla-naṁ(nē)| [2 |*] Ṣa(Sha)shṭi(shṭi)-

22 m=varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhu(bhū)midaḥ [|*] a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ē-

23 va narakam=v[r]ajēt [|3|] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁddharāṁ[1] [|*] sa

Third Plate.

24 vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē || [4|*] Iti kamala-da-

25 l-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-ji(jī)vita[2]ṁñ=cha sakalam=i-

26 dam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrttayō vilōpya(pyāḥ) [|5|*] iti|

27 du(dū)takō=ttra mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śri(śrī)-[3]Aśōkadēvaḥ | likhitañ=cha mā(ma)hā-

28 sandhivigṛihī(grahi)ka-Gōvindadēvēna | laṁ(lā)ñchhita[ṁ] mā[4](ma)hādēvyā śrī-Vāsa-bhaṭṭā-

29 rikaya iti[5] | utkīrṇṇañ=cha śrī-Mahindrabhīmēna[3] iti [|*] samva[6] 19

30 Phāla[7]śudi 5 [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8) Ōm Hail! From the (*capital*) city of **Śvētaka**, the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* **Anantavarmadēva**, who has a store of religious merit acquired by worshipping the lotus-like feet of the illustrious lord Gōkarṇēśvara-*Bhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, Śiva), who[8] is the cause in bringing about the creation, preservation and destruction[9] (*of the universe*) (*and*) who[8] resides on the summit of the mount Mahēndra, who[10] has the entire circle of feudatory chiefs loyally attached (*to himself*) through the excellence of his[10] three-fold power[11], who[10] has the supremacy over the whole Kaliṅga (*country*) conquered by the strength and force of his[10] own arms, who[10] is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*i.e.*, Śiva), who[10] has meditated on the feet of his[10] parents, (*and*) who[11] is an ornament of the pure family of the **Gaṅgas**, being in good health,

(ll. 8-12) duly honours and commands the present as well as the future (*officers*) of the district and of the country, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*) *Mahāsāmanta*[12] *Śrīsāmanta*, *Daṇḍa-*

[1] Read *vasundharām*.

[2] Here the *anusvāra* is redundant.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[4] This *mā* is engraved over an erasure.

[5] Read °*rikay=ēti*

[6] Read *saṁvat*. The sign after *samva* cannot be read as final *t*, because the form of this letter occurring in the present inscription is altogether different as may be seen in l. 15 and l. 23. No doubt the sign in question is to be read as the numeral 1, while the next one is the numerical figure 9.

[7] This evidently stands for *Phālguna*.

[8] This refers to Gōkarṇēśvara-*bhaṭṭāraka*.

[9] The order in the original is: preservation, creation and destruction. The same is seen also in the other known Gaṅga records wherever the phrase in question occurs. The proper order, however, should be as given in the translation.

[10] This refers to Anantavarmadēva.

[11] The three *śaktis* are *prabhu-śakti* (majesty), *mantra-śakti* (good counsel) and *utsāha-śakti* (energy).

[12] The significance of this and the following titles has been discussed in the introduction.

nāyaka, ***Daṇḍapāśika***, ***Antaraṅga***, ***Kumārāmātya***, *Uparika*, *Vishayapati*, *Grāmapati*, *Bhāgin* ***Bhōgin*** **and so forth, as well as** others belonging to the class of *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabhas* in the district of **Khalgukhaṇḍa** *(as follows)* :—

(ll. 12-18) "Be it known to you that this village of **Svalpa-Vēlura** (or Svalpa-Vēlurō), belonging *to this* district *(of Khalgukhaṇḍa)*, *(and)* marked by *(its all the)* four boundaries, has been donated by Us, after making it rent-free, with libations of water to *Bhaṭṭa* **Nānaṭaśarman** of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, the Kāṇva *śākhā*, the Vatsa *gōtra* *(and)* the Bhṛigu-Ūrva-Chyavana-Apnavāna-Jamadagni *pravara*, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth *(endure)* ; wherefore seeing the copper charter and out of respect for the *dharma* no one should become an obstacle *(to it)*.

(ll. 18-26) "Moreover, it is declared in the *dharmaśāstras* : [Here follow five of the customary verses.]"

(ll. 27-30) The *Dūtaka* here is the illustrious *Mahāsāmanta* **Aśōkadēva.** And *(it)* is written by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* **Gōvindadēva** *(and)* registered by the illustrious chief queen **Vāsabhaṭṭārikā.** And *(it)* is engraved by the illustrious **Mahindrabhīma. The year 19, the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna.**

No. 18.—CHURA GRANT OF PALLAVA VIJAYA-VISHNUGOPAVARMAN.

By C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., Madras.

The grant edited below is engraved on **three copper-plates** strung on a circular ring bearing an oval seal. The plates were forwarded to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, by J. N. Roy, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Guntur, in 1913 and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.[1] Though a set of impressions was forwarded to Professor Hultzsch in October 1913, no article appears to have been contributed by him on the record. I am now editing it for the first time here from the original plates recently borrowed for the purpose and from the impressions preserved in my office.

The plates measure 6 inches by 2⅝ inches each and the ring is ¼ inch in thickness and 3 inches in diameter. The seal measures approximately 1⅛ inch by 1 inch. The plates are very much worn out and slightly damaged also. Some holes are visible in the first and the third plates, while a portion in the top margin of the first plate is broken. The ring attached to the plates was not cut when they were first received for examination. The oval seal, into the bottom of which the ends of the ring are fixed, is slightly broken and on its face bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 31 *tolas*.

The Revenue Divisional Officer of Narasaraopet, who secured the plates at the first instance, reported that they were brought to him by Mulla Sheik Mirem of Narasaraopet who said that the plates were granted to his ancestor (!) one Mulla Abdul Fateh, " as title-deed for some *Jaghir* in Daggupāḍu, a village of the Bapatla taluk ". It is probable that the plates were originally discovered in Daggupāḍu itself or its vicinity, since Ḍagubaṁṛu (evidently modern Daggupāḍu) figures among the boundaries mentioned in the grant.

[1] No. 3 of App. A ; *vide* also page 6, para. 9 and page 82, para. 1.

The inscription is composed in Sanskrit language and the characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets. As remarked by Krishna Sastri, though the record is full of mistakes, it is important enough for supplying information for Pallava genealogy prior to the time of the Simhavishṇu line of Conjeeveram. A few Telugu expressions occurring in the description of the boundaries are noticed below. The mistakes in *sandhi*, *etc.*, are corrected in foot-notes accompanying the text. The following orthographical peculiarities deserve to be noticed :—

The *anusvāra* is often replaced by the class nasal, which is joined on to the following consonant in a conjunct letter : *e.g.*, *Jitam=bhagavatā*, (l. 1), *Pallavānām=dharmma*, (l. 16), *gavam=dānam=iva bhūtam=na* (l. 31), *pāpam=na bhūtam=na* (l. 32), *etc.* In this respect this record resembles the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Siṁhavarman. The letter *ja* is often miswritten as *jā* with the central cross-bar elongated. Consonants following *r* are doubled in certain places (*e.g.*, *bal-ārjjit-ārjjita*, in l. 2, *maryyādasya* in l. 3, *varmma* in ll. 10, 16, etc. and *dharmma* in ll. 8, 16, etc.), but not in others (*e.g.*, *nidhēr=vidhi* in l. 3, *nivartana* in l. 25). The word *pūrvva* is invariably written as *purvva* (ll. 19, 28) and *uttara* as *utara* (l. 22). The following corrupt forms are worthy of notice : *Kandavarma* (ll. 4 f.), *rātrē* (ll. 16 f.), *soñcharantakā* (ll. 17 f.), *grihathāna-thtita* (l. 24), *pauvutra* (l. 26), etc. The expression *naiyāvika*[1] (l. 17) appears to be meant for *naiyāmika* derived from *niyama* and used for *naiyamika* or *niyāmika* signifying 'law officers'. The word *kshētra* is wrongly used in the masculine form (l. 24) and *kshētran* for *kshētraṁ* in l. 25. The *upadhmānīya* is employed in *yaśaḥ-prakāśaḥ* (ll. 12-13). The use of the Telugu expressions *muyūru* (*r*)-*kūṭuva* (*i.e.*, the meeting-place of three villages) and *mēḷitāpa* in l. 21 are also noteworthy. *Mēḷitāpa* is perhaps used in the sense of a stepped platform to stack ploughs (*mēḷi*=modern *mēḍi*). *Muḍiṭi-taṭākaḥ* (l. 24) is another mixed expression probably meant to indicate an ancient (*muḍi*) tank.

The inscription records the gift of one hundred and eight *nivartanas* of land and a house-site with a garden (*vāṭikā*) in the village of Churā in Karmma-rāshṭra by the *Dhamma-mahārāja* Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman of the Bhāradvāja line and the Pallava family, to the Brāhmaṇa Chēsamiśarman, who was the son of Dvēdaya[2]-Vaiddhaśarman and grandson of Vishṇuśarman and was a resident of Kundūra, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and was well-versed in the four Vēdas, as a *brahmadēya*, exempting it from all obligations or endowing it with all exemptions (*parihārair=upēta*) on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa*. The gift was made for the increase of the king's life, strength and success.

The record commences with salutation to the Bhagavat as in some other early Pallava copper-plates, and this is followed by the name of the place of issue, *viz.*, Vijaya-Palātkaṭ-ādhishṭhāna, *i.e.*, the prosperous capital Palātkaṭa. The genealogy of the king is given thus :—

Kandavarman (Skandavarman)
|
Vishṇugōpavarman
|
Siṁghavarman
|
Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman

[1] Cf. (1) *neyike* of the Hirehaḍagali plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 and 8) and (2) *naiyōgika* of the Chendalūru plates of Kumāravishṇu II (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

[2] The village name Dvēdaigōmapuram occurs in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman : *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 519 and 532 and in certain Chōḷa inscriptions : *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 259 and above, Vol. XXII, p. 54. Dvēdai and Dvēdaya are perhaps corrupt but valid forms of *Dvivēdi*.

Comparing this table with the list of succession given in allied Pallava grants, the king would appear to be the son of Siṁhavarman, who issued the Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr and Uruvupalli grants and also the Ōmgōḍu grant [1] discovered by me in 1916, although the last is only a copy. Of Vishṇugōpavarman we have no copper-plate grants known so far besides the one under review which again from its palæography clearly appears to be a copy made some time in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. and has, therefore, some value as such.[2] A closer comparison of the letters would reveal great affinity between these and the letters of the Koṇḍaṇagūru grant of the Eastern Chāḷukya Indravarman[3] and the Īpūru plates of Vishṇuvardhana III.[4] It would, therefore, be accurate to assign the writing of the present grant to the early part of the seventh century A.D. Vishṇugōpavarman, the donor of the present grant, may be designated **Vishṇugōpa III** of the Pallava dynasty.

We are not in a position to guess the actual political or natural causes for the origin of the copies of grants of this king and his father Siṁhavarman (*i.e.*, the Ōmgōḍu grant). It is possible that the intrusion of the Eastern Chāḷukyas into the Karmma-rāshṭra in the first quarter of the 7th century under Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana was one of the circumstances that contributed to the loss of the original grants and the subsequent issue of their copies which have been left to us.

Krishna Sastri mentions a difficulty in the identification of *Mahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman, the grandfather of Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman of our grant, with *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa of the Māṅgaḍūr, Pīkira, Uruvupalli and Ōmgōḍu grants.[5] But beyond the difference in the title there is no insurmountable difficulty in the understanding of the succession list. We have a similar analogy in the Eastern Chāḷukya line in the instance of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, always being mentioned as a *Yuvarāja* in the dynastic lists, though we have definite evidence to show that he ruled for 25 years under the royal name or title 'Vijayasiddhi'.[6] Moreover, in the light of the present grant applying to Vishṇugōpa the title '*mahārāja*', we will have to give up the supposition made by Dr. Hultzsch[7] that the king never ascended the throne.[8]

The title *Dharma-mahārāja* applied to the early Pallava[9], Gaṅga and Kadamba[10] kings is somewhat interesting and seems to call for some remarks. The title occurs also in the form *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* applied to the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman in his Prākrit Hirehaḍagadi plates[11] and to the early Kadamba king Śivakhadavarmman Hāritiputta in his Prākrit Malavaḷḷi pillar inscription.[12] The title was borne also by the early Western Gaṅga king Satyavākya-Koṅgaṇivarman.[13] This king is also given the title *Dharma-mahādhirāja* in another

[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 252.

[2] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14, page 82, para. 1. [The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri while reviewing this grant in the *Epigraphical Report* assigned it to the 7th century A.D. but held that this Vishṇugōpavarman was a later member of the Pallava line. Subsequently he modified his opinion and considered that the plates under publication could not be used for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Siṁhavarman I as they were 'decidedly later by reason of their palæography and were otherwise also untrustworthy'. (See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 148)—Ed.]

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 and plate opposite page 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 6 and plate opposite page 60.

[5] *Madras Ep. Rep.* for 1914, page 82, para. 1.

[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 58 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

[8] See n. 2 above.

[9] Above, Vol. XV, p. 252.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 265, 269, 270, etc.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, App. No. 1196.

[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 58 and Vol. X, p. 56, f. n. 2.

epigraph.[1] The early Kadamba kings Kṛishṇavarman, his son Vishṇuvarman, and Ravivarman also bore the title *Dharma-mahārāja*.[2] Similarly the early Kadamba king Vijaya Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman is entitled *Dharma-mahārājaḥ*.[3] The title *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja* also occurs in some Pallava inscriptions.[4] Dr. Fleet commenting upon the significance of the title '*Dharma-mahārājādhirāja*' says that it means 'a *mahārājādhirāja* by or in respect of religion' or by free translation 'a pious or righteous *mahārājādhirāja*'.[5] Aśōka is believed to have borne the surname or title *Dharmarāja*'.[6] But the titles *Dharma-mahārāja*, *Dharma-mahādhirāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* are not known to have been applied either to him or assumed by any other early king in North or South India besides those noted above. They are not known either to the Epics or the *Purāṇas* which deal with the most pious kings. These titles appear, in my opinion, to have been based upon or evolved from the earlier title *Dhamma-mahāmāta* of the Asokan inscriptions.[7] These officials, according to the monarch's own statement, were appointed by him for the first time and they were primarily 'officials in charge of morality'. It appears to me that the early Pallava, Gaṅga and Kadamba kings, having succeeded to the sovereignty of the territories over which Aśōka might have appointed some of his *dhamma-mahāmātas* (*dharma-mahāmātras*) assumed the titles *dharma-mahārāja* or *dharma-mahārājādhirāja* as and when their political circumstances permitted. This explanation seems also to be borne out by the context in which the title occurs in the early Kadamba inscription of Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman in the form 'Vaijayantyām Dharma-mahārājaḥ',[8] *even before the family of the king is introduced*. Just as in the Vijayanagara times vassals or ministers who were originally entitled '*mahārāja*' assumed the paramount title '*mahārāya*' when they gained sovereignty[9], so too the successors of the Asokan *Dharma-mahāmātras* must have adopted the title *Dharma-mahārāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* when they became independent kings but were willing or even proud to maintain the earlier traditions of their political power and associations with the great Mauryan emperor's time.[9]

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Palātkaṭādhishṭhāna**, *i.e.*, the victorious capital Palātkaṭa. Palakkaḍa-sthāna was the place of issue of the Uruvupalli plates of Siṁhavarman, the father of the present king.[10] Whether we can definitely identify Palātkaṭa with Palakkaḍa as suggested by Krishna Sastri[11] and assumed also by Professor Dubreuil[12] is doubtful, though the possibility of the identity is not altogether precluded. Prof. Dubreuil suggested once personally to me that Palakkaḍa might be identical with the modern village of Peda-Palakalūru in the Guntur taluk. It is also possible that Palukūru in the Kandukūr taluk of the Nellore District might be the ancient Palakkaḍa or alternatively Palātkaṭa. From the Postal Directory we see that in the vicinity of Kandukūr town are villages of the name Pallava, Pallava-Bālagōpālapuram and Pallava Bhuvanagirivāri-khaṇḍrika. These names definitely point to the association of this tract with the Pallavas.

[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 50, Text, l. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 18 and Vol. VIII, pp. 30 and 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 14.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51; above, Vol. VI, p. 15, f. n. 1.
[5] Above, Vol. V, p. 163, f. n. 2.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 167.
[7] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Gir. V; Kal. V, XII, etc.
[8] *E.g.* Tirumala I.
[9] [There is not sufficient evidence to support this view.—Ed.]
[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51.
[11] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1924, p. 82, para. 1.
[12] *Pallavas*, table on p. 73.

The boundary villages **Ḷagubaṁṛu**, **Pāguhūru** and **Nāgoḷāmi** mentioned in the inscription may be identified respectively with the modern villages Daggupāḍu, Pāvulūru and Nāgaḷḷa, all in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. The gift-village **Churā** would therefore be the deserted village shown in the New Atlas sheets between Nāgaḷḷa and Daggupāḍu. In the older sheets this is shown as Sūrāvāripāḷem. **Irāḍi**-*mahāpatha* cannot be identified. **Karmma-rāshṭra** of the inscription is very well known in early Eastern **Chāḷukya** inscriptions and in still later epigraphs it is known by the name Kamma-nāṇḍu. But attention may be drawn to the fact that it was still earlier known as Kaṁmāka-raṭha in the Jaggayyapēṭa Prākrit inscriptions of the Ikhāku king Sirivira Purisadata.[1]

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Jitam=Bhagavātā[ta[3]] [|*] Svasti [|*] Śrī-vijāya[4]-**Palātkaṭ**-ā[dhishṭānā]t[5]=pa-

2 rama-brahmaṇyasya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita-kshātra-tapō-ni-

3 dhē[r*]=vidhi-[vi]hita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthi[ta]sy=amitt-ā]tmanō[6] ma-

4 h[ā]rājāsya[7] pratāp-ōpanata-rājā-maṇḍalasya[8] śrī-**Ka**-[9]

5 **ndavarmaṇaḥ** pra-pautraḥ siddhi-sa[ṁ*]paṁna(nna)sya vasudhā-tal-aika-vī-

6 rasya [10]mahārājāsya śrī-**Vashṇugōpava[r*]maṇaḥ** pautra[ḥ] dēva-dvi-

7 jā-guru-vṛidh-āpachāyinō[11] [vivṛi]rddha-vanayasya nēka[12]-gō-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 hiraṇya-bhūmy-[ā]di-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-sañchayasya

9 prajā-pālana-pakshasya[13] lōkapālān[ā]ṁ pañchamasya [lōkapālasya*] satya(ty-ā)tma-

10 nō mahārājasya śrī-**Siṁgha[va*]rmmaṇaḥ** putra[ḥ] bhagavat[14]-bha[kti]-sa-

11 dbhāva-sadbhā(sambhā)vita-sarvvā(rva)-kalyāṇa-sa[ṁ]dōga[15] satata-satra-

12 vrata-dīkshitō anēka[16]-samara-sahas-avamarddha[17] -labdha-vijaya-yasa[18]-

13 ḥ-prakāśa[ḥ*] Kali-yuga-dōsh-āvasa[nna]-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhō rāja-

14 rsha(rshi)-guṇa[ḥ*] bhagavat-pad-ānudhyā[tō] bappa-bha[ṭ*]ṭāraka-pāda-bhakta[ḥ*] pa-

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[1] Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1202 to 1204 ; Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 50.

[2] From the original plates and ink-impressions.

[3] Read *Bhagavatā*. The last letter looks like *ta* without the top-bar. As it is not small in size it cannot be read as *t*. It might even be read as *Ōṁ or Siddhaṁ*.

[4] Read *vijaya*.

[5] Read *ādhishṭhānāt*.

[6] Read-*āmit-ātmanō*.

[7] Read *mahārājasya*.

[8] Read *rājā-maṇḍalasya*.

[9] The original shows an accidental and superfluous stroke after *Ka*.

[10] Read *mahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpa-*.

[11] Read *dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpachāyinō*. This is the expression adopted in the Uruvupalli grant, while others read *vṛiddhōpasēvinō* (*vide* above, Vol. XV, p. 254, text, line 10 and f. n. 8).

[12] Read *vivṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka-*. The traces in the impression seem to give *vivṛirddha*.

[13] Read *dakshasya*.

[14] Read *bhagavad-bhakti*.

[15] Read *sandōhaḥ*.

[16] Read *-dīkshitō=nēka-*.

[17] Read *sāhas-āvamardda*.

[18] Read *yaśaḥ-*.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

15 rama-bha(bhā)gavatō Bha(Bhā)radva(dvā)jaḥ śrī-nilayānā[ṁ*] anēk-Āśvamēdhānā[ṁ] Pa-

16 **llavānān**=dharmma-mahārājāḥ[1] śrī-Vijā(ja)ya-**Vishṇugōpavarmma**[2] **Karmma-r[ā]-**

17 **tr[ā]**(shṭrē) **Churā-nāma**-[grāmē*] **grāmēyakān=atr=ādhiḥ(dhi)kṛita-sarvvē(rvva)-** naiyāvi(mi)kā[n*]=sa-

18 **ñcharantakā rājāvalabhaṁś**[3]=ch=**ājñāpayati[y*]=asya grāmē(grāmasya) paśchima-taḥ**

19 **Lagubaṁru**-nāma-**grāmaḥ tasya pu(pū)rvva-sīmā pu(pū)rvva-**[4]**taṭākē purvvata**[5]

20 **Irāḍi**-mahāpatha-sa[ṁ*]yukta[ḥ*] dak**shiṇata[ḥ*]** **Pāguh[ū]r[u]**-grāma-sīmaḥ(mā)-

21 svarita-muyurur[6]-kuṭuva mēḻitāpaḥ paśchimata(tō) **Nāgōḷāmi**-gr[ā]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

22 ma-sīma[ḥ][7] u[t*]tara-[sīmā] ū(u)[t*]tara-taṭāka ū(u)[t*]tara[taḥ] ēva[ṁ] chatur-avadhi-dhṛi[taḥ](taṁ)

23 ashṭō[t*]tara-sata[8]-nivarttana-kshētras[9]=[ta]**sminn=ēva grāmē madhyama-vaṭā- gr[ā*]ma-**

24 madhy=[ō]pētā[10] **dakshiṇata griha-sthāna-sthita-kshētraḥ Muḍiṭi-taṭāka[ḥ*]**

25 [da]kshiṇata(tō) **vāṭika-sthāna-sthita ēka**[11]**]-nivartana-kshētra[n]**[12] **Kuṇḍū-**

26 r-vva(vvā)stavyāya [Kā]**sya(śya)pa-gōtr[ā]ya** [13]**Vishṇuśarmmaṇa pauvutra Dvēdaya-** [14]Vṛidhaśa-

27 [r*]mmaṇa[ḥ*] putr[āya*]chatru-vvēdiya[tē][15] **Chāsamiśarmmaṇā** [16]ūtarayaṇa-nimi-

28 t[ē] udaka-[17]purvvaṁ dattam brahmadēya-[18]mayyadayā sarvva-parihārai-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

29 r=[u]pētō[19] āyu[r]-bala-vijā(ja)y-ābhivṛirddhayē(vṛiddhayē)=smin=sampri(mpra)ttō[20] yaś=ch [=aitad=a]-

30 **[sma]śchāsanam(ch=chhāsanam)=atikramēta sa pāpa[ḥ] śārīram daṇḍa[m=arhati]** [|*] **[Śaṁty=a]-**

31 pi ch=ātr=**āmbā** [21]**ślōkaḥ** [|*] **Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=[dā]na(na)n=na bhūtan=na bhavi-**

32 shyaty=asy(bhavishyati|asy)=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [||*] [22]Bhū-

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[1] Read *mahārājaḥ*.

[2] Read *varmmā*.

[3] Read *sañchārakān rājavallabhāṁś=* . The Uruvupalli grant of Siṁhavarman the father of the present king, reads *sañcharantakāś=cha* as in our grant. The draft for the latter was perhaps adopted from the former. *Sañchārakas* must denote ' circuit officers '.

[4] Read *taṭākaḥ*.

[5] Read *pūrvvata*.

[6] Read *-muyūru-kūḍuva* or *kūḍika*.

[7] Read *-sīmā*.

[8] Read *-śata*.

[9] Read *kshētraṁ tasminn=ēva*.

[10] Read *ōpētaṁ dakshiṇōttaram griha-sthāna-sthita kshētraṁ*.

[11] Read *vāṭikā-sthāna-sthit-aika* -.

[12] Read *kshētraṁ*.

[13] Read *Vishṇuśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya*.

[14] Read *Vṛiddhaśarmmaṇaḥ*.

[15] Read *chatur-vēdavatē*.

[16] Read *Uttarāyaṇa-nimittaṁ*.

[17] Read *pūrvvaṁ*.

[18] Read *-maryyādayā*.

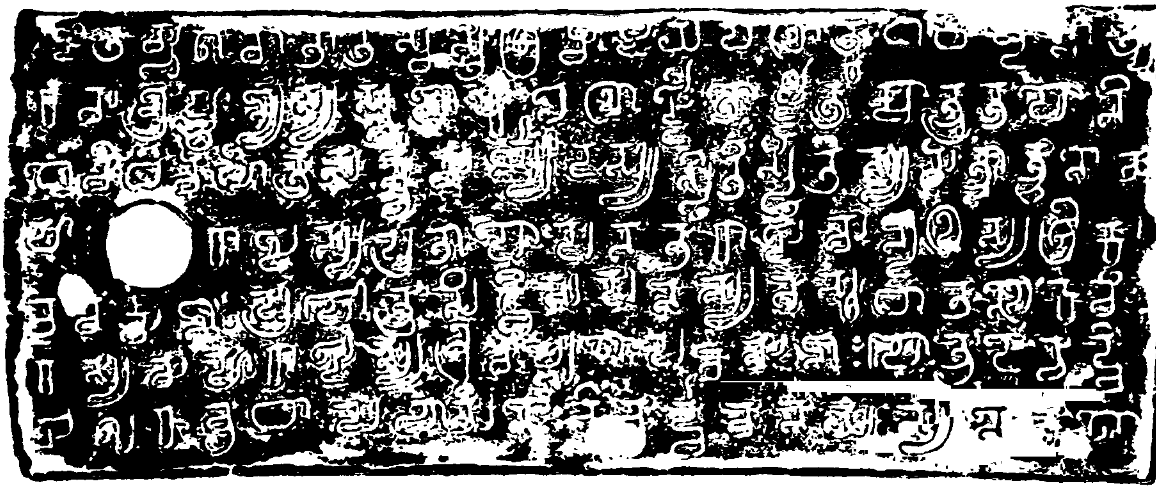
[19] Read *=upētaṁ*.

[20] Read *samprattaṁ*.

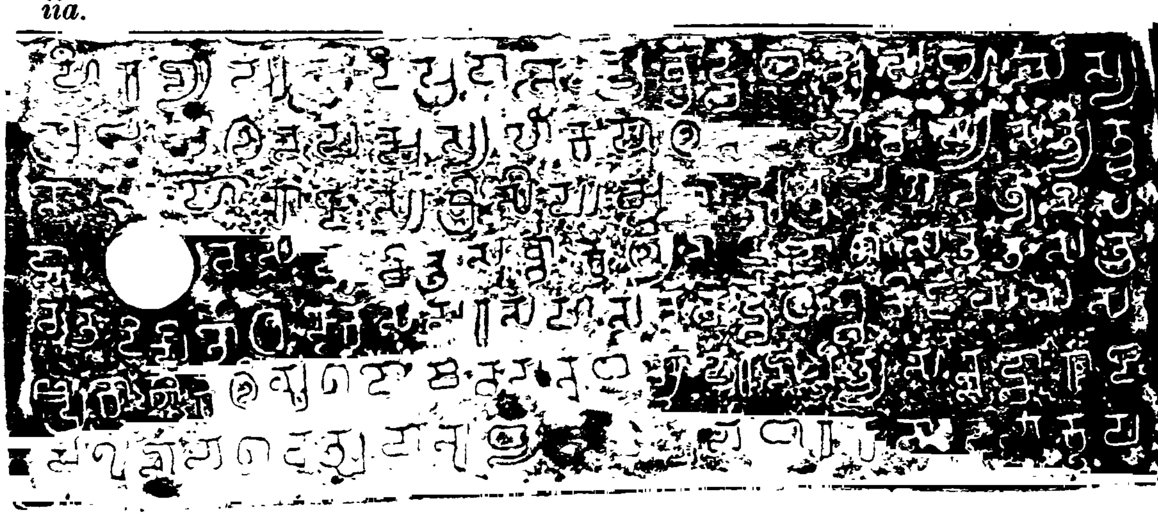
[21] Read *ślōkāḥ*.

[22] This verse occurs with a slight variation in the Pīkira grant of Siṁhavarman : above, Vol. VIII, p. 162.

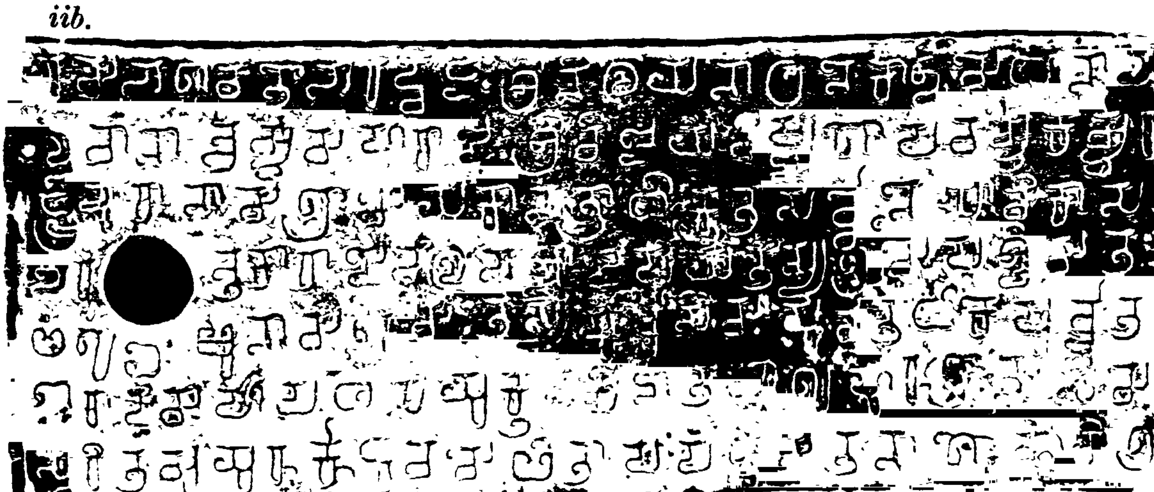
i.



iia.



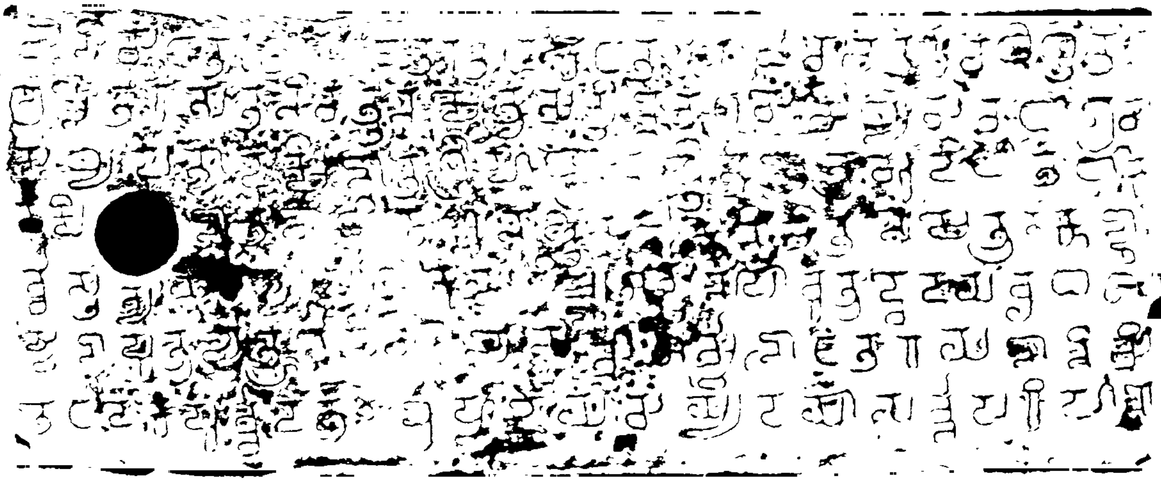
iib.



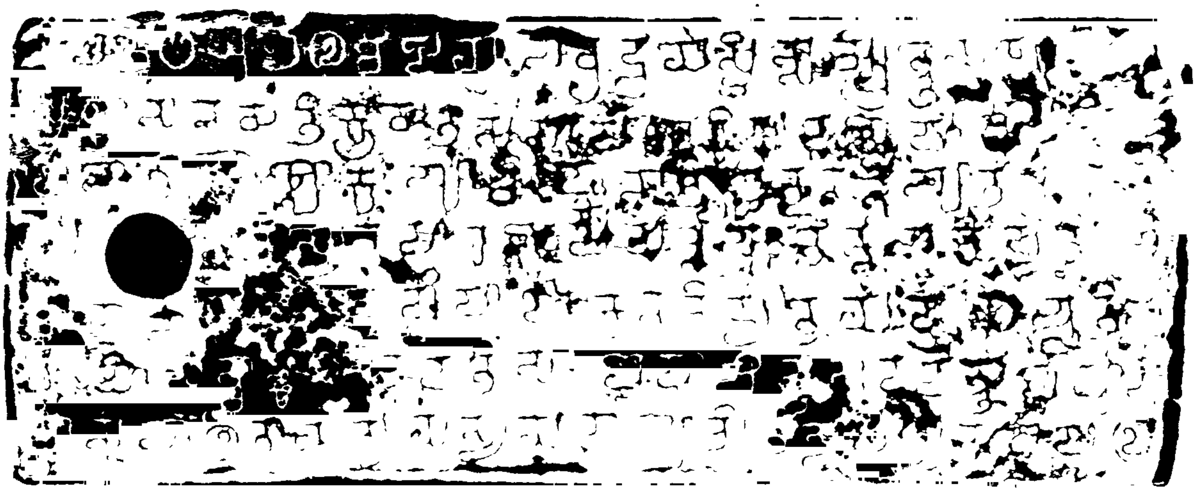
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTT

REG. No. 1839 E'38-295

iiia.



iiib.



33 mi-dānāt=para[n=dā]nam(dānam)=iha lōkē na vidyatē [|*] yaḥ prayachchhati [bhū]-
34 miṁ hi sarvvān=kāmān=dad[ā]ti saḥ [||*] Bahubhir=vvasuda(dhā) dattā bahubhi-
35 ś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*]

No. 19.—SIRODA PLATES OF DEVARAJA.

By C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., Madras.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on **three copper plates** strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal fixed on to it. The plates belong to Mr. Gopala Sinai Gudo and they were discovered during casual excavations made at the village of **Siroda de Ponda** in the Portuguese territory of Goa. They are rectangular in shape and measure about 5½″ by 1¾′. The ring passes through a hole near the proper right-hand top corner of the plates and the circular seal attached to it has the relief figure of a swan executed in a conventional style and facing our left.

The plates were first brought to my notice by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, M.A., Archæologist to the Portuguese Government of Goa in August 1933, at the suggestion of Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In spite of his best efforts Mr. Pissurlencar could not obtain a loan of the original plates for my examination but sent me only photographs of the inscribed sides of the plates. The photographs were not quite clear and the ink-impressions which Mr. Pissurlencar supplied later on were also not distinct and therefore not helpful. However, at his urgent request I furnished Mr. Pissurlencar, in March 1934, with a short note on the contents of the grant and a tentative transcript of it so far as it could be made out from the photographs. Mr. Pissurlencar utilised this note and transliteration for a note on the grant published by him in Portuguese language in *O Oriente Português* in 1934. But from the early nature of the grant and its mention of a hitherto unknown dynasty, *viz.*, Gōmins, I intended to examine the original plates. With the permission of the Director General of Archæology in India I visited Nova Goa in July 1934 and verified the text of the grant with reference to the plates, but for want of facilities I could not get good ink-impressions of these. Subsequently attempts were made in January 1937 through the Government of India to obtain a loan of the plates from the Portuguese Government but these were of no avail as their owner was unwilling to part with them. So the illustrations accompanying the present article had to be based on photographs only. A brief note on these plates was recently contributed by me to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference under the caption 'A New Dynasty of the West Coast.'

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the archaic variety and from their general shape and style of execution they somewhat resemble the script of the Mayidavōlu Plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman[1] and more closely that of the Koṇḍamudi Plates of Jayavarman[2]. There is also a slight resemblance between the characters of this grant and those of the plates of the Pallava kings Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman[3]. All the above charters are written in Prākrit, while the present plates though written in Sanskrit, have some Prākrit ex-

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff. and Pls.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff. and Pls.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff. and Pls.

pressions interspersed here and there. On this account the inscription may be assigned to the period following the age to which the Prākrit charters of the Pallavas have been ascribed *i.e.* to the period of the mixed Prākrit charters like the Maṭṭepāḍ Plates of king **Dāmōdaravarman**[1]. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has, on valid grounds, ascribed these latter to about the 4th century A. D.[2], to which period may be assigned the present inscription also.

The following Prākrit forms used in the record may be noticed :—*shaṭṭhiṁ* (l. 12), and *tiṭṭhati* (l. 13). Of **orthography** the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* in the expression, *Koṭṭiṅkayyā* (l. 3) and of the *upadhmānīya* in *amātyaḥ=puṇyō°* (l. 5) and *°kritaḥ=parama-* (l. 14) deserve to be noticed.

In his article Mr. Pissurlencar states that the emblem on the seal is a peacock. But I have to differ from him and suggest that it is only a swan in a very conventionalised style. It is noteworthy that similar objects in tile or wood are adopted as house-top crests or gable-ornaments in Nova Goa even at the present day.

The charter is addressed by (king) **Dēvarāja** of the **Gōmins** from the prosperous **Chandrapura** to the future *bhōgikas*, *āyuktakas* and *sthāmyas* (?) [3](ll. 1 and 2). The **object** of the inscription is to record the gift of tolls, etc. (?) in (the village) **Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭiṅkayyā** in the country or division of **Jiyayā**, to two Brāhmans named **Gōvindasvāmin** and **Indrasvāmin** of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, with the income accruing (?) in the village (*parivṛitta*) and also the income realised on things brought (*ānīta*) into it, evidently articles of merchandise, together with a house-site (*griha-sthāna*) and pasture-land for cows (*gō-prachāra*) to each (ll. 3 to 7). The charter further enjoins on the proper supply to the donees of the grass from the pastures and of fuel (*kāshṭha*) (ll. 7 and 8).

From the wording of the record it appears as if the king proclaims his ratification or sanction of the above-mentioned gifts made by **Prabhu Nāga-Bhōgikāmātya**, for the acquisition of (his own) spiritual salvation (*puṇya*) (ll. 4f.).

The executor of the grant (or the royal ratification) is the *Sarvatantrādhikṛita* (Superintendent of all Departments) **Amarēśvara**, who was a very righteous man (*parama-dhārmika*) and one devoted to truth (*satyasandha*) (ll. 14 and 15).

The charter was written or composed (*likhitam*) by the *Rahasyādhikṛita*[4] (Private Secretary) **Prabhākara** (ll. 15 and 16).

The inscription is **dated** in the twelfth year of the victorious and prosperous reign of the king, on the twelfth day (*dvādaśī*) of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (ll. 17 and 18). At the end comes the invocation of prosperity which partly reminds us of the closing expression in the Hirehaḍagalli Plates of the early Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman[5].

The king Dēvarāja who is compared to Indra (*Dēvarāja*) is not known from other sources so far. The family of the Gōmins is also new and may be the one with which the patronymic Gōmāyana is connected.

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[1] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.

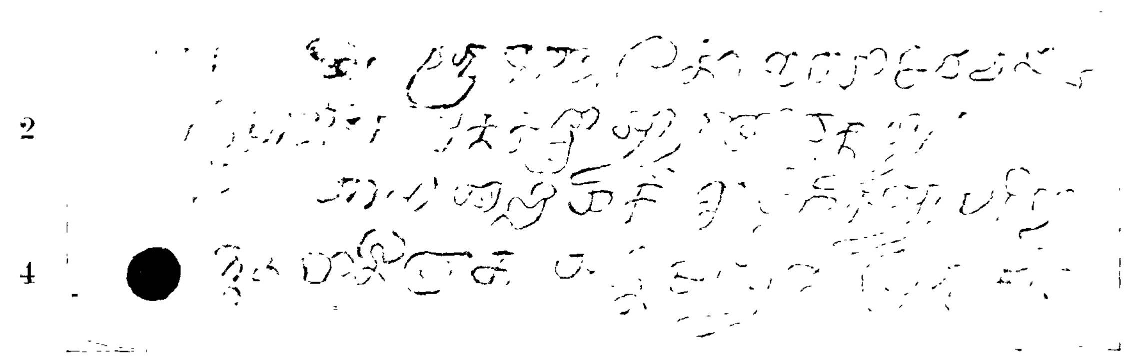
[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1920, page 95, para 1. See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

[3] The original reads *sthāmy-ādayō* which may be a clerical mistake for *grāmy-ādayō* cf. *grāmika* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 112n) and *grāmēyakāḥ* (above, Vol. XVII, p. 327). Or it may be a mistake for *sthāmyas* derived from *sthāman* meaning 'a seat' or 'place' and denote the 'local officials'. This may correspond to the *sthānādhikaraṇikas* of the later inscriptions (cf. above, Vol. III, p. 323) and *sthānādhikṛitas* (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 135n).

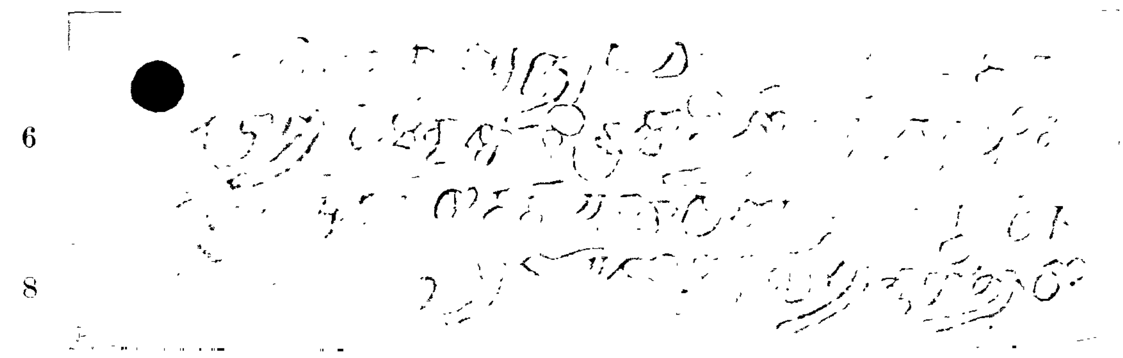
[4] For other early instances of this officer being employed to compose copper-plate charters see above, Vol. I, p. 7 and Vol. VI, p. 13.

[5] Above, Vol. I, page 7, Text l. 52.

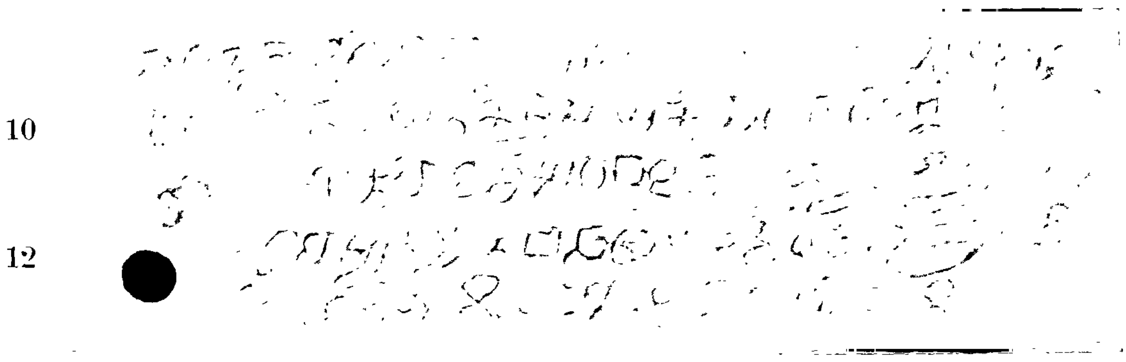
i.



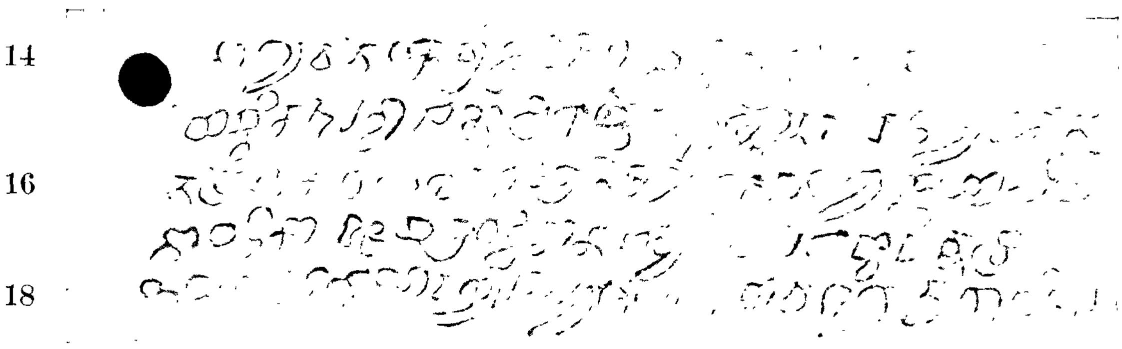
ii. a.



ii. b.



iii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE . ACTUAL SIZE. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

The localities mentioned in the inscription are Chandrapura, the town from which the charter was issued, the territorial division Jiyayā and (the village granted) Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭiṅkayyā. It is not possible to identify any of them definitely. Regarding these Mr. Pissurlencar informs me that the places are in Goa, chiefly in Salsette. He is not able to identify or explain Jiyayāsu which evidently indicates some local territorial division but thinks that Salsette may represent it. He thinks that Chandrapura is Chandor of Goa and identifies Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭiṅkayyā with Tanem-Kuttal in Salsette.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 @[2] [Svasti] [|*] [Śrī-vijaya]-**Chandrapurād=Gōminām̐ Dēvarāja**-vachanāt
2 **bhavishya[d-bhōgik]-āyuktaka**-sthāmy-āda[yō] vaktavyāḥ [|*]
3 **Jiya[yā]su Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭiṅkayyā**-parivṛi-
4 ttēna **ch=ānithēna**[3] yan=nishpadyatē [tat*] **Prabhu-Nāga**-

Second Plate; First Side.

5 **Bhōgik-āmātyaḥ**(tyaiḥ)=puṇy-ōpachayāya Bhāradvāja-sa-
6 **gōtrā[bhyām Gō]vi[nda]svām-**[4]**Indrasvamībhyām** dattam̐ gṛiha-sthāna-
7 ñ=cha **gō-prachārav**=ātatam̐[5] || Gō-prachāra-tṛiṇa-kāśṭh(shṭh)-ādika-
8 ñ=cha [su]-prati[ba]ddhavyam || Yō=smat-kul-ābhyantarō=nyō vā

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 **rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōh**-ābhibūtō hi[m̐]syāt sa pañchabhir=mmahā-
10 [6]**bātakair=upapātakaiś=cha** sa[m̐]yuktaḥ syāt || Uktañ=cha || Bahubhi-
11 r=vvasudhā **bhuktā** rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā
12 **bhūmis=tasya tasya** tadā [pha]lam̐ | Shaṭṭhim̐[7] varsha-sahasrāṇi
13 svarggē **tiṭṭha(shṭha)**ti bhūmidaḥ [|*] [8]āchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha

Third Plate.

14 tāny=ēva narakē vrajēd=iti[9] || Sarvvatantrādhikṛitaḥ=parama-
15 dhārmmikaś=satyasandhō=**marēśvara**[10] ā[jña]ptiḥ [|*] Rahasyādhikṛitē-
16 na **Prabhākarēṇa** [Dē]varāja-pratimasyā[11] [Dē]varājasy=ājñayā likhi-
17 tā [pa]ṭṭikā [|*] Vijaya-pravarddhamāna-**rājya-sam̐vatsarē dvādaśamē**
18 **Māgha-bahula**-dvādaśyā[m̐] [||*] Svasty=astu dhāraka-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhya[12] iti ||

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[1] From a photograph supplied by Mr. Pissurlencar.

[2] The spiral at the commencement of the line probably stands for 'Śrī'; see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 349, *n.* 9.

[3] Read *=ānitēna*.

[4] Read *-Indrasvāmibhyām*.

[5] Read *°ātatau* or *°prachāraś=ch=ātataḥ*.

[6] Read *pātakair=*.

[7] Read *Shashṭim̐ varsha-sahasrāṇi*.

[8] Read *āchchhettā* or *ākshēptā*.

[9] Read *vasēd=iti*.

[10] The name is Amarēśvara.

[11] Read *-pratimasya*.

[12] The Hirehadagalli plates have the expression *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhya iti*; see n. 5, p. 144.

No. 20. KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF MAHARAJA VAISRAVANA OF THE YEAR 107.

BY THE LATE MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which is engraved on a small stone pillar, was discovered in January, 1938, near **Kosam** (ancient Kauśāmbī) in Allahābād District, where I was camping at the time for conducting excavation. It was found lying in the house of a Muhammadan Zemindar named Gulzar in the village of Hasanpur or Hajiapur, about a mile and a half to the north-west of the Kosam Pillar. The actual findspot could not, however, be ascertained, although there is little doubt that it came originally from the immediate neighbourhood of the place of discovery. The pillar has now been deposited by me in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the consent of the Director General of Archæology in India.

The pillar, which has four faces, is 3′ 9″ in height, and measures 8″ square at the top with a maximum width of 9½″ at the base. The inscription is engraved on one of the faces, covering a space of about 2′ 2″ by 7″, and the size of the letters generally varies between ½″ and 1½″. In all there are 16 lines of writing. The pillar is broken into two halves, one containing lines 1 to 12 and the upper part of line 13 and the other containing the rest of the record. A few letters have partially broken off from the beginning and end of line 1, while some of the letters of line 13 are damaged owing to the crack running through its entire length. But there is no difficulty in restoring almost the entire text.

The **characters** belong to the Northern class of alphabets, which developed in this region out of such forms as those in the Kosam inscription of Kanishka.[1] Palæographically, the present record appears to belong to the same group as the Giñja inscription of Bhīmasēna and the Kosam inscriptions of Bhadramagha, Śivamagha and Bhīmavarman, the dates of which range between the years 51 and 139 of some unspecified era.[2] The forms of the letters *ma*, *la*, *śa* and *ha* of this record are clearly akin to those appearing in the Gupta inscriptions. It contains also the looped form of *n* together with the more archaic form of the letter in which it has bent base line. The letter *s* is uniformly of the looped type and *h* is of the form which is usually taken to be characteristic of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Judging from palæography the inscription may be assigned to **the fourth century A.D.**

The **language** of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākrit. The Prākritic forms occurring in it are: *śatime* for *śatatamē*, *grishma* for *grīshma*,[3] *etāya puruvaya* for *ētasyāṁ pūrvvāyām*, *negamasya* for *naigamasya* and *Sorathakasya* for *Saurāshṭrakasya*. The form *puruvaya* is found also in a few other inscriptions discovered in Kosam. The term *negama* occurs here probably in the sense of 'the merchant' and is similarly used, along with a specification of the domicile of the donor[4], in the Kanheri inscriptions. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that the medial *ā* stroke is frequently omitted, *e.g.* in *Badarikaramē* (ll. 10-11). Such spelling,

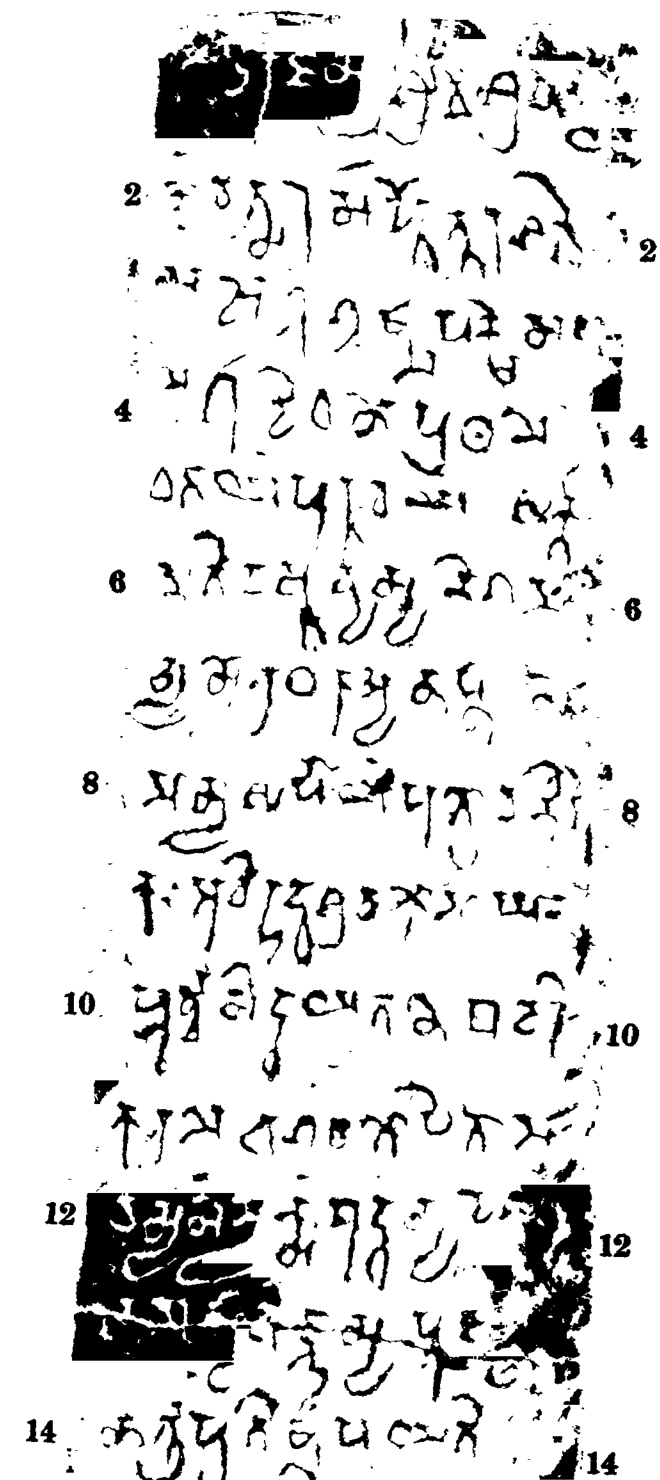
[1] See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 575-76. A good facsimile of the inscription has not yet been published.

[2] Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159, 160; *cf.* A. Ghosh, *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 715 ff. and Vol. III, pp. 177 ff; G. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff. and above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 247 f. I am informed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti that a set of inscriptions recently discovered in the Rewah State, which are being edited by him, are dated respectively in the reign of Bhīmasēna (year 51), his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) and grandson Bhadadēva (year 90). These years, as well as those of the Kosam inscriptions, are perhaps to be referred to the same reckoning.

[3] Both *śatime* and *grishma* occur in the inscription of Bhīmavarman of the year 130.—*Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 182.

[4] In the present inscription the term *Soraṭhaka*, originally denoting 'an inhabitant of Surāshṭra', is used as a personal name. Such instances are not rare.

Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaisravana of the Year 107.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 1867 E'38–295.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

however, should perhaps be regarded as a linguistic feature and not necessarily an orthographic irregularity. Separate signs are used to denote *b* and *v*, *e.g.* in *Buddha* in ll. 12 and 15, and the letter *v* following a superscript *r* is invariably doubled.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the establishment of an umbrella (*i.e.* a stone umbrella) in honour of the lord Buddha by the merchant **Māgha**, son of the merchant **Śurpāya** (Śūrpāya) and grandson of the merchant **Sōraṭhaka** (*i.e.*, 'one who hailed from Surāshṭra'), an inhabitant of **Śuktimatī**. The donor is described as a *śrāvaka*, *i.e.* a lay hearer. The umbrella was installed within a temple called Pūrvvasiddhāyatana in **Badarikārāma**. The small pillar on which the record is engraved probably represents the staff of the umbrella which is missing. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārāja* **Vaiśravaṇa** and is dated in **the year 107, the first day of the 7th fortnight of the summer**. The year is expressed in words as well as in symbols.

Mahārāja **Vaiśravaṇa**, obviously one of the rulers of Kauśāmbī, is known from this inscription for the first time. The year 107, when he was reigning, is referable, judging from the palæography of the inscription, to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. and is thus equivalent to **355-56 A.D.** I am unable to identify **Śuktimatī**[1] which was probably in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī. **Badarikārāma**, where the umbrella was dedicated, is mentioned in the introductory portion of the *Tittira-Jātaka*[2] as a locality situated in the vicinity of Kauśāmbī. The first epigraphical reference to this locality occurs in the present inscription. Another *ārāma* adjoining Kauśāmbī was the Ghōshitārāma which is well known from Buddhist literature, being the place where the Buddha spent some time during his sojourn in the Vatsa country.

TEXT.

1 [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya[3] śrī-**Vaiśrava[ṇasya]**[4]
2 **saṁvatsarē sapt-ōttara-śati-**
3 **[mē]**[5] **100 7 gṛi(grī)shma-pakshē sapta-**
4 **mē 7 divasē prathamē**[6] [|*]
5 etāya puruvaya **Śukti-**
6 **mati-va(vā)stavyasya** negama-
7 sya **Soraṭhakasya** naptā ne[ga]-
8 masya[7] **Śurpāya**[8]-putrō vaṇi(ṇi)ja-
9 **kaḥ aviruddha-śr[ā]vakō Māghaḥ**
10 **Pūrvvasiddh-[ā]yatanē Badari-**
11 **k[ā]r[ā]mē** bhagavatō(taḥ) pitāma-

[1] [Śuktimatī or Śuktisāhvaya is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the Chēdi capital—see Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, etc., p. 221. In Pāli literature this city is mentioned as Sotthivati-nagara—see *Chetiya-jātaka* (No. 422).—Ed.]

[2] Fausböll, *Jātaka Text*, Vol. III, p. 64: *Kosambiyaṁ nissāya Badarikārāme*. [Also mentioned in the *Tipallatthamiga-jātaka* (*Text*, Vol. I, p. 160) and *Saṁyutta-nikāya* (ed. P. T. S.), pt. iii, p. 126.—Ed.]

[3] There are only traces of the upper portion of the letter *ma* on the stone.

[4] This portion is damaged; only traces of the letter *ṇa* and a part of the subscript *y* are visible.

[5] The left portion of the last letter is damaged.

[6] Usually one should expect here the numeral 1 after *prathamē*. If it originally existed it has peeled off.

[7] For the reading of the first two letters I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.

[8] The name perhaps represents *Śūrpāya* of uncertain meaning.

12 hasya saṁmyak[1]-saṁbuddhasya daśa-[2]
13 lam(?)=ashṭābhijñasya pūjā[rtthaṁ]
14 chhattraṁ pratishṭhāpayati [|*]
15 nama(mō)=stu sarvva-Buddhēbhya[ḥ*] [|*]
16 puṇyam(ṇyaṁ) varddhatu [|*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) (In the reign) of the *Mahārāja* **Vaiśravaṇa, in the year one-hundred-exceeded-by-seven, 107, the seventh fortnight of the summer, 7, on the first day.**

(Ll. 5-14) On this (*date*) as aforesaid, the merchant **Māgha**, the unobstructed lay hearer[3], a son of the merchant **Sūrpāya** and grandson of the merchant **Sōrathaka**, who is an inhabitant of **Śuktimati**, consecrates an umbrella in the temple of Pūrvvasiddha in **Badarikārāma**, for the worship of the lord, the *pitāmaha*,[4] *i.e.*, the Buddha, who is perfectly enlightened ...... and experienced in the Eightfold (*Path*).

(Ll. 15-16) Salutation to all the Buddhas! May virtue increase!

[*Postscript*: I am obliged to Mr. Krishnadeva, Archæological Scholar, for having drawn my attention to certain Kosam coins which partly preserve the name of *Vaiśravaṇa* (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 156-57). Evidently these are to be attributed to *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa of this inscription. Recently his name has been traced also is an inscription discovered in the Rewah State.—N. G. M.]

No. 21.—CUTTACK MUSEUM PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN.

BY THE LATE MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.[5]

The actual provenance of this copper-plate charter, which is edited here for the first time, is not known. It appears to have been for a long time in the custody of the Mohant of Kenduāpādā Maṭh in Cuttack District, Orissa, and was shown in an exhibition held at Banki in the same district in February, 1937. Subsequently it came into the hands of Pandit Artatran Misra, who has now presented it to the Provincial Museum, Cuttack. I take this opportunity of thanking the authorities of the Museum for having placed the record at my disposal for publication.

It consists of **three sheets** of copper each measuring about 8·7″×4·7″. They are held together by means of a copper ring, to which is affixed a **seal**, bearing in relief the figure of a seated bull and below it the legend *śrī-Sainyabhītasya, i.e.*, 'of the illustrious (*King*) Sainyabhīta'. *Sainyabhīta* was the *biruda* of some of the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. In the present case it refers to Mādhavavarman who, as will be seen below, issued this charter.

[1] Read *samyak-*.

[2] It is not clear if the reading should be *daśa* or *dāśa*. There may have been another letter at the end of the line where the stone has flaked off. Could the word be *Daśabala*, a name of the Buddha, and the reading intended *Daśabalasy-āshṭbhijñasya*?

[3] [*Aviruddha* I would take in the sense of 'free (*from greed, passion, etc.*)'. For an explanation of this term see *Mahāniddesa* (ed. P. T. S.), p. 239.—Ed.]

[4] The title *pitāmaha* as well as *samyak-sambuddha* is applied to Buddha also in a Mathurā inscription of the reign of Kanishka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97). Palæographically it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I, that is to say to the Early Kushān period, as its alphabet shows predominantly 'Gupta' forms.

[5] [I record with deep regret that Mr. Majumdar had met with his tragic end in his exploration camp at Nai Gaj in the Dādū District of Sind before the proof of this article reached him. By his death we have lost a promising scholar and a valuable contributor to the pages of this journal.—Ed.]

Two other grants of his, namely the Bugudā and Purī plates,[1] have already been published. The inscription consists of 46 lines of writing which is engraved on the inner face of the first and third plates and on both the faces of the second or the middle one. Although a few letters are worn out and damaged here and there, the inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** of the inscription are a variety of the Northern alphabet which are hardly distinguishable from those of the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of the Gupta year 300, *i.e.*, A. D. 619-20 and his Khurdā plates.[2] Its style of writing, so far as reflected in the engraving, is quite dissimilar to that of the Purī plates of Mādhavavarman. In the former letters are formed by continuous lines, while in the latter by sharp and detached strokes. The alphabet of the Purī plates cannot therefore be regarded as quite normal, while in the characters of this record we should recognize the writing typical of Orissa in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Inspite of this difference in style of engraving the characters of the two sets of copper-plates do not reveal any material difference in palæography. In this connection it should be noted that the alphabet of the Bugudā plates of Mādhavavarman is definitely of a later type, which Kielhorn thought could not be placed earlier than the tenth century A. D. A contrary view is expressed however by Dr. Basak who has edited the Purī plates. According to him the characters are assignable to the seventh or eighth century A. D., and " mostly resemble those used in the Bugudā plates".[3] Although Kielhorn's opinion is not acceptable, it must be admitted that there is a marked difference in form between some of the important letters occurring in the Bugudā plates and the two other records. Letters such as *ṇ*, *m*, and *l*, have a decidedly later appearance in the Bugudā plates. The enigma presented by these plates is to be attributed, however, to a factor not yet taken note of by epigraphists. As pointed out by Kielhorn, the Bugudā plates ' originally bore another inscription, the letters of which probably were beaten in to make room ' for the inscription which they now bear.[4] It is possible that the original inscription engraved in the reign of Mādhavavarman was re-engraved on the same plates in a subsequent period for some reason or other, a practice of which there are several well-known examples. The text of the document, as we find it now, presents many inaccuracies and lapses of the scribe, to which due attention has been drawn by Kielhorn. These presumably might have occurred in the process of re-engraving. If this view be accepted, the apparent incongruity in the palæography of the three copper-plate grants of Mādhavavarman could be satisfactorily explained.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting a few lines of prose it contains as many as twenty-two verses, seven of which (vv. 2, 5, 6, 7, 15, 16 and 22) are quite new. Of the remaining fifteen verses three are the customary donative ones and twelve occur in other land-grants of the Śailōdbhava dynasty. Among those that are common notable textual variations appear in vv. 13, 14, 20 and 21 of the present record. In v. 20 the word *lēkhita* is used in the sense of *lēkhaka*, which probably has to be taken as an instance of *matvarthīya ach*.[5] It is so used also in v. 16 of the Purī plates and in v. 18 of the Bugudā plates.

[1] Above, Vol. VII, Pls. between pp. 100-101, and Vol. XXIII, Pls. between pp. 128-29. The Purī plates are dated in the regnal year of Mādhavavarman which has been doubtfully read as 23 (Basak, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 124). An examination of the original shows that the figures cannot be anything but 13.

[2] Above, Vol. VI, Pls. between pp. 144-45; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), Part I, p. 283 and Pl. VI.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 123.

[4] I have not had the occasion to examine the original plates which are kept in the Madras Museum. But judging from a set of excellent photos kindly supplied to me by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran I can definitely endorse the opinion expressed by Kielhorn. [I had an occasion of examining the original plates. There are certainly a few traces of an earlier inscription and this also seems to have been a Śailōdbhava record.—Ed.]

[5] *Mahābhāshya*, under Pāṇini, 3, 4, 67. [The word is probably *lēkhitā*, the nominative singular form of *lēkhitṛi*.—Ed.]

As regards orthography we should note particularly the following: the same sign is used for *b* and *v*; consonants following a superscript *r* are doubled in the majority of cases; the letter *t* preceding a subscript *r* is often doubled *e.g.*, in *ttrayōviṁśati*, l.30; occasionally a *visarga* is omitted *e.g.*, *bhavishyata(ḥ)* l.27; the sign of *avagraha* is never used; before *ś* and *h* a guttural nasal is used for *anusvāra e.g.*, in *vaṅśaḥ*, l.14 and *Jayasiṅhāna* l.44; and final *n* is changed into *anusvāra* in *vishayē=smiṁ*, l.27. Orthographic irregularities and scribal errors have been duly pointed out in the body of the text.

The document opens with the formula *ōṁ svasti* followed by a verse asking for the benediction of the god Śiva in communion with Pārvatī. Verse 2 mentions the Mahēndra mountain and the Eastern Ocean, the two prominent topographical features of Kaliṅga introduced in the next verse (v. 3), which refers to Pulindasēna, an inhabitant of this country. He worshipped the god Svayambhū (v. 4), as a result of which was born out of rocks (v.5) the victorious king Śailōdbhava (v.6). The dynasty was so called after him (v. 7); and in it was born (A)raṇabhīta (v. 8) whose son was Sainyabhīta (v. 9). In the latter's lineage was born King (A)yaśōbhīta (v. 10). Ayaśōbhīta's son Sainyabhīta (II) issued the present land-grant. Vv. 11-13 give an eulogistic account of the royal donor, which are, however, not of any historical interest. The following verse (v. 14) states that he was called also Mādhavavarman and that he resided in the city of Mādhavapura. It may be noted in passing that Mādhavavarman had an additional title '*Śrīnivāsa*', which is mentioned in his Purī and Buguḍā plates.[1] It is repeated also in the Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivinā plates of Dharmarāja,[2] a later member of the family, but does not occur in the present record.

In vv. 15-16 are addressed the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others of the Jayapura-*vishaya*. Then begins the formal part of the grant which is in prose (ll. 29-36). Herein we are told that the village of Tamataḍā situated in the Vyāghrapura-*bhukti* of this *vishaya*, consisting of twenty-three *timpīras* of land, was granted by means of this charter to the undermentioned Brāhmaṇas: Skandādityasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin, Daddasvāmin, Vēdasvāmin, Mahēndrasvāmin, Khadirādityasvāmin, Pradyumnasvāmin, Pāṇḍaramātṛisvāmin, Ādityasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Agrasvāmin, Chharampasvāmin, Kāyavarasvāmin, Śarvvasvāmin, Mātṛichandrasvāmin, Vōntēlvādityasvāmin, Gōlasvāmin, Madhvasvāmin, Mātṛichandrasvāmin (II), Dattasvāmin, Dharmmasvāmin, Vāmadēvasvāmin, Śrīsvāmin and Svāmichandrasvāmin. The prose portion conveying this information is followed by three of the customary stanzas (vv. 17-19). Then in v. 20 are mentioned Guhachandra, a *ṛitvik* and *upādhyāya*, who served as the *dūtaka*, and also Upēndrasiṁha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, who acted as the scribe or draughtsman of the record. This Upēndrasiṁha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, drafted also the Purī and Buguḍā plates. V. 21 speaks of the charter (*tāmra-paṭṭa*) as having been engraved by Skandabhōgin and 'heated' by Jayasiṁha. The two other documents mention that they were *lāñchhita*, *i.e.*, 'endowed with the *lāñchhana* or emblem'. by Jayasiṁha. This seems to convey the same idea as that suggested by *tāpita i.e.*, 'heated' occurring in the present charter. The latter evidently refers to the process of soldering the seal containing the royal emblem to the ring of the plates, which could be done only by means of heating.

Verse 22 of the record states that the king issuing this charter resided in the city of Śrīdhara, evidently the same as Mādhavapura mentioned in v. 14. It further describes him as a friend of the Lōkanātha who had been graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance. It

[1] V. 10 and v. 11 respectively.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 268, v. 9, and Vol. XXI, p. 38, v. 10.

is not clear, however, which dynasty at this time held paramount sway over Orissa. The first time that we hear of a Śailōdbhava prince ruling over this part is in the Gañjām plates, dated in the Gupta year 300, *i.e.*, A.D. 619, which mention his overlord *Mahārājādhirāja* Śaśāṅka, undoubtedly the same king who is described as ' the lord of Gauḍa ' in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*.

The last line of the charter, immediately after v. 22, specifies the **date** of the grant **the 24th day of Śrāvaṇa of the year 50**. As already pointed out, the present record palæographically resembles the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of A. D. 619-20. I consider this Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman of the present charter to be identical, and would refer the year 50 to the **Harsha era** of A. D. 606 which makes the date equivalent to **A. D. 656**.

In the Khurdā and Gañjām plates Mādhavarāja's father is stated to be Ayaśōbhīta. This is also the name of Mādhavavarman's father as given in the Purī, Buguḍā and the present copper-plates. The Khurdā plates mention Ayaśōbhīta's father to be Sainyabhīta, and the king mentioned immediately before Ayaśōbhīta in the dynastic lists in the Buguḍā, Purī, Parikud and the present grants is also Sainyabhīta, but these records state that Ayaśōbhīta was born ' in the lineage of ' Sainyabhīta, without specifying further that the relationship between the two was that of father and son. From this circumstance some scholars are disposed to regard Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman as two distinct persons.[1] But it is significant that the three names Sainyabhīta, Ayaśōbhīta and Mādhavarāja or Mādhavavarman occur exactly in this order in all the copper-plates and the presumption is that this Sainyabhīta was really the father of Ayaśōbhīta and that Mādhavavarman and Mādhavarāja are identical. It may be added firther that both Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman had the *biruda* ' Sainyabhīta'. As regards the possibility of the name Mādhavavarman appearing as Mādhavarāja, there are similar instances elsewhere, as in the case of the Chālukya kings Vijayavarman and Kīrttivarman who in some of their copper-plates are called Vijayarāja and Kīrttirāja respectively.[2] I do not therefore think that the identification of Mādhavavarman with Mādhavarāja of the Khurdā and Gañjām plates involves any real difficulty.

Jayapura-*vishaya* may be the same as Jayakaṭaka-*vishaya* of Kōṅgōda-*maṇḍala* mentioned in the Dharakota plate of Śubhākaradēva.[3] It may be identified with the present Jeypore estate contiguous to the Gañjām District in Orissa. The rest of the localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[4]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, *Vasantatilaka* ; vv. 5, 14, 22 , *Āryā* ; vv. 7, 15, 16, 18-21, *Anushṭubh* ; v. 10, *Indravajrā* ; v. 13, *Sragdharā*.]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[5] svasti [|*] Indōr=dhauta-mṛiṇāla-tantubhir=iva ślishṭāḥ karaiḥ kōmalair=vva(bba)ndhāhēr=aruṇaiḥ

2 sphurat-phaṇa-maṇēr=digdha-prabhāsō=ṅ(ṁ)śubhiḥ [|*] Pārvvatyā sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-vandhaḥ(bandha)-

3 ślathā Gaṅg-āmbhaḥ-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇikāḥ Śambhōr=jaṭāḥ pāntu vaḥ || [1*] Prāchy-āmbhōnidhi-ruddha-

[1] Basak, *History of North-eastern India*, 1934, p. 171 ; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 125-126. See also R. C. Majumdar, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. X (1937), p. 3.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 252-253.

[3] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 21.

[4] From the original copper-plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

4 sānur=atulaḥ pushya-drum-ālī-vṛitaḥ syandan-nirjjhara-vāri-dārita-darī-pāta-skhalan-[n]isvanaḥ [|*]

5 svāna-ttrasta-patattri-valgu-virutair=āpūrit-āntar-guhaḥ śrīmān=Mērur=iv=ōdgataḥ kula-giriḥ

6 khyātō Mahēndraḥ kshitau || [2*] Prāṅ(ṁ)śur=mmah-ēbha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)huḥ kṛi-shṇ-āśma-

7 sañchaya-vibhēda-viśāla-vakshāḥ [|*] rājīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khyāta[ḥ]

8 Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēnaḥ || [3*] Tēn=ēttham guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ēshṭaṁ bhuvō maṇḍalaṁ

9 śaktō yaḥ paripālanāya jagataḥ kō nāma sa sya(syā)d=iti [|*] pratyādishṭa-vibh-ūtsavēna bhagavā-

10 n=ārāgi(dhi)taḥ śāśvataḥ tach-chitt-ānuguṇaṁ vidhitsur=adiśad=vāñchhāṁ Svayambhūr=api || [4*] Lōka-pratiti-

11 vā(bā)hyaḥ śakala-śilā-sampuṭāt=prasūta iva [|*] dēva-kumār-ānyatamō [Hara]-nirmmāṇ[ā]t=tatō dṛishṭaḥ|| [5*]

12 Sō=py=āścharya-manōbhuv=ādhipatinā Śambhōḥ prasādāt=kshaṇaṁ bhīt-ōdbhrānta-sa-visma[ya]-sthiti-

Second Plate : Obverse

13 matā sambhāvya saumyaṁ vapuḥ [|*] bhūt-ānanda-karaḥ kṛitaś=cha vijayī Śailōdbhavaḥ kshmāpatiḥ śāstā dushpatha-

14 gāminām sukṛitinām rūp=īva dharmmaḥ svayaṁ(yam) || [6*] Śailōdbhava iti khyātas=tatō vaṅ(ṁ)śaḥ śubhaḥ kshitau [|*] utsav-ā-

15 tiśaya-sthānam=adbhutānām=iv=ādbhutaṁ(tam) || [7*] Śailōdbhavasya kulajō=raṇabhīta āsīd=ya(yē)n=āsakṛit-kṛita-bhiyāṁ

16 dvishad-aṅganānāṁ [|*] jyōtsnā-pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhiy=aiva sārddham=ākam-pitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu

17 chandraḥ || [8*] Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dhapāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhū-mipatir=garīyān [|*]

18 yam=prāpya naika-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lav(b)dha-prasāda-vijayaṁ mumudē dharittrī || [9*] Tasy=āpi

19 vaṅ(ṁ)śē=tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=yaśōbhīta iti kshitīśaḥ [|*] yēna prarūḍhō=pi śubhaiś=charittrai-

20 r=mṛishṭaḥ kalaṅkaḥ Kali-darppaṇasya || [10*] Jātas=sa tasya tanayas=sukṛitī samasta-sīmā(ma)nti-

21 nī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarīkaḥ [|*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=mmah-ēbha-kumbha-sthalī-dalana-durllali-

22 t-āsi-dhāraḥ || [11*] Jātēna yēna kamalākaravat=sva-gōttram=unmīlitaṁ dinakṛit=ēva ma-hōdayēna [|*] saṁkshipta-

23 maṇḍala-ruchaś=cha gatāḥ praṇāśam=āśu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya dī[pt]yā || [12*] Kālēyair=bhūta-dhāttrī-

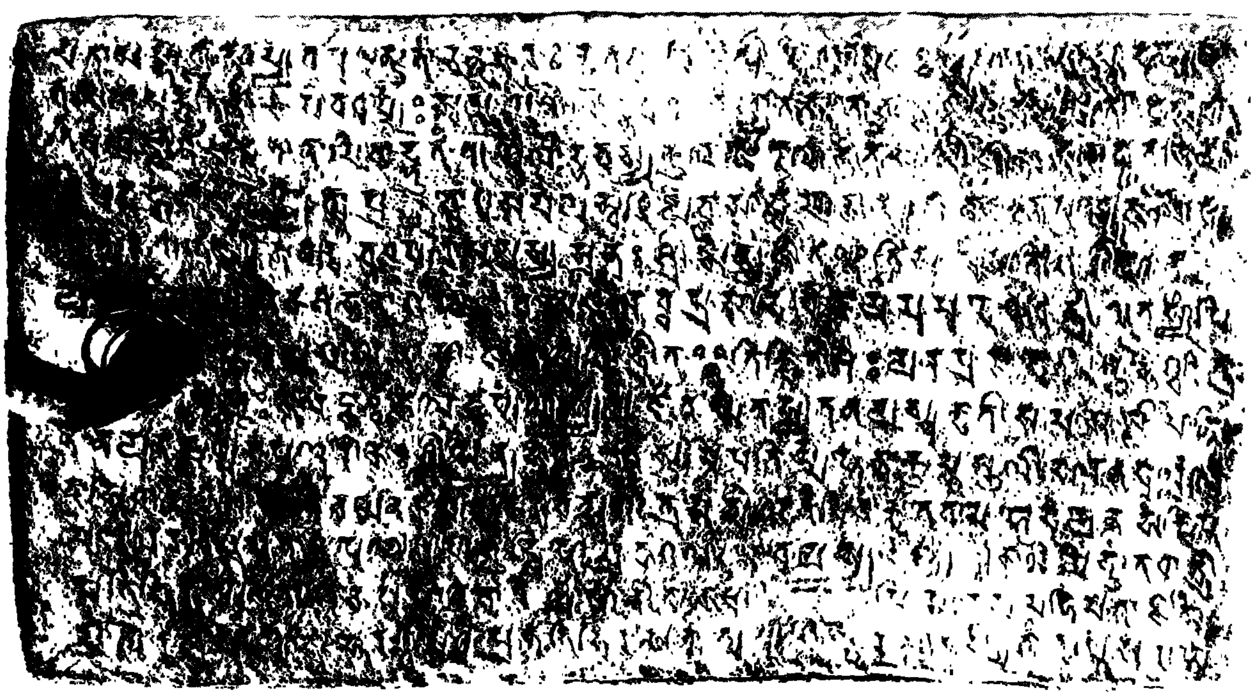
24 patibhir=upachit-ānēka-pāp-āvatārair=yēshāṁ nītā kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrtti-

25 mā(pā)lair=aja[sraṁ] [|*] yajñais=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=asakṛit=ma(sa)myag-ishṭair=akāri sphītāṁ tṛiptiṁ surō(r-au)gha[ḥ*]

i.

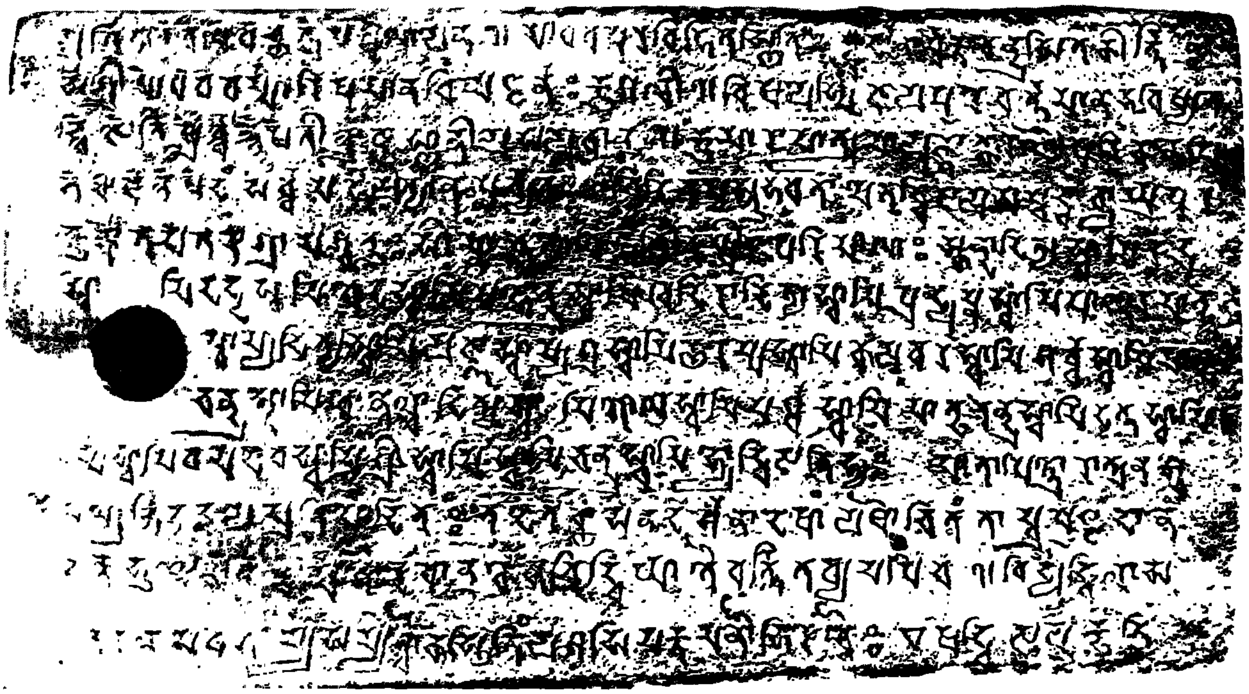


ii, a.

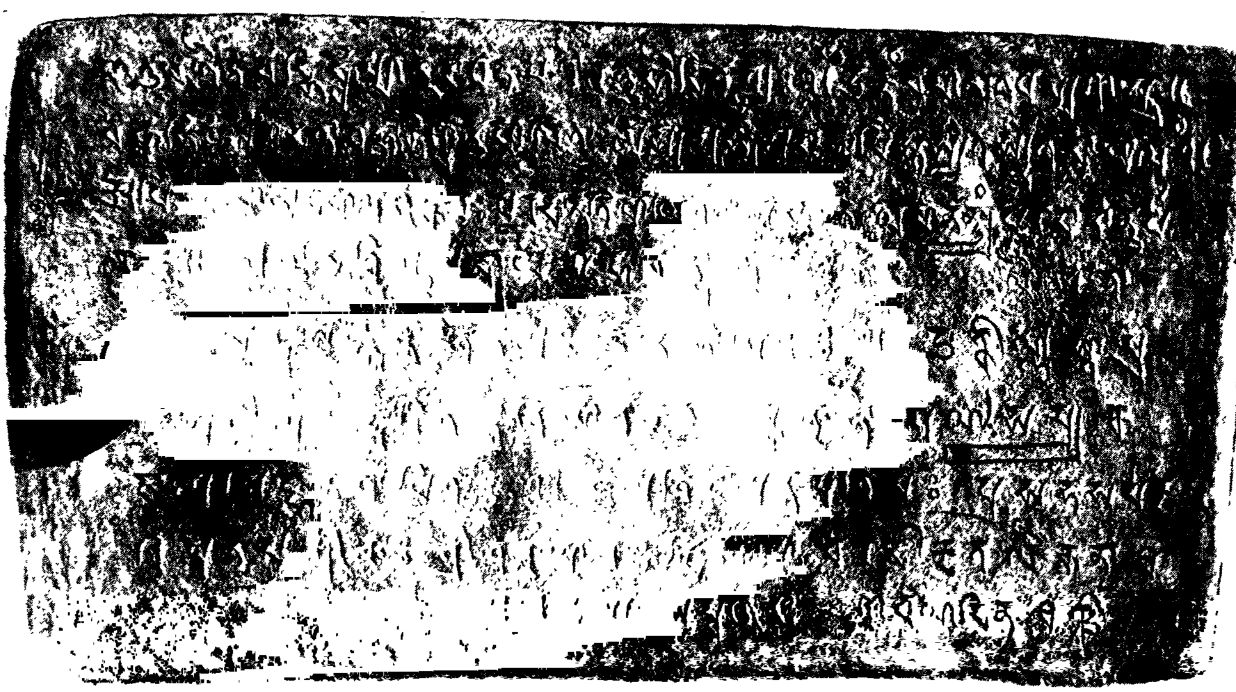


SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

ii, b.



iii.



Seal



Second Plate : Reverse.

26 pratihata-va(ba)lavach-chhattra(ttru)-pakshēṇa yēna || [13*] **Mādhavapura**-vihita-sthitir=amv(b)uda-nirmukta-chandra-sita-kīrttiḥ [|*]

27 sa śrī-**Mādhavavarmmā** ripu-māna-vighaṭṭanaḥ kuśalī || [14*] Vishayē=smiṁ(n) **Jayapurē** varttamāna-bhavishyata[ḥ |*]

28 dvijāti-pūrvvān=nṛipatīn=rājasthānīya-saṁyutān || [15*] Kumārāmātyam=āyuktāt(n)=karaṇ-ōparikān=api [|*]

29 tathā janapadaṁ sarvvam=arhayaty=ānupūrvyataḥ || [16*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vija(sha)ya-samv(b)addha-**Vyāghrapura**-

30 bhuktau **Tamataḍā**-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmnā ttra(tra)yōviṅ(ṁ)śati-timpīra-parimāṇaḥ Skandādityasvāmi-Rudra-

31 svāmi-Daddasvāmi-Vēdasvāmi-Mahēndrasvāmi-Khadirādityasvāmi-Pradyumnasvāmi-Pāṇḍaramātṛi-

32 svāmy-Ādityasvāmi-Yajñasvāmy-Agrasvāmi-Chharampasvāmi-K[ā]yavarasvāmi-Śarvvasvāmi-Mātṛi-

33 chandrasvāmi-Vōntēlvādityasvāmi-Gōlasvāmi-Madhvasvāmi-Mātṛichandrasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-

34 Dharmmasvāmi-Va(Vā)madēvasvāmi-Śrīsvāmi-Svāmichandrasvāmibhyō dvijātibhyaḥ mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha

35 puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē pratipāditaḥ tad=ētach-chhāsana-darśanād=ēshāṁ yath-ōchitaṁ tām-vra(mra)-paṭṭa-dānaṁ

36 datvā(ttvā) bhuñjānānāṁ dharmma-gauravān=[na] kēnachid=vighātai(tē) varttitavyam=api cha || Vidyud-vilāsa-

37 taralām=avagamya samyag=lōka-sthitiṁ yaśasi ma(sa)kta-manōbhir=uchchaiḥ [|*] ēsha dvij-ā(ō)pakṛiti-

Third Plate.

38 mā[ttra]-ratair=bhavadbhir=ddharmm-ānurōdhana-parair=anumōditavyaḥ || [17*] Uktaṁ cha **Mānavē** dharmma-śāstrē ||

39 Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā va(ba)hubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [18*]

40 Api [cha] | [Mā] bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dā[nā]t=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-dān-ānupā-

41 lanēṁ(nē) || [19*] Abhūd=ṛitvig=upāddhyāy[ō] Guhachandrō=ttra dūtakaḥ [|*] lēkhit =Ō-

42 pēndrasiṅ(ṁ)haś=cha tanayaḥ Kuṇḍabhōginaḥ || [20*] Utkīrṇṇas=tāmra-

43 paṭṭō=yaṁ durita-pratighāta-kṛit [|*] Skandabhōgiṇā(nā) samyak[1]

44 Jayasiṅ(ṁ)hēna tāpitaḥ || [21*] Jayati Jayanta-pratimaḥ prasabha-samākṛishṭa-

45 ripu-nṛipa-śrīkaḥ [|*] **Śrīdhara**-[pō(pau)]raḥ kshitipō varadīkṛita-lōkanātha-

46 sakhaḥ || [22*] **Saṁvat 50 Śrāvaṇa-dina 20 4**

No. 22.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the inside of the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliyappar temple at **Tinnevelly**. It was copied by the Epigraphical Department in

[1] This *pāda* is short by one letter. [I see faint traces of the letter *śrī* at the beginning of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

1894. A text of it is given, in Tamil, in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, pp. 170-171. On account of the important information which it furnishes, it is taken up here for publication. It may be noted also that no inscription of this king with the introduction *Pū-malar-tiruvum* has yet been edited in the pages of this journal.

The record contains 24 lines of writing and is in **Tamil**, verse and prose. Here and there a few Sanskrit words are found written in **Grantha** characters. The verse portion is almost free from mistakes; and the few errors of spelling that are found in the record are corrected in foot-notes. The introductory portion is purely eulogistic and calls for no remark.

The only words of lexical interest are *mudal* (ll. 11 and 14), *kār* (l. 14) and *tiramam* (l. 15). Of these *mudal* is used in the sense of 'yield' or 'produce'. This sense is preserved in the usage *kaṇḍu-mudal* which is current in several places of the Tamil districts. *Kār* is used to denote the paddy harvested in the *kār* season, *i.e.*, the months of Āvaṇi and Puraṭṭāśi. The word *tiramam* is derived from *dramma*, 'a coin.' The ordinary meaning of *pō* in Tamil is 'to go'. In lines 7 and 15, its participle, *i.e.*, *pōy* is used with *Vēdamum Śāstramum* meaning 'learned in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*'. This use of it is not common in Tamil. We have the use of the word *pōy* with *Vēdamum Śāstramum* qualified by *poruṭpaḍa* in another inscription where the meaning is clearly 'having learnt, with meaning, the Vēdas and Śāstras'.[1]

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a *brahmadēya* village. In the **8th year and 988th day** of the reign of the **Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman** *alias* **Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, when he was seated on Maḷavarāyaṉ in his palace at **Madura** on the eastern side of **Māḍakkuḷam** in **Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu**, 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and capable of expounding them, approached him and said that **Kūḍalūr** in **Murappu-nāḍu** and the villages comprised in **Kiḻai-Kūḍalūr**—with the exclusion of 4 *mā* of land forming the *paḷḷichchanda* (*i.e.*, land granted to Jaina or Buddhist shrines), as well as the old *dēvadāna* and the lands purchased by Uḍaiyāṉ Kūttāḍuvāṉ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṉ of Vaḷugūr residing in Kulaśēkhara-pperunteru at Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅguḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyār—might be constituted into a new village called **Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** after the name of the king's uncle (*māmaḍi*) and given as a *brahmadēya*, divided into 244 shares, so that the 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas mentioned above might have a share each, and 20 shares might be assigned to those that had to do service in the *dēvadāna*. As regards the assessment of the lands of this new village, it is stated that the king's uncle had enjoined that the lands should be measured by the rod called *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōl* of 24 feet length, the kind of crop raised should be examined, and for such of the lands as had yielded produce, tax should be levied at the following rates, on each *mā* :—

(1) ¼ *kāśu* for *antarāya*, *viniyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāychchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēṟu* and all other payable dues, and three *kalam* of paddy for *kār*;
(2) half of this rate shall be charged for lands sown in Tulā and crops realised;
(3) 2 *tiramam* (*dramma*) shall be paid on lands on which *varagu*, *tiṉaippul* and *iṟuṅgu* had been harvested;
(4) for *paśāṉam*, the above rates should prevail.

One of the most salient rules framed in early days with regard to land revenue is that the assessment should be charged only on lands that had been cultivated and borne crops, and that the charge should be made after inspecting the crops raised, and determining the extent of cultivation by a measuring rod of fixed length. The land-tax was paid both in kind and in money.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, text-lines 6 and 13.

In the case of wet lands on which two crops were generally raised in a year, one in *paśāṉ* and the other in *kār*, the assessment appears to have been paid in two instalments, the first in the month of Chittirai when the *paśāṉ* yield was secured, and the second in the month of Aippaśi when the *kār* crop was harvested.[1] The money payment was made to cover a number of small duties. In the present instance, it is stated that ¼ *kāśu* covered the duties of *antarāya*, *viniyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāychchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēṟu* and all other payable dues. It is learnt from this record that the revenue paid in kind was three *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land. That this was the prevailing rate is also known from other epigraphs. A Tiruviḍaimarudūr inscription states that 5 *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy was the assessment (*dēvar-kaḍamai*) on one *mā* and three *kāṇi* of land.[2] This works out to 3 *kalam* for each *mā*. No. 272 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 states that for each *vēli*, the paddy determined to be given was 60 *kalam*.[3] This also yields three *kalam* on each *mā*, since 20 *mā* equalled one *vēli*. The fractional terms *mā* (one-twentieth) and *kāṇi* (one-eightieth) are still in use in some of the Tamil districts but their extents vary according to localities as do the *kalam* and *vēli*. Therefore, they are not of much value in giving us an idea as to the rate of assessment of lands in ancient times. One of the medieval Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Tinnevelly states in clear terms that a *mā* is the extent of a square field measuring 288 feet in length which works out to nearly one acre and 90½ cents.[4] Therefore, the assessment of 3 *kalam* in *paśāṉ* and 3 *kalam* in *kār* on such a field, paid in kind, and that too when the crops had been raised, could not have caused much hardship to the land owner. Besides, he had no necessity for immediately converting his produce into money to pay off the land revenue.

The present inscription furnishes an instance of the formation of a new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya* to a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is stated that the village of Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu was formed out of the lands which had originally belonged to a number of villages—with the exclusion of a small extent that had been previously endowed to temples. In the constitution of the new village, the donees, it is said, desired that the previous owners (*muṉṉ-uḍaiyār*) of the lands, the old names (*paḻam-peyar*) of the villages and their lands, their cultivating ryots (*uḻavu*) and the head of classification (*mudal*), should be removed; that all the lands should be clubbed into one single village with a single *puṟavu*; that these lands should be divided into the required number of shares, and that with the right to build houses in the *nattam* fit for residential purposes, specified in writing, the new village should be granted as a *brahmadēya*. There is no doubt that the procedure herein briefly described should have involved considerable labour and work in the actual carrying out. The removal of the previous owners must necessarily have been followed by providing them with other sites or by awarding adequate compensation after ascertaining the correct extent of their lands and their yield. The division of the lands into equal shares and the entry of the changes of classification in the departmental and village registers could not but have taken some time.

[1] See Nos. 438 and 439 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, p. 162.

[2] No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895. We note the words used "nilan oru-mā mukkāṇiyum aiñjāvadu-varai payiṟ-chelav-iṉṟiyēy kollaiyāy kiḍandamaiyil ivaṉ taṉ svam iṭṭu=ttirutti nivandattukku nel aiṅ-kalanēy mu-kkuṟuṇiyum dēvar-kaḍamaikku nellu aiṅ-kalaṉē mu-kkuṟuṇiyim=āga nellu=ppadiṉ-kalaṉēy tūṇi-ppadakkum āṭṭāṇḍu-tōṟum iṟuppadāga viṭṭa nilam kuḻi nūṟṟeṉbatt-aiñchiṉāl nilaṉ oru-mā mukkāṇi (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 694).

[3] This is an inscription of the time of Vikrama-Chō,a and the text runs as follows :—Tiruviḍaimaruduḍaiyār Śrī-Kōyil-ppuṟambil periya-tirumuṟṟattu Ēkanāyakaṉ tiruveḍuttikkaṭṭiyil................ muppattettāvadu vēli oṉṟukku nellu aṟupadiṉ kalamāga nichchyitta nellu.

[4] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 411, dated in the 5th year of the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara. The words used are "padiṉeṭṭ-aḍi-kkōlāl padiṉāṟukku=ppadiṉāṟu koṇḍadu oru-māvāga" meaning "land measuring sixteen by sixteen of the rod measuring eighteen feet in length being one *mā*."

The whole course of action described here may be compared with the procedure that is being adopted at present in the working of the Act for the acquisition of lands for specific purposes. That the owners of the lands, who were dispossessed of their holdings should have been given other lands in exchange, is made plain by a statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[1], where it is noted that when Paḷaiyaṉūr—which was previously given as a *brahmadēya* to the members of the assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Siṅgaḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam—was converted into a *dēvadāna* of the temple of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, the *sabhaiyār* were promised to be given another village in exchange. The same plates may be referred to explain the meaning of the phrase *mudal tavirndu* occurring in lines 11 and 19. The actual words employed in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates *viz. Śavaiyārkku brahmadēyamāy varugiṉṟapaḍi* * * * * * *tavirndu veḷḷāṉ-vagaiyil mudalāṉa* * * * * *Paḷaiyaṉūr* in one place,[2] and *Paḷaiyaṉūr vēṟu-mudalāy brahmadēyamāy varugiṉṟapaḍi tavirndu veḷḷāṉ-vagaiyāy brahmadēyam-iṟaṅgi* in another place,[3] make it plain that *brahmadēyam* and *veḷ-ḷāṉ-vagai* are two different heads of classification. This sense of the word *mudal* is not common in modern usage. The other uses of the word *mudal* in the inscription under publication are found in *ivv-āṇḍu-mudal* (ll. 15 and 22) and *mudal Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉāl nellu mukkalamum* (ll. 14 and 22), the former meaning 'commencing from this year' and the latter 'the yield of three *kalam* of paddy as measured by the measure Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉ'.

Different views have been expressed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* regarding the identity of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, whose inscriptions begin with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum*. Remarking on the very inscription under publication, the late Venkayya declared that he must be different from, and later than, the Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya of the Tiruppūvaṇam grant which has the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*.[4] This view was at first adopted by the late Krishna Sastri, who, later on, finding the mention of the seat Maḷavarāyaṉ in his records as in those of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, came to the conclusion that the king with the *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction must be the same as the one that had the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*, *i.e.*, Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Add to this, it may be noted that some of the signatories that figure in the records of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. figure also in the records of *pū-malar-tiruvum*. These are reasons sound enough for holding the view expressed by Krishna Sastri. It was accordingly adopted in subsequent Epigraphical Reports and by Swamikkannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*. In reviewing certain inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction and of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Sōmēśvara found at Aḷagarmalai, in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1929-30, I pointed out some valid objections to this view and showed that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction is the second of that name and different from Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The paragraph alluded to is extracted hereunder as it decides the question once for all :—

"No. 291 (of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30) from Aḷagarmalai states that, at the request of his *māmaḍi* (*i.e.*, uncle) Hoysaḷa Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya ordered the assignment of the revenue of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu to the temple of Tirumāliruñjōlai-niṉṟaruḷiya-Paramasvāmin for conducting the Vīra-Sōmēśvaran-*śandi* instituted in it by the Hoysaḷa king. This order was issued in

[1] The words used *viz.*, "*śavaiyārkku brahmadēyamāy varugiṉṟa Paḷaiyaṉūriṉ talaimāṟu ūr kuḍuppādāga*," may be noted.

[2] See text-lines 63-66 on p. 403 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 402, ll. 10-19.

[4] *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1900, p. 6, paragraph 13.

the 8th year and 988th day (*i.e.*, the 11th year) of the Pāṇḍya king's reign. From a record of Vīra-Sōmēśvara himself found in the same temple, we learn that this service was instituted in the 10th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1243-4.[1] As such, the grant made to it by Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya in compliance with the Hoysaḷa king's request, must have been a subsequent event. If, as held by Mr. Sastri, the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* belongs to Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216, the date of the Aḷagarmalai inscription would fall in A.D. 1227, *i.e.*, 16 years prior to the establishment of the service itself. It is thus evident that inscriptions with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* do not belong to Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but are clear records of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II whose accession took place in A.D. 1238. In this case, the date of the epigraph under consideration will be A.D. 1249, which is about five years after the institution of the service. Another decisive proof for saying that the records with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* are not those of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is afforded in the omission in them of the conquest of the Chōḷa country (*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍaruḷiya*) which is invariably mentioned in inscriptions definitely attributable to him."

The different introductions *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai* and *pū-malar-tiruvum* which do not in any way recount the same historical facts, and the results of calculation of the details of dates furnished in Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, having definitely pointed out the existence of two kings bearing the same name, one closely following the other, there is reason for the same officials figuring as signatories in the records of both the kings. The names of seats and halls cannot be made use of to prove the identity of kings, for two kings not far removed from each other in time may occupy them one after the other.

To understand the political situation of the various powers of South India at the time of our record, it is necessary to follow closely the trend of events consequent on the Pāṇḍya civil war and the dynastic connection which existed between them. The outstanding political event of the century commencing with the end of the reign of Māṟavarman II, is the civil war alluded to above, which, while it lasted, did not confine itself within its own limits, but threw the whole of South India into a restless state and rudely disturbed its peace. Begun at first between two rival parties of the royal house of the Pāṇḍyas, it soon made the heads of all the chief kingdoms to range themselves on a side which seems to have been weak but just, while the other was very strong and derived its support chiefly from the foreign country of Ceylon. It exhausted the resources of the Chōḷas, sowed seeds of discontent among their chieftains and turned them into open rebellion and brought about the destruction of the mighty empire which had been built up by the military genius of the members of the revived Chōḷa line of Vijayālaya and the aid of "the victorious standing army" that won laurels wherever it was sent. The permanent outpost of the Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country was also an offshoot of this war. In about A.D. 1167 two hostile branches of the Pāṇḍya family put forth rival claims to the throne of Madura. At first, the parties were headed by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara. The Sinhalese chronicle gives indeed a very full description of the help which the Ceylon king Parākramabāhu gave to Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and his son Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and recounts the many deeds of valour performed by the Sinhalese army.[2] From this very account, which is naturally one-sided, one does not fail to gather that the cause of Kulaśēkhara was espoused by other kings of the mainland, principal among them being the Chōḷa, whose country was threatened with immediate danger. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II tell us that the Chōḷa supported the cause of

[1] No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30.
[2] *Mahāvaṁsa* (Wijesinha's transl.), Chs.76 and 77.

Kulaśēkhara.[1] The hostility between the parties of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara continued in the reign of Rājādhirāja's successor Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1217). The position was the same. Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who was now joined by his son, was supported by the Sinhalese, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, probably the son of Kulaśēkhara, applied to and obtained the help of the Chōḷas. The earliest mention of this war in the records of Kulōttuṅga III is dated in the 4th year of his reign,[2] *i.e.*, in A.D. 1182. It states that the son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya was defeated with the allied forces of the Sinhalese, that he was deprived of his kingdom and crown and forced to flee from the field of battle, that his country and crown were taken by the Chōḷa and given to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and that a pillar of victory was set up in the Pāṇḍya capital Madura. Later records tell us that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, sometime after his first flight, revolted and tried another chance with Kulōttuṅga III but was defeated again at a place called Neṭṭūr.[3] The treatment meted out to Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his son in this war by the Chōḷa king was anything but satisfactory. The Pāṇḍya queen was made to enter the harem of the Chōḷa and when the Pāṇḍya king himself, along with his ally the Chēra, came, bowed, and sat down at the foot of the Chōḷa throne, the Chōḷa king placed his feet on his head and dismissed him. It is impossible to expect the defeated party to put up with the extreme humiliation and insult meted out to him, for any length of time. Now, if there was a counter-invasion of the Chōḷa country, directed against the very sovereign that behaved in a most remorseless manner in the treatment of a fallen adversary appearing before him with all humility, it would not be difficult to find out who the invader must have been, and what the cause of the invasion was. The invader Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who, in the last years of Kulōttuṅga III, did unto him and his son all that had been done to the latter's Pāṇḍya adversary a few years previously, might in all probability be the unnamed son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who, along with his father, was ignominiously treated by Kulōttuṅga III. In our opinion, it will be extremely unnatural, and impossible to a high degree, that Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, a weakling who owed his very being as a monarch to Kulōttuṅga III, or a son of his, would, without any cause, ever rise against the Chōḷa benefactor. Thus, it will be seen that the civil war begun by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya in about A.D. 1167 was pursued by his son Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and pushed to a decisive end by Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The other hostile party counted Kulaśēkhara and his son Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and perhaps one other member. In the account of the Pāṇḍyan civil war that has come down to us, both from the Sinhalese source and from South Indian epigraphs, we are able to see very clearly that the side of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya,—represented mostly by Vīra-Pāṇḍya, his son, and Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.—was very resourceful, was of undaunted spirit and performed noble deeds of valour, while that of Kulaśēkhara, represented by himself and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, was weak to a degree and had to be propped up again and again by the Chōḷas.

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[1] Four records of Rājādhirāja II refer to the war of Pāṇḍya succession. They are dated in the 5th, 8th and 12th years of his reign. While the earlier two state that the Chōḷas prevented the Pāṇḍya country from becoming a part of the kingdom of Ceylon by helping Kulaśēkhara with men and money, the two others dated in the 12th year are said to add that Kulaśēkhara turned inimical to the Chōḷa who deposed him and placed Vīra-Pāṇḍya on the throne (above, Vol. XXI, p. 186). If this is true the enmity does not seem to have lasted long, for early in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III we find the Chōḷas supporting this party of Pāṇḍyas against the very Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 436. The date of this inscription is not given at the beginning as usual. It registers an order to the effect that what was granted in the 4th year may be incised on stone; and generally such records are relegated to the dates specified.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 87 and 88.

Is there anything to suggest or support the view that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. might be of the line of Kulaśēkhara and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya ? An inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. refers to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya by the term *Periyanāyiṉār* and another of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara refers to the same king by the term *Periyadēvar*.[1] From these references it has been inferred that both Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have been the sons of Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, the king that was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga III. The inference, however, lacks support. Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. having ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya having been set up as ruler nearly 35 years prior to that date, the latter was certainly a senior member and perhaps also one that immediately preceded Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. As such, it is quite natural that he must be referred to by the term *Periyadēvar* or *Periyanāyiṉār* which in English may be rendered 'senior' in age or office. *Periyavar* with regard to ordinary persons, and *Periyadēvar* or °*nāyiṉār* with regard to kings, may be applied to any elderly person, be he father, elder brother or one that preceded. The term does not exclusively mean 'a father'. If the relationship of a father were intended definitely, the inscription would have used the term *ayyar* and if an elder brother *aṇṇar*. To show that the use of *Periyadēvar* or *Periyanāyiṉār* is indefinite and that of *ayyar* and *aṇṇar* is definite, the following instances of the employment of the terms in inscriptions may be noted :—

i. An inscription dated in the 3rd year and 81st day of the reign of the later Pallava king Peruñjiṅga refers to gifts of cows made in the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of *Periyadēvar* to *Kulōttuṅgan-tiru-gōśālai*.[2] Here *Periyadēvar* must refer either to Kulōttuṅga III in whose time and under whose name the *gōśālā* must have been formed or to Rājarāja III who was the predecessor of Peruñjiṅga and in whose reign some gift of cows might have been made to the said *gōśālā*, but certainly not to any relation, not to say father, of Peruñjiṅga. Numerous instances may be cited where *Periyadēvar* is used to denote the immediate predecessor of a reigning king, who may happen to stand in the relation of 'father' to the reigning king ; but that the term *Periyadēvar* need not necessarily indicate 'a father' will be quite evident from the inscription cited above. The use of *Periyadēvar* with reference to Rājarāja II in an inscription of Rājādhirāja II (above, Vol. XXI, p. 189) will bear out this view.

ii. We have a specific instance in an inscription of Vīrarājēndra which shows that when a reference had to be made to the king's father the term '*ayyar*' is used and that when referring to an elder brother '*aṇṇar*' is employed.[3] In this inscription, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. is called '*ayyar*'[4] and Rājēndradēva is called '*aṇṇar*'.[5] Another inscription of Vīrarājendra also uses the term '*ayyar*' in referring to his father Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.[6]

These references are sufficient to show that the allusion to Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as *Periyadēvar* in the inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. does not prove that the latter two were the sons of the former. All that the allusion can indicate is that Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was a predecessor, a fact which we know from

[1] See No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1926 and No. 83 of the same collection for 1927.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 54.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.
[4] *Ibid.*, text-lines 51 and 172.
[5] *Ibid.*, text-lines 189 and 190.
[6] No. 110 of 1903.

the circumstance that Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and that Kulōttuṅga III snatched from Vīra-Pāṇḍya his crown and kingdom and set up Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as ruler in or before A.D. 1182. As has been shown already, there are good grounds for holding that Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. must be of the line of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and that the cause of his invasion of the Chōḷa country was to pay its king in his own coin. If Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I be not the unnamed son mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, there is a possibility of his being the son of one of the collateral Pāṇḍya kings that took up the cause of Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the war against the Chōḷas and had a share of the defeat inflicted by Kulōttuṅga III or his predecessor Rājādhirāja III. For all these considerations, I think the question of the parentage of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya must be regarded as unsettled and must remain open till decisive evidences are forthcoming. The Pāṇḍya invasion was a thorough success. The very Chōḷa emperor, who, not long after his accession, deprived Vīra-Pāṇḍya of his crown and country and put him to flight, defeated him a second time at Neṭṭūr, and finally gave a public audience at the capital of the enemy and placed his feet on the head of the vanquished monarch when he appeared with all humility, bowed and sat down at the foot of his throne, was now, in his turn, deprived of his crown and country, was forced to run to a forest, his capital cities of Uraiyūr and Tanjore being set on fire, his country damaged, and finally, when the victor gave a State audience at Ponnamarāvati, the Chōḷa was bid to attend it on a promise of being restored. 'On hearing this', says the inscription, 'the Chōḷa returned with his wife and presenting his son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated before the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged.' The Pāṇḍya then gave back to the Chōḷa king's son the crown and an expansive territory. The terms to be abided by the suppliant were embodied in a royal writ bearing the fish-seal which was conferred on him along with the title of *Chōḷapati*,[1] which he had formerly lost, as well as his old city and crown. Kulōttuṅga III did not long outlive these disgraceful proceedings, and his son Rājarāja III, adds the record, did not at first mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, but subsequently refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army against the Pāṇḍya. In dealing with the Tinnevelly inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, I had stated that this second encounter between that Pāṇḍya king and the Chōḷa should have taken place in about A.D. 1222 when the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II marched on Śrīraṅgam and assumed soon after the title of 'establisher of the Chōḷa'[2] which signifies the help rendered by him to the Chōḷa. Siding with the Chōḷa means, in terms of the Pāṇḍyan civil war of which this was one of the issues, espousing the cause of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya's party against that of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, *i.e.*, against Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who was then representing it. Narasiṁha's voluntary help to the Chōḷa is suggestive of his prior marriage alliance with Rājarāja III, as much as it is suggestive of his own interest in that party of the Pāṇḍyas which was favoured by the Chōḷas all along and with which he had contracted marriage alliance. Here we may note the dynastic connection that existed among the Hoysaḷas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas at the time. The inscription under publication shows that Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II's contemporary and uncle was the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Sōmēśvara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1233 and reigned till A.D. 1255. That the same Hoysaḷa king stood in the relation of uncle to the Chōḷa Rājēndra-Chōḷa III (A.D. 1246-1267) also, is known from the latter's records.[3] From these it may be gathered that Vīra-Sōmēśvara had two sisters one of whom was the mother of

[1] This title is far inferior to "Tribhuvanachakravartin" which the Chōḷas usually bore, and is indicative of the position Rājarāja was made to hold as a result of the invasion of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 512, where Rājēndra-Chōḷa III is called '*Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kālaḍaṇḍa*'.

Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and the other was the queen of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. The following table shows the dynastic connection of the three families :—

Pāṇḍya.	*Hoysala.*	*Chōḷa.*
	Narasiṁha II.	
		Kulōttuṅga III.
Mār. Sundara-Pāṇḍya's father. m. Daughter.	Vīra-Sōmēśvara.	Daughter m. Rājarāja III.
Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.		Rājēndra-Chōḷa III.

Besides the above dynastic connection, the titles assumed by the Hoysaḷa kings Narasiṁha II and Vīra-Sōmēśvara and those claimed by the Pallava Peruñjiṅga bring out the exact position of the various powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking. It has been noted already that Narasiṁha II styled himself 'the establisher of the Chōḷa'[1] soon after A.D. 1222 which shows that the political relationship between him and Rājarāja III was one of cordiality. Another of his titles was 'the uprooter of the Makara kingdom'.[1] The late Prof. Hultzsch was of opinion that this kingdom must be somewhere in the Coimbatore or Salem District. If it could be the same as Magadai, we are to understand that the Hoysaḷa, who sided with the Chōḷa, was hostile to the king or chieftain of Magadai. Since we know from numerous inscriptions that the chieftains of Magadai called themselves Bāṇas (Vāṇaṉ in Tamiḻ) and since it was to a Bāṇa that Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the conquered territory of the Chōḷas in the first instance, it is but natural that the ally of the Pāṇḍya must figure as an enemy of Narasiṁha II. Among other enemies of Narasiṁha II figuring in inscriptions of A.D. 1222-24, is the Kāḍava by which is no doubt meant the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, who in several records is said to be of the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava family.[2] It goes without saying that the enemies of Narasiṁha and the Chōḷas were the friends and allies of the Pāṇḍya Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is quite in consonance with this, and expressive also of the attitude of the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, that he styled himself *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-mardin*, *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra* and 'the rut elephant to the forest, *viz.*, the Chōḷa'.[3] From all that has been said above, it will be clear that the chief powers of South India were divided into two parties one of which counted in its ranks the Chōḷa and Hoysaḷa kings with their generals and chiefs supporting the members of the line of Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya, and the other had in its file the members of the line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, supported by Pallava and Bāṇa chiefs of the mainland and the Sinhalese forces which last, as will be shortly shown, had come to stay in South India till the final issues of the civil war which brought them there, were settled. Though we do not hear much of this Sinhalese army after Kulōttuṅga had succeeded in putting down Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his son, and though it is expressly stated in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's records that the Sinhalese soldiers had been driven into the sea with their noses cut off, there is clear evidence to show in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A.D. 1232-3 that among the forces of the Pāṇḍyan ally, the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, there were four Sinhalese generals of Parākramabāhu whom the generals of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II put to death.[4] After the rise of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the Pāṇḍyan civil war, though it still lingered, was turned into one chiefly between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas aided by their respective allies. The principal aim of Narasiṁha II in establishing a capital in the Tamil country just on the border of the Pāṇḍya

[1] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 434.
[2] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 163-4.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.
[4] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167 f.

and Chōḷa territories with a powerful prince invested with independent authority stationed there seems mainly to support his two sons-in-law, *viz.*, the Chōḷa Rājarāja III, and the Pāṇḍya who was the father of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom were weak, and not fit to combat their powerful enemy Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, allied as he was with the Pallava Peruñjiṅga and other chiefs and the Sinhalese army. Here we may consider and dispose of two apparently contradictory titles assumed by the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II and Vīra-Sōmēśvara. Narasiṁha's claim to the title of 'a thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya'[1] has to be understood with reference to his action against Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. undertaken in support of his son-in-law, the father of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, while Vīra-Sōmēśvara's title *Pāṇḍya-kula-samuddharaṇa*[2] with its variant *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* has to be construed with reference to his action in successfully piloting his brother-in-law Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to the Pāṇḍya throne. Thus, it will be seen that both the father and the son, *i.e.*, Narasiṁha II and Vīra-Sōmēśvara, pursued a consistent policy, *viz.*, the lifting up of the family of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. That Vīra-Sōmēśvara should have taken part in Narasiṁha's military campaign in the Tamil country undertaken to establish Rājarāja III in his kingdom, when worsted by both Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the Pallava Peruñjiṅga is evident from the title *Chōḷarājya-sthāpan-āchārya* which he assumed. The Hoysaḷa general Appaya-Daṇḍanāyaka that took a prominent part in the war against Peruñjiṅga is reported in one of the inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to have invaded Kāṉa-nāḍu, an ancient subdivision in the Pudukkottai State.[3] It is not unlikely that this invasion was undertaken in aid of the same Hoysaḷa protégé. The existence of inscriptions of Vīra-Sōmēśvara in the Pāṇḍya country, the institution of the service called Vīra-Sōmēśvaran-*śandi* at Aḷagarmalai in the Madura District, the grant of the village bearing the name Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chatur-vēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu in the Tinnevelly District and the implicit obedience paid to his behests by the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II show clearly that that Pāṇḍya king acknowledged his overlordship and maintained friendly relation with him.[4]

The aim of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II to prop up his two sons-in-law, *i.e.*, the waning Chōḷa lord Rājarāja III and the father of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom much needed his support, was only partially successful. In spite of all the efforts made by himself, his son and generals, the decline of the Chōḷas could not in any way be prevented. The very Pallava who was daring enough to capture the Chōḷa emperor and confine him at Śēndamaṅgalam, though defeated by the Hoysaḷas in several engagements and brought under subjection almost at the end of the reign of Narasiṁha II, soon assumed regal powers and proclaimed himself king.[5] Vīra-Sōmēśvara followed his father's policy of supporting his Pāṇḍya relation and Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was crowned in A.D. 1238, and throughout the major portion of his reign, he was keeping watch and ward.[6] So long as Rājarāja III lived, there was no conflict between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas. But, as is apparent from the historical introduction of Rājēndra-Chōḷa's inscriptions, the Chōḷa nephew of Vīra-Sōmēśvara assumed a different attitude and became an open enemy not only of the Pāṇḍya but also of the friendly Hoysaḷas.[7] Without counting his own strength and the weakened state of the empire brought on chiefly by the Chōḷa subordinates

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 421. He is called *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* in No. 435.

[3] *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraph 26.

[4] See Nos. 291 and 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929 and the record under publication.

[5] Above, Vol. VII, p. 165. The accession of a Peruñjiṅga is placed in A.D. 1243, between 4th February and 30th July.

[6] His Nuggahaḷḷi inscription states that his army was encamped on the Tāmraparṇī.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

who, following the example of Peruñjiṅga, shook off their allegiance to the Chōḷa throne and became independent, each in his own region,[1] Rājēndra-Chōḷa III formed a design to chastise all those that formerly despised the family of the Chōḷas. He claims to be a very Rāma in destroying the northern part of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Ceylon), which, as we have seen, supplied in the past valiant generals who supported that party of the Pāṇḍyas that was opposed to the Chōḷas and stood also on the side of Peruñjiṅga. Rājēndra-Chōḷa boasts of having killed a Rājarāja after making him wear a double crown for three years, and of having subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the Kēraḷas, of having plundered the country of the former, of having taken the Pāṇḍyan crown, and of placing his feet on his jewelled crown. He claims to be Death to the Karnāṭa kings and states that on his legs, Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the wrestler on hill forts, placed the anklet of heroes.[2] Whatever may be the truth of these high claims, this much may be gathered that Rājēndra-Chōḷa made some sporadic attempts to revive the power of the Chōḷas. But his effort was past remedy. The reign of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II is important as being the one in which the Pāṇḍyan civil war ended, and as showing how in the final issues of it, the Hoysaḷas came to play the part which the Chōḷas did earlier.

Besides the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas, the kings of Koṅgu were also taking up the side of Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya and were helping him and his descendants in the fight against the members of the family of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. Like the Hoysaḷas, the Koṅgu kings were also connected by marriage with the kings of the Kulaśēkhara line. A regular succession of Koṅgu kings are known to us from inscriptions for nearly ten generations which include the period of the Pāṇḍyan war of succession. To show the connection between the two families, we give hereunder five kings of the Koṅgu line who regularly succeeded one another and whose period of rule extended from A.D. 1135 to 1263. These are :—

Vīranārāyaṇa (Uttama-Chōḷa)—A.D. 1135 to 1149.

Kulōttuṅga (Rājakēsarī)—A.D. 1149 to 1183.

Vīra-Chōḷa, ' who ruled the two Koṅgus '—A.D. 1183 to 1206.

Vīrarājēndra (Rājakēsarī), ' who ruled the two Koṅgus '—A.D. 1206 to 1255.

Vikrama-Chōḷa—A.D. 1255 to 1263.

One of the inscriptions of the Koṅgu country states that Rājakēsarī Kulōttuṅga was the grandson of Vīra-Chōḷa.[3] This information is useful in establishing the fact that Vīranārāyaṇa was the son of Vīra-Chōḷa and the father of Kulōttuṅga, for the three kings ruled in succession the Koṅgu country as their dates clearly prove. We learn from a lithic record at Neṛuvūr that the Koṅgu king Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, on the eve of setting out on an expedition against Madura to capture it for his sister's son (*marumagaṉ*) Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya, directed the *sabhā* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇiyamaṅgalam, which had been the camping ground of the king, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Āḻvār Śrībalidēva. This shows that Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya's father had married the sister of the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga. The Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*, besides confirming this, supplements the epigraphical account by letting us know that Kulōttuṅga had another brother who was ruling over North Koṅgu, for it is stated that Kulaśēkhara gathered together the forces of his mother's brothers who were in Ten-Koṅgu and Vaḍa-Koṅgu.[4] That this cordial relationship between the Koṅgu king and

[1] Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya in A.D. 1245, and Gaṇḍagōpāla in A.D. 1249. Somewhere about the same time Yādava Narasiṁha and Magadaipperumāḷ.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

[3] No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

[4] Wijesinha's Translation, p. 245.

the Pāṇḍyas of the Kulaśēkhara line which commenced in the days of Kulaśēkhara's father continued to exist is proved by the presence of Śōḻan Śilamban *alias* Vīrachōḻa Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of the next Koṅgu king Vīra-Chōḻa in the vicinity of Madura, and the interest taken by him in making gifts to the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṉkarai, a village 15 miles from Madura, in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with *pūtala-maḍandai* introduction.[1] This *sāmanta* continued to live in the reign of Vīra-Chōḻa's successor Vīrarājēndra who, like his predecessor, ruled the two Koṅgus together[2] and who, in the 25th year of his reign corresponding to Śaka 1153 (A.D. 1231) made a gift of land in the Koṅgu country for conducting a festival in the temple at Tirumāliruñjōlai (*i.e.*, Aḻagarmalai) in Kīḻ-Iraṇiyamuṭṭa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam.[3] During Vīrarājēndra's reign a further, and this time a double, marriage alliance was brought about between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. Vīrarājēndra, it would appear, had two daughters whom he gave in marriage to Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, for both of them call Vikrama-Chōḻa—who, to judge merely from the dates of these contemporaries, must be no other than the next Koṅgu Chōḻa king of that name —their brother-in-law (*machchuṉanār*).[4] Vikrama-Chōḻa's presence in the Pāṇḍya country and the influence which he wielded with both the Pāṇḍya relations of his are amply evidenced in inscriptions.[5] The position held and the part played by the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Sōmēśvara and the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḻa in the politics of the Pāṇḍya country seems to have been quite identical. The names of the Pāṇḍya kings that espoused Koṅgu princesses, *viz.*, the two Kulaśēkharas and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, strongly suggest that the Koṅgu kings were allied with that party of the Pāṇḍyas who were opposed to the members of the Parākrama line. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was helped both by his uncle the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Sōmēśvara and by his brother-in-law the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḻa.

It may be useful to say a word about the attitude of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I towards the two Koṅgu contemporaries of his days, one of whom was Vīrarājēndra the father of Vikrama-Chōḻa and the father-in-law of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. The historical preamble of the inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I seems to leave no doubt that he prosecuted a successful war against the two Koṅgu kings and triumphantly returned to his capital with the vanquished kings taken captive in war, and, receiving their homage, dictated to them the terms to be abided by in future and that on pain of death.[6] The suppliant attitude of the two kings is expressed in unambiguous terms, though the victorious Pāṇḍya is described as being more favourably disposed to the South Koṅgu king. Even here, one cannot but recognise in Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I's powerful rival and a descendant of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, up in arms against all those that were ranged on the side of Kulaśēkhara's party. The end of the rule of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the accession of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II helped, as the latter was by the Hoysaḷa and the Koṅgu kings throughout his reign, seem to mark the final part of the third stage of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. The following will show at sight the

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296.

[2] No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

[3] No. 135 of the same collection.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421 and *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, paragraph 12. The inference that the two Pāṇḍya kings must have been brothers is wrong.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 42 f.

several stages of the war of Pāṇḍya succession leading up to the accession of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II :—

First stage.

Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Vīra-Pāṇḍya supported by the Sinhalese.	Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōḷa Rājādhirāja II and the Koṅgu king Rājakēsarī Kulōttuṅga and his brother.

Second stage.

Earlier.—Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his son supported by the Sinhalese and the Chēra.	Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga III.
Later.—Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I ..	Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga III.

Third stage.

Earlier.—Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Peruñjiṅga aided by the Sinhalese.	The Chōḷa Rājarāja III supported by the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II who also backed up the father of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.
Later.—Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I ..	Hoysaḷa Vīra-Sōmēśvara and Koṅgu Vīra-rājēndra supporting Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and his father.

There is a peculiarity in the method of dating of the inscriptions of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. Records belonging to the first four current years of his reign are dated in the ordinary way,[1] as 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, while those belonging to the years after the completion of the 4th up to the 8th year are dated as 4+1+1st, 4+1110th day, etc., giving prominence to the expired 4th year or rather counting fresh years from the end of the fourth. Similarly, the dates[2] of records falling after the expiry of the 8th up to the 11th year are expressed as 8th year and 215th day, 8+1+1st, 8th year and 988th day, etc., thus counting fresh years after the 8th year,[3] while those later than the 11th year are cited as 11+1st, 11+3rd, etc.[4] It looks as if this systematic counting of fresh regnal years after the expiry of the 4th, 8th and 11th years must have been devised to commemorate some important events that marked those fresh years in particular. What those events are is not stated anywhere. Since we know that the accession of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II took place in A.D. 1238-9, the end of his 4th, 8th and 11th years[5] correspond to A.D. 1242-3, 1246-7 and 1249-50. Some important events of these years are known to us. They are respectively the years of accession of Peruñjiṅga, Rājēndra-Chōḷa III, and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla. But it will be interesting to know how they were important with reference to Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and whether there were other important events in his own reign in these years that singled them out for the special treatment they get. It is not, however, contended that the particular events noted above singled out the years in question, *i.e.*, the commencement of 5th, 9th and 12th years.

[1] Nos. 307 and 312 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 734; No. 668 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916; and Nos. 678 and 679 of the same collection for 1905.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 400, 446 and 448; and Nos. 209 and 211 of the collection for 1924.

[4] No. 560 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916, No. 35 of the collection for 1924 and No. 524 of the same for 1911.

[5] In all cases where two years are given connected by the word '*edir*' the first expresses completed years and the second the current years.

The reign of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II lasted till at least A.D. 1252. There are several inscriptions of his dated in the regnal year 11+1+1st and the details given in one of these[1] take us to A.D. 1251, June 14. But the latest regnal year is furnished in an inscription dated in the 15th year.[2]

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Kūḍalūr and Kīḻai-Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu which together were constituted as a *brahmadēya* under the name Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Muttālaṅkuṛuchchi *alias* Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam, Śēnalūr *alias* Tiru-varaṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Taṉporunda-āṟu and Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-Teṉṉāṟu which formed the boundaries of the new village, and Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu to which the donor of a *dēvadāna* belonged. Murappu-nāḍu is a village in the Śrīvaikuṇṭam taluk of the Tinnevelly District, 6 miles east of Palamcottah, and is situated on the right bank of the river Tāmraparṇī.[3] As the inscriptions in the Vēdanārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ temple of this village call the place by the name Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam or Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and as it is stated to be a *brahmadēya*,[4] there is no doubt about its identity with the place mentioned in our inscription as being newly constituted under that name out of the old villages Kūḍalūr and Kīḻai-Kūḍalūr. The name given to the deity of the temple in its inscriptions, *viz.*, Sōmidēva-viṉṉagar-Āḻvār, suggests that it must have come into existence in the time of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Vīra-Sōmēśvara and called after the latter king just as the village itself was. Muttālaṅkuṛuchchi still goes by the same name and is in the same taluk. Paṭṭina-Marudūr and Śūraṅkuḍi are zamindari villages in the Kovilpatti taluk of the same District. Taṉporunda-āṟu is the name of the river Tāmraparṇī.

TEXT[5]

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-malar[6]-tiruvu[m] poru-Śeyal(Jaya)-madandaiyun=tāmarai-kkuvi-mulai-śeya(jaya)-ppuyat[t=i]ruppa Vēda-nāvil veḷḷ-idaṭ-[7]tāmarai-kkādal-mādu kaviṉ-peṟa=ttiḷai[p]pa veṉ-diraiy-uḍutta [ma]ṉ-diṇi-[kiḍak]kai=ttiru-nila-madandaiy=u[ri]maiyiṟ=

2 kaḷippa samai[ya]mum nīdi[yu]n=darumamun=taḷaippav=imaiyavar [vi]ḷḷā-kko[ḍiy-i]-ḍantoṟum=eḍup[pa]=kkaruṅ-Kali-ka[ṇa]l keḍa=kkaḍavuḷ-vēdiyar arum-toḻil-vāḷvi=chcheṅ-kaṇal vaḷar[p]pa=chchurudiyun=Tamiḻun=tol-vaḷaṅ=kulava poru-tiṟal-āḻi pū-talañ=chūḻa[1] oru-kaiy=i-

[1] No. 147 of 1894.

[2] No. 421 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[3] Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 312.

[4] See Nos. 431 to 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 and the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraphs 26 and 27. In the alphabetical list of villages of the Tinnevelly District two villages are noted bearing the names Murappu-nāḍu-Kōyilpattu and Murappu-nāḍu-puḍugrāmam.

[5] No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894). For obtaining the correct original of the introductory portion, I have compared the text of this inscription with the readings of two other inscriptions, *viz.*, Nos. 421 and 446 of the same Volume and noted in footnotes the differences. Whenever these numbers occur in subsequent notes they must be taken to refer to *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[6] Read *malar=tTiruvum*. All the three inscriptions have ṛ which is incorrect.

[7] Read *-ttāmarai*.

[8] *Śūḻ-vara* is the reading in both 421 and 446. Though *śūḻa* is not incorrect, *śūḻ-vara* is better.

3 **ru-śevi** mu-mmada=nāṟ-kōṭṭ=A[yi]rāvata-mudal [1] śeya(**Jaya**)=[**t***]ti[ru]-[**k***]**koṟṟatt**=eṉ-**diśai**-yāṉaiy=**eruttam**=ē[ṟi]=kkaṇḍa nāḍ=emad-eṉa=kkayal kaḷi-kūra[2] **Kōśalan**=**Tuḷuvaṅ**=**Kudiraṅ**[3]=Kuchcharam Pōśala[m*] Maga[da]m Poppaḷam[4] Puṇḍaraṅ=Kali[ṅ]-gam=Ī[ḻa]ṅ=Kaḍāraṅ=Gavuḍan=Teliṅgañ=Chōṉagañ=Chīna[5]=mudalā

4 **vi[di]-muṟai** **tigaḷa** ve[v]vēṟu[6] vagutta mudu-nila-kkiḻamaiyil mu[ḍi-pu]ṉai-vēndaṟk[7]=**oru-ta[ṉi]-nāyaka[ṉ]-eṉṟ=ulag**=ētta=ttiru-muḍi [śū]ḍi=chcheṅ-kōl=ōchchi=kkoṟṟa-ttāḷa-**kkuḷir-kuḍai** **nilaṟ-kīḻ** kaṟṟai-kkavari kā[va]lar vī[śa] mi[ḍ]ai-[8]kadir-nava-ma[ṇi] vīrasiṁhāsa[na]tt=uḍaṉ

5 **muḍi** śūḍiy=uyar-kula-t[Ti]ruv-eṉa=[ppa]ṅgaya-ma[la]ṟ[9]-kara[ṅ]=kuvittu=ppā[r*]ttivar-**ma[ṅ]gaiyar** **tiraṇḍu** vaṉa[ṅ]guñ=cheṉ[ni[10]]-chchuḍar-oḷi-mauli=chchuḍar-maṇi mēliḍa viḍa=chchivanda[v-i][11]ṇai-mala[r]-[ch*]chīṟ-aḍi=kkamala-madukaraṅ=ka[mala]m[12] vand=aṇugum-**U[la]gamuḷuduḍai[y]ārоḍum** vīṟ[ṟi]rund-aru-

6 **ḷi[ya]** **śrī-kō-Māṟapaṉmar-[ā]ṉa** **Tribhuvanachchakrava[r*]ttigaḷ** **śrī-[Su]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]ṟku** **yāṇḍu** **eṭṭu** **nāḷ** **[t]oḷāyiratt-eṉpa[t]t-eṭṭiṉāl** **Madurō-daiya-vaḷanāṭṭu** **Māḍakkuḷa-kkīḻ**=**Ma[du]rai**=kkōyil paḷḷiy-aṟai-kkūḍattu paḷḷi-ppi[ṭa]m **Maḷavarāya[ṉi]l**=eḻu-

7 **nd-aruḷi** **irundu** Vēdamum [Ś]āstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy=irukkum chatur-**vvēdi-Bha[ṭ]ṭargaḷ** pēr iru-nūṟṟ-i[ru]pattu-nāl[va]r śeyya-t[ti]ruvāymoḻind-aruḷiṉa-**paḍi** [Vē]damum Śāstra[mu]m pōy vyākhyā[tā]kkaḷāy=irukkum chaturvvēdi-**Bhaṭṭargaḷ** pēr iru-nūṟṟ-irupa-

8 ttu-**nālvaṟkku**[13] paṅgu iru-nūṟṟ-irupattu-[n]ālum dēvadāna-ppaṇi-śey [vi]rutti paṅgu **irupadum** āga=ppaṅgu iru-nūṟṟu nāṟ[pa]ttu nālukkum **[Mu]ra[p]pu-nāṭṭu**=**kKūḍa-[lū]rum** **kiḻai-Kūḍalūr**[14]-uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷukku=kkī[ḻ]-ellai **Taṉporunda-āṟṟukku** **mēṟ-kum** teṉṉ-ellai **Mut-**

9 **tālaṅkuṟuchchiy-āṉa** **Rāja[siṁha]maṅgalattu** ellaikkum **Śēñalūr-āṉa** **Tiruva-raṅga-chchaturvvēdi[ma]ṅgalattu** ellaikkum [va]ḍakkum mēl-ellai i-mMurappu-nāṭṭu=kkāl-āṉa Sundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]ṉ-[t]eṉṉāṟṟukku kiḻakkum vaḍav-ellai Taṉporunda-āṟṟukku=tteṟkum āga nā-

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[1] The reading given in No. 421 is *śeydi* which is wrong. It must be *śeya-tiru* of which the last syllable is omitted to be engraved. In No. 446 these words are wrongly given as *śeydak-*

[2] This word is spelt in the same way in No. 421, but No. 446 has *kūṟa* with two dots after, which are unnecessary. Both the spellings are admissible.

[3] *Kudiram* is omitted in No. 421 but is given in No. 446. Metrically the word is required.

[4] *Poppaḷam* is also the reading in both Nos. 421 and 446. It seems to be the correct form as it furnishes proper *mōṉai*.

[5] The reading in No. 421 is *Chīṉaka* which is evidently wrong.

[6] *Vēṟuvēṟu* is the reading in No. 421. Both are identical in meaning and metrically admissible.

[7] Read *vēndarkk-*

[8] The reading given in No. 421 is *viḍe-kadir* which is an evident mistake. It ought to be *viḍu-kadir* or *miḍai-kadir*.

[9] Read *malar-kkaraṅ-*

[10] The reading in No. 421 is *cheṉṉiyil*.

[11] *Viṉ-malar* is the reading in No. 421 which is incorrect.

[12] *Kamalam-eṉṟ-aṇugum*, the reading furnished in No. 421, is better.

[13] Read *nālvarkku*.

[14] Read *Kūḍalūrum-*. This reading is correctly given in l. 16.

10 ṉg-ellaikk=uṭpaṭṭa nīr-nilamum karu[ñ]che[y*] puṉchey[yu]m nattamun=tōṭṭa[ma]m kuḷamuṅ=kuḷapparippum uṭpa[ṭ]ṭa nilattil paḷḷichchandam[1] [pa]ḷan-dēvadāṉamum Śūraṅkuḍi-nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭiṉa-Marudūr-pāl Kulaśekarapperunteruvi[l] Vaḷugūruḍaiyāṉ Udaiyaṉ Kūttāḍu[vāṉ-ā]ṉa Vi-

11 llavadarai[ya]ṉ vilai-koṇ[ḍ-u]ḍaiya[ṉā]y ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyār dē[va]dāṉam maṉai tō[ṭ]ṭamum [na]ttamum uṭpa[ḍa]-chChundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōlāl [ni]lam nālu-māvum nīkki [nīk]ki-uḷḷa nila[m] [m]uṉṉ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum uḷavum mudalum=tavirttu

12 ōr-ū[r] oru-purav=ākki=kkuḍiy=irukkal[ā]m nattattilē kuḍiy-irupp-āga=ppaṅgum maṉaiyum=eḻudi [Mu]rappu-n[āṭ]ṭu-pPōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chchaturvvēdimaṅga[la]m-eṉṟu [m]āmaḍi pe[ya]rāl eṭṭāvadiṉ=edirām-āṇḍiṉ=edirām-ā[ṇ]ḍu-mudal brahmadēyañ=cheyya-ppeṟa-vēṇu-

13 m-eṉṟum i[vv-ū]r i[ṟu]kkum-iḍattu irupattu-nāl-aḍiy-āṉa Sundara-Pāṇ[ḍi]ya[ṉ]-kōlāl nilam=aḷandu payir pārttu [vi]ḷainda nilattukku antarāyamum viṉiyō[ga]mun=taruvadāṉa achchum k[ā]riyavā[r]āchchi[yu]m veṭṭi-pāṭṭamum pañchupīli sandu-(sandhi)vikkiragappēṟum

14 ma[ṟ]ṟum ep[p]eyarp[pa]ṭṭiṉavum=uṭpaḍa kārukku māt[t]āl kāśu kālum muda[l] Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉāl nellu mu-kkalamum Tulā viṟaich[chu][2] viḷainda nilattukku i-vvariśaiyil oṉṟu-pādiyum eḷḷu varagu tinaippull=iṟuṅgu viḷainda nilattukku

15 [mā]ttāl tira[ma]m iraṇḍum . paśā[ṉa]m i-vvariśaiyum-āga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal iṟup-pad-āga iṟai kaṭṭa-ppeṟavēṇum-eṉṟu [mā]maḍi namakku-chchoṉṉamaiyil Vēdamum Śāstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy=irukkum chaturvvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ peya[r]

16 iru-n[ū]ṟ[ṟ-i]rupattu-nālvaṟku[3] -ppaṅgu iru-nūṟṟ-irupattu-nālum dēvadāṉa-ppaṉiśey virutti paṅgu irupadum āga=ppaṅgu iru-nūṟṟu-nālpattu[4] nālukkum Murappu-nāṭṭu=kKūḍalūrum kīḻai-kKūḍa[lū]rum uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷukku=kkīḻ-ellai Taṉ[po]-

17 ru[nda]-āṟṟukku mēṟkum teṉ-ellai Muttālaṅkuṟu[chchi*]y-āṉa Rājasiṁhamaṅgalattu ellaikkum Śēñalūr-āṉa Tiruvaraṅga-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu ellaikkum [va]ḍakkum mēl-ellai i-[m]Murappu-nāṭṭu=kkāl-āṉa [Su]ndara[p]āṇḍiyaṉ-teṉṉāṟṟu-kku kiḻakkum vaḍav-ellai

18 Taṉporun[da]-āṟ[ṟu]kku t[e]ṟkum āga nāṉg-ellaikk-uṭpaṭṭa nīr-nilamu[m] karuñche[y*] puñcheyyu[m][5] nattamun=tōṭṭamum kuḷamuṅ=kuḷapparippum uṭpaṭṭa nilattil paḷan-dē[va]dāṉamum paḷḷich[cha]ndamum Śūra[ṅ]kuḍi-nāṭṭu Paṭṭiṉa-Marudūr-pāl[6] Kulaśēkara-pperunteruvil Vaḷugū-

19 [ruḍai]yāṉ Udaiya[ṉ] Kū[t]tāḍuvā[ṉ-ā]ṉa Villavadarai[ya*]ṉ vilai-koṇḍ-uḍaiya ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyāṟku[7] dēvadāṉam-āṉa tōṭṭamum nattamum=uṭpaḍa Sundarapāṇḍi[ya]ṉ-kōlāl nilam nālu-māvum nīkki nīkki-uḷḷa nilam muṉṉ-uḍaiyārum pa[ḷa]m-pērum[8] uḷavu[m*] mudalu-

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[1] Read *paḷḷichchandamum*.

[2] This is the colloquial form of *viḷaittu* : see l. 22.

[3] Read *nālvarkku*.

[4] Read *nāṟpattu*.

[5] This word occurs in l. 10, above, with the spelling *puṉcheyyum*.

[6] Here and in similar places, the particle *pāl* is used in the sense of 'in or near'. To distinguish a particular place from others bearing the same name, it was usual to mention the place near it or in which it was situated and affix to it the particle. The practice is rarely in vogue now.

[7] Read °*yārkku*.

[8] The word *pēr* occurs in l. 11 also. But the form *peyar* is used in *eppeyarpaṭṭiṉa* (ll. 14 and 21) and *māmaḍi-peyarāl* (ll. 12 and 20). It seems *pēr* denoted 'number of persons' and *peyar* 'the name' or 'kind'.

20 [n=tavirttu ō]r-ūr oru-pura[v]=ākki kuḍi i[ru]kkal[ā]m na[tta]t[ti]lē kuḍi irupp-āga=p[pa]ṇigum maṉaiyum eḻudi Murappu-[n]āṭṭu=pPōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalam-eṉṟu māmaḍi peyarāl ivv-āṇḍu brahmadēyañ=cheyvad-ā[ga] iḍugav-eṉṟum ivv-ūr iṟukkum-iḍattu irupattu

21 [n]ā[l-a]ḍiy-āṉa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōlāl nilam=aḷandu payir pā[r][t*]tu viḷainda nilattukku [a]ntarāyamu[m] viṉi[y]ōgamum taruvad-āṉa achchum kāriyavārāchchiyum veṭṭi-pāṭṭamum pañchupīli sandu(sandhi)vikkiragappēṟum maṟ[ṟu]m e[p]pe[ya]rpa[ṭṭi]ṉavum uṭpaḍa kārukku māttāl

22 kāśu kālum mudal Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉāl nellu mu-kkalamum Tulā viṟaichchu viḷainda nilattukku i-vvariśaiyil [o]ṉṟu-pādiyum eḷ [va]ragu [ti]ṉaippul=i[ṟu]ṅgu viḷainda nilattukku māttāl tira[ma]m iraṇḍum [pa]śāṉum=i-vva[ri]śai[yu]m-āga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal iṟuppa-

23 d-āga iṭṭu variyilār eḻutt-iṭṭa uḷ-variyum nam ō[lai]yun=tara-chchoṉṉōm [|*] kai-kkoṇḍu ippaḍi Chandrādityavat śelvad-āga-kka[l*]lilum śembilum veṭ[ṭi]-kkoḷ-gav-eṉṟu tiruvāymo[ḻi]ndaruḷiṉār [|*] i[v]ai [Tirumalli]-nāṭṭu=[t]Taḍaṅkaṇṇi-ch-Chiṟṟūr-uḍaiyāṉ=U

24 [y*]yaniṉṟāḍuvāṉ [Vī]raśōḷadēva[ṉ-ā]ṉa Kurukulattaraiyaṉ=eḻuttu [|*] ivai Śevvi-rukkai-nāṭṭu Śakkarapāṇinal[lū]r Arayaṉ Viradamuḍittāṉ-ā[ṉa] Palla[varāya]ṉ-eḻu[ttu] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6.) Hail! Prosperity! The goddess Lakshmī (*Tiru*) (*that resides in*) the beautiful (*lotus*) flower[1] and the goddess of Victory (*attendant*) on war, (*now*) resting on (*his*) victorious arms (*having the semblance of*) the lotus-like rounded breast;[2] the goddess on the tongue of Brahmā (*Vēda*) that loves the white-petalled lotus, gracefully approaching (*him*);[3] the goddess of the wide Earth with (*her*) bed of hard ground surrounded by the white-billowed (*sea*), exulting on becoming (*his*) queen;[4] (*all*) creeds,[5] politics and law (*luxuriantly*) springing up; flags for the festivals of gods being hoisted up in every place; the fire of the dark Kali (*age*) being extinguished; the fine sacrificial fires accompanied by rare acts performed by saintly Brahmins, rising

[1] As an adjective qualifying *malar*, *pū* means 'beautiful'.

[2] There is some difficulty in explaining the passage *tāmarai-kkuvi-mulai—jeya-ppuyatt=iruppa*. Here it would be natural to take '*tāmarai-kkuvi-mulai*' as a single phrase qualifying '*jaya-bhuja*'. If so taken, the meaning would be, as we have adopted in the translation, that both the goddesses Lakskhmī and Victory rested on the arms of the king and the arm is likened to what the combination of the three words *tāmarai*, *kuvi* and *mulai* might imply. These words respectively mean 'the lotus', 'well developed or rounded' and 'breast'. Preserving the order of the words the phrase could be rendered into 'lotus-like well developed (or rounded) breast'; and if the order of the words could be altered, for which we do not find any good justification, it would mean 'well shaped breast-like lotus'. Either in this case, or in taking '*tāmarai*' and '*kuvi-mulai*' as two separate qualifying terms of *jaya-bhuja* the sense is not much altered. The comparison of *mulai* to *bhuja* seems somewhat far-fetched. It is rather difficult to trace in the passage reference to two different parts of the king's body where the two goddesses rested. If the conjunct *um* combined with the termination of the seventh case *il*, *i.e.*, *ilum* could be taken as understood after *mulai* and *puyam*, it may be possible to say that the king's breast and arm became the resting places of Lakshmī and Victory. That these goddesses would naturally resort to the 'arm' is evident for the arm resembled the lotus which is the residence of one, and is the source of victory also; but the difficulty is the insertion of *kuvi-mulai* after the word *tāmarai*.

[3] The word *tiḷaippa* carries the sense 'coming into close touch' or 'enjoy'.

[4] *Urimai* is used in this sense in many inscriptions.

[5] On *samaya* see above, Vol. XXII, p. 50, foot-note 7 and Additions and Corrections.

up; *Śruti* and *Tamiḻ*, exhibiting their ancient greatness;[1] (*his*) powerful war-disc circumventing the (*entire*) expanse of earth;[2] (*his*) fish (*emblem*), mounted on the neck[3] of the eight powerful and victorious quarter-elephants that are counted in order from the single-trunked, double-eared and four-tusked Airāvata[4] with its triple exudation of ichor,[5] (*now*) exulting greatly[6] on finding all the visible countries to be their own; the world praising (*him*) as the single matchless lord of (*all*) the kings that are invested with crowns in accordance with the established law and practice,[7] in order to have their hereditary right[8] over the different ancient territorial divisions that had been formed, such as Kōsalam, Tuḷuvam, Kudiram, Kuchcharam, Pōśaḷam, Magadam, Poppaḷam, Puṇḍaram, Kaliṅgam, Īḻam, Kaḍāram, Gauḍam, Teliṅgam, Śōṇakam and Chīnam; wearing the sacred crown and wielding (*his*) just sceptre, with Chiefs waving fly-whisks under the shade of his *tāḷa*-parasol;[9] the glorious king **Māṟavarman** *alias* the illustrious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne set with the radiant nine gems, along with his queen **Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyār**, who was simultaneously invested with a crown, and whose pair of lotus-like feet, being reddened by the rubbing of the gems fastened in the crowns on the heads of the multitudes of royal damsels bowing before her, as they would before the goddess Lakshmī, with their lotus-like palms held together in worshipping attitude, was flocked to by the lotus-frequenting beetles considering them (*i.e.*, the reddened feet) to be lotuses.

(Ll. 6-24.) In the **eighth year and nine hundred and eighty-eighth day**[10] (*of his reign*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat called Maḻavarāyaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at **Madura** on the eastern side of **Māḍakkuḷam in Madurōdayavaḷa-nāḍu**,[11] just as the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*[12] and capable of expounding (*them*), had been pleased to declare that these (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and capable of expounding them, may be given two hundred and

[1] With *Śrutiyum* . . . . *kuḷava*, compare *mū-vagai-Tamiḻum muṟaimaiyil viḷaṅga* and *nāl-vagai-Vēdamum naviṉṟuḍan vaḷara* (above, Vol. XXII, p. 45).

[2] With *poru-tiṟal-āḷi*, etc., compare *eṉ-diśaiy-aḷavuñ-chakkarañ=chella* (*ibid.*, p. 45).

[3] *Eruttam* means *piḍar*. Cf. *Yāṉai-eruttatt=aṇi-muraś=iṟi* (Canto XXIII, l. 130 of '*Śilappadigāram*).

[4] *Nāṟ-kōḍu* stands for the *chatur-danta*. The deity of the eastern quarter is Indra and the elephant of this direction is his vehicle Airāvata which is here described as having a single trunk, two ears, three kinds of ichor exudation and four tusks. In the Gōdāvari plates of Pṛithivīmūla, Chaturdanta, Kumuda and Supratīka are made to represent the countries lying on the respective directions to which these *dig-gajas* belonged. [The context would show that in these plates *chaturdanta* has to be taken in the sense of *chaturaṅga-sēnā* (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, f.n. 4).—Ed.]

[5] These are the exudations from the *kaṇṭha*, *kapāla* and *bīja*.

[6] If the reading *kaḷi-kūṟa* is adopted, it would mean that the fish expressed its joy.

[7] The phrase *vidi-muṟai-tigaḻa* may preferably be taken as qualifying *muḍi-puṉai* rather than the immediately following *vevvēṟu vagutta*.

[8] *Kiḻamai* means *urimai* or headship.

[9] Made of palm leaves.

[10] This is the actual date when the grant was ordered to be made.

[11] The geographical description of Madura here given would fix its position at the place where it now is, for Māḍakkuḷam is still to its west. In an inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216-38) Madura is called Māḍa-Madurai (above, Vol. XXII, p. 48). The same term Māḍa-Madurai occurs in several places in the ancient Tamiḻ work *Śilappadigāram* (Cantos VIII, l. 3; IX, l. 76; XV, l. 112; XXVII, l. 61). It is called also *mūdūr* 'ancient city' (*ibid.*, VIII, l. 51; XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677; XXVII, l. 61 and l. 131), *Mā-nagar*, *agaṉpati* or Mā-Madurai (XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677) and Māḍa-Kūḍal or Nāṉ-Māḍa-Kūḍal (*ibid.*, XXI, l.39 and XXIV, *pattumadai*, 5). That it contained the king's palace is noted in our inscription. There is thus no doubt that the present city and its environments must represent the ancient town.

[12] See p. 154, paragraph 2.

twenty-four shares, with twenty (*other*) shares as *vritti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṉa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, (*and that for this purpose*) Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising **Kīḻai-Kūḍalūr** situated within the four boundaries,—the eastern boundary being to the west of the river **Taṉ-Porundam**, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of **Muttālaṅkuṟuchchi** *alias* **Rājasiṁhamaṅgalam** and of **Śēṅalūr** *alias* **Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam**, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu named Sundarapāṇḍiyaṉ-teṉṉāru, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṉ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands (*nīr-nilam*), *karuñchey* (black-soil land), *puṉchey* (dry lands), *nattam*, garden lands (*tōṭṭam*), tanks (*kuḷam*) and tank-spread (*kuḷap-parippu*), with the exclusion of the *paḷḷichchandam* (*i.e.*, lands given for Jain or Buddhist shrines), and *paḷandēvadāṉam* (*i.e.*, lands assigned for temples) as well as the lands purchased by Udaiyaṉ Kūttāḍuvāṉ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṉ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulaśēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṉa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṉa* to (*the temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Iśvaramuḍaiyār of this village which consisted of house (*maṉai*), garden and *nattam*, might be formed into one village and one *puravu*, after removing their previous owners, (*their*) old names, cultivation and holding, and be given from the year opposite to the first year opposite to the eighth year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* (*i.e.*, uncle) as Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and the *māmaḍi* having told us that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōl of twenty-four feet length, (*the kind of*) crop examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there should be paid from this year one-fourth *kāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy, as measured by Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉ, on each *mā* of land for *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viṉiyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriya-vārāchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēṟu* and all other payable dues, that one-half of this rate should be paid on all lands sown in *Tulā* and crops realised, that two *tiramam* on each *mā* should be paid on lands on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tiṉaippul* and *iṟuṅgu* had been harvested, that this (*same*) rate should be (*fixed*) for *paśāṉam* also, and that this (*i.e.*, the above-mentioned) rate of assessment should be entered in registers; We ordered that for (*providing*) the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and capable of expounding them, with two hundred and twenty-four shares, with twenty other shares as *vritti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṉa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising Kīḻai-Kūḍalūr, situated within the four boundaries (*specified hereunder*), *viz.*,—the east boundary being to the west of the river Taṉ-Porundam, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of Muttālaṅkuṟuchchi *alias* Rājasiṁhamaṅgalam and of Śēṅalūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu called Sundarapāṇḍiyaṉ-teṉṉāṟu, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṉ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands, *karuñchey*, *puṉchey*, *nattam*, gardens, tank and tank-spread, with the exclusion of the *paḷḷichchandam* and *paḷan-dēvadāṉam*, as well as the lands purchased by Udaiyaṉ Kūttāḍuvāṉ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṉ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulaśēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṉa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṉa* to the (*temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Iśvaramuḍaiyār of this village,—in all, four *mā* of land as measured by the (*rod*) Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kōl,—should be formed into one village and one *puravu* after removing their previous owners, their old names, cultivation and holding and be given from this year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* as Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands

should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyan-kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there shall be paid from this year one-fourth *kāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by (*the measure*) Vīrapāṇḍiyan on each *mā* of land during *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viniyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriyavārāchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivigrahappēru* and all other payable dues; that one-half of this rate shall be (*fixed*) on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised; that two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tiṇaippul* and *uruṇgu* had been harvested, that this same rate shall also be (*fixed*) for *paśāṇam*; and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register[1] signed by the *variyilār*[2] as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. The king had been (*further*) pleased to say that on receiving these (*copies*), the same may be entered on stone and copper so that (*the order*) may be carried out as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Uyyaninṟāduvān Vīraśōladēvan *alias* Kurukulattaraiyan of Taḍaṅkaṇṇi-chChiṟṟūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu.[3] This is the signature of Arayan Vīradamudittān *alias* Pallavarāyan of Śakkarapāṇinallūr in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu.[3]

No. 23.—KOMANDA COPPER-PLATES OF NETTABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M. A.

These copper-plates numbering three were unearthed at the village Kōmaṇḍa in the Nayāgarh State, Orissa, by a cultivator, while ploughing a paddy-field. Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University got possession of them and deposited them in the Archæological Museum at Baripada in the Mayūrbhanj State. I am very thankful to Pandit Misra and to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archæologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, for their kindly allowing me to edit these plates.

Each of the plates roughly measures $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ and is strung to the rest on a circular copper ring, the circumference of which is 11″ and which passes through a hole of about ½″ in diameter cut in the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper containing the seal which seems to bear the figure of an animal with a line of writing running just below it. The figure is damaged beyond recognition and of the letters, only one can be read as *bha*. Judging from the similarity of the text of these plates to that of other plates of Nettabhañja[4] it can be inferred that the seal contained in relief the figure of a couchant lion and the legend *Śrī-Naṭṭabhañjadēvasya*. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 *tolās*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-seven lines of writing, the first three faces containing nine lines each and the fourth ten lines.

The characters used in this grant closely resemble in form those used in the other plates of Neṭṭabhañja[5] and therefore call for no special remark. The language is Sanskrit, but it contains a number of orthographical errors which will be corrected in their proper places. Only one case may be pointed out here which represents the phonetic peculiarity of the Oriyā language: in line 14 *vyēvahārin* has been written for *vyavahārin*.[6]

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[1] The entry in the register was to recite the royal order and note the changes made in accordance with it.

[2] *Variyilār* means 'maintainers of revenue accounts'.

[3] These signatories figure in the inscriptions of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I also (above, Vol. XXII, p. 56).

[4] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] [See below p. 175 n. 1.—Ed.]

The text opens with two verses invoking Hara. Then it gives out that the grant has been issued from the victorious camp **Vañjulvaka** by *Paramamāhēśvara* śrī-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēva** surnamed **Kalyāṇakalaśa**. He is described as son of Raṇabhañjadēva, grandson of Śatrubhañjadēva and great-grandson of Śilābhañjadēva. It should be noted here that Rai Bahadur Hiralal misread the name of the donor as *Nētri*, though the letters standing for it in the inscription distinctly read as *Nēṭṭa*[1].

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Karañjāḍu** situated in the *vishaya* of Sāraḍḍā, to a Brahmin named **Stambhadēva,** belonging to the Kaṇva-*śākhā*, the Gautama-*gōtra*, the Autathya *pravara* and the Āṅgirasa *anupravara*, whose father and grandfather were Durgaśarman and Hariśarman respectively. The *dūtaka* of the grant is *Bhaṭṭa* Sumaṅgala. It has been written by *Sandhivigrahin* Śavarā[ja*], incised by *Akshaśālika* Durgadēva and sealed by Māmmā which term seems to be a corruption of *mahāmāyā* or the queen. The names of these officials occur in one of the two Ganjām copper-plate grants of Nēṭṭabhañja[2] and the engraver of the second one is also the same Durgadēva[3].

The village **Karañjāḍu** may be identical with Kōmaṇḍa, the find-place of these copper-plates or with Karaḍā, a village about sixteen miles north of Kōmaṇḍa, and **Sāraḍḍā** may conveniently be identified with Āraḍā about ten miles east of Kōmaṇḍa. All these villages are situated in the Nayāgarh State from which the copper-plates hail. Vañjulvaka from which the present charter has been issued has not yet been identified.

The donor of the present charter and those of the same name of the two Ganjām copper-plate grants and Gumsur copper-plate grant[4] must be identical in view of the facts that these donors not only issue their charters from the same victorious camp Vañjulvaka, but also give the same genealogical account and the names of some officials as occur in this document. But we are faced with difficulties when we attempt to identify Nēṭṭabhañja of the grant under discussion with the donors of the same name of the Bod (Baudh) plates[5] and Daspalla plates[6], firstly, because in one the genealogical account is omitted and in the other it is quite different and secondly, because the officials mentioned in these grants are entirely different[7].

Nēṭṭabhañja, unlike other Bhañja rulers, bears in all his copper-plates hitherto discovered, the only title *Paramamāhēśvara* which refers to his religious creed. His grants also do not contain the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja records do. The official seals used in his charters are also different from those found on other Bhañja copper-plates. All these characteristics of his grants mark him out from other Bhañja rulers who issue their charters from Khijjiṅgakōṭṭa or modern Khiching in the Mayūrbhanj State. He must, therefore, be taken to belong to a different branch of the Bhañja family. If Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja, represented here as the grandfather and the father of Nēṭṭabhañja, be taken as identical with Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja of the Ṭāsapaikērā grant[8], the dominions of this branch of the Bhañja family must have comprised the tracts both to the north and to the south of the Mahānadī river, because in the Ṭāsapaikērā grant Raṇabhañja describes himself as the

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[4] *The Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, pp. 146 ff.

[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104-118.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 276 ff.

[7] [The engraver in the Daspalla plates, however, seems to be the same *Akshaśālin* Durgadeva.—Ed.]

[8] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff.

lord of the two Khiñjalis, one of which has been identified with Hijjali in Angula to the north of the Mahānadī and the other with Khijaripārā in Baudh to the south of the same river[1].

As has been shown above, Nēṭṭabhañja belongs to a different branch of the Bhañja family. Considerable disagreement prevails among the scholars regarding the origin of this Bhañja family of Orissa. Different interpretations put on the traditional account recorded in some Bhañja copper-plates have led the scholars to arrive at two different views relating to their origin, one connecting it with the Śailōdbhavas of Orissa[2] and the other with the Imperial Mauryas[3]. Whatever may be the views of the scholars about the origin, the fact that it goes back to high antiquity is proved by the recent archæological discoveries at Dengaposhi in the Keonjhar State[4]. Among these important discoveries there is a precious fresco-painting representing a war expedition, which contains a line of writing recording the name of a Bhañja ruler. The palæography of the writing cannot be later than the fourth century A. D. If the dating of the record and the reading *Bhaṁja* therein be accepted as correct, we can safely trace back the existence of the Bhañja family at least to the fourth century A. D. Thus it becomes evident that among the known royal families of Orissa, the Bhañja family is only next to the family of Khāravela in point of antiquity.

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[6] svasti [|*] Jayati kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakshaṁ
2 sva-kiraṇa-parivēshō(sh-au)rjjitya-jīrṇṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(kham) | tri-bhuvana-bhava-
3 n-ānta[r*]-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikasha-gauraṁ vibhru[7] nē-
4 traṁ Harasya | [1*][8] Śēsh-āhēr=iva yē phaṇāḥ praviralanty[9]=udbhāsvar-ē-
5 ndu-tvishaḥ |[10] prālēy-āchala-śṛiṅga-kōṭṭa(ṭa)ya iva tvaṅganti yē=tyu-
6 nnatāḥ | nṛitt-āṭṭō(ṭō)pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē śāmbhavā-
7 s=tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinaḥ surasarit-tōy-ōrmmaya[ḥ*] pāntu vaḥ | [2*][11] Vija-
8 ya-Vañjulvakāt [|*] Asti jaya-śrī-nilayaḥ prakaṭṭa(ṭa)-guṇa-grasta-sarvva-
9 ripu-garvvaḥ | Kalyāṇakalaśa-nāmā rājā nirddh[ū]ta-kali-kalu-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 shaḥ || [3*][12] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] śrī-Śilābhañjadēvasya pra[pau]traḥ śrī-
11 Śatrubhañjadēvasya naptā śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya su(sū)nu[ḥ*] Paramamāhē-

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, p. 106.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

[3] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 418 ff.

[4] *The Modern Review*, Vol. LXIII (March 1938), pp. 301 ff.

[5] From ink-impressions and the original.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] [This is the correct reading : *vikritā bhrūr=yasya tad vibhru*. It has been wrongly corrected into *babhru*, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295.—Ed.]

[8] Metre : *Mālinī*.

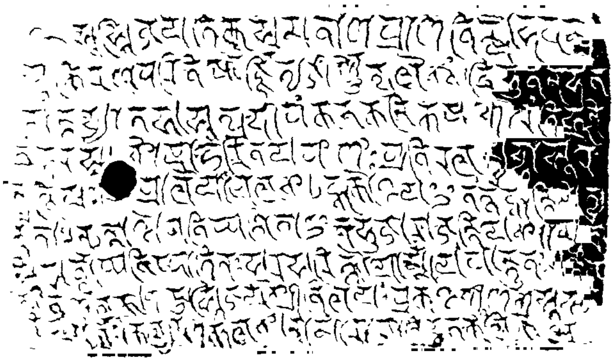
[9] Read *pravilasanty=*.

[10] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

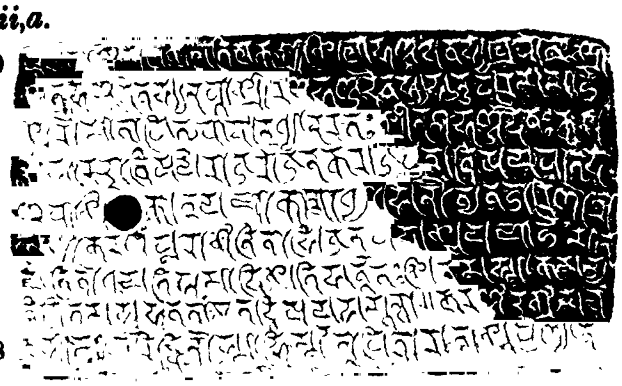
[11] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] Metre : *Āryā*.

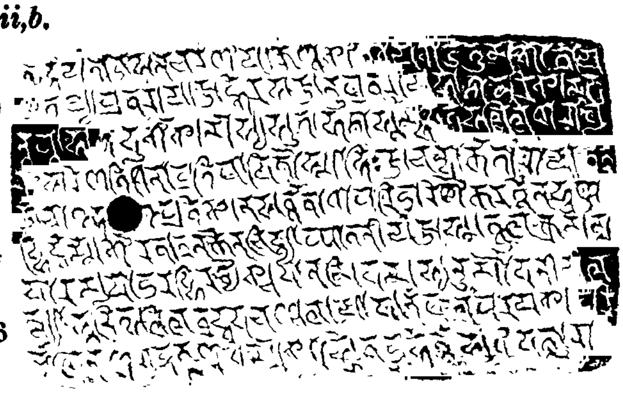
i.



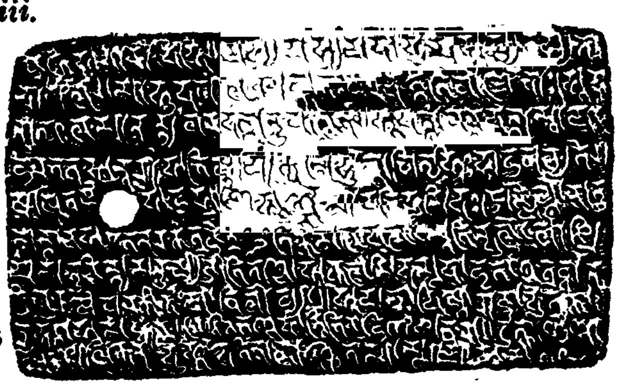
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

12 śvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ kuśa-
13 lī [|*] Sāraḍḍā-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrā[n*] vishayapati-da-
14 ṇḍapāśikān yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyē(vya)vahāriṇō[1] vrā(brā)-
15 hmaṇā[n*] karaṇa-pū(pu)rōgā[n*] nivāsi-janapadā[ṁ*]ś=cha yath-ārhaṁ māna-
16 yati vō(bō)dhayati samādiśati [cha*] sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anya[d*]
17 viditam=astu bhavatāṁ ētad-vishaya-saṁvandhā(sambaddha)- |[2] Karañjāḍu-grāma cha(ś cha)-
18 tu[ḥ*]sīmā-parichchhinō(nnō)=smābhir=mmātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha puṇy-āva(bhi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 vṛiddhayē Vājasēna(sanēya)-charaṇāya [2] Kaṇva-śākh[ā]ya Gaūtu(Gauta)ma-gōtrāya
20 Autathya-pravarāya |[2] A(Ā)ṅgirasa-a(s-ā)nupravarāya bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Hariśarma[ṇō*]
21 naptā(trē) bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Durgaśarmasya(ṇaḥ) suta(tā)[ya*] |[2] bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva(vā)[ya*] salila-dhārā-pū(pu)-
22 raḥsarēṇa vidhinā pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [|*] a(ā)chandr-ārka-taṁrāṁ(tāraṁ) yāvat
23 a-chāṭṭa(ṭa)-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-pravēśēna sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇ=ākaratvēna bhuñja-
24 dbhir=ddharmma-gauravāt na kēnachid=vyāghātanīyaṁ(yam)[|*] Asmat-kula-kramam=ū(m=u)-
25 dāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdanīyaṁ(yam)[|*] La-
26 kshmyās=taḍit-salila-vudvu(budbu)da-chañchalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśa[ḥ*]-pari-
27 pālanañ=cha | [4*][3] ū(u)ktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rā-

Third Plate.

28 jabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*] | (|) yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya ta-
29 dā plalaṁ(lam) | [5*][4] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dā-
30 nāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) | [6*][4] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā (ttāṁ vā) yō
31 har[ē]ta vasundharāṁ(rām)[|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē | [7*][4]
32 Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ | a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānu-
33 mantā cha sa ēva (tāny=ēva) narakaṁ vrajēt [| 8*][4] Iti kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śri-
34 yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=ū(m=u)dāhṛitañ=cha [vūddhā](buddhvā) na
35 hi purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ*] | [9*][5] svaya[m]=ādishṭō rājñā du(dū)tak[ō]=
36 tra bhaṭṭā(ṭṭa)-Sumaṅgala[ḥ*] likhitañ=cha sandhivigrahiṇā Śavarā[jēna*][6] | utkīrṇṇañ=cha=ā
37 kshaśālikēna Durggadēvēna | lāñchhita[ṁ*] māmmāyā saṁ 30+1[7].

[1] [Reading is correctly *vyavahāriṇō*.—Ed.]
[2] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[3] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*
[4] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[5] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*
[6] This name is read as *Savarāja* in H. Ganjām Plates of Nētṛibhañjadēva, above, Vol. XVIII. 295.
[7] [I am not certain of the reading of this date.—Ed.]

No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA (III ?).

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In his article[1] entitled 'A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhaṭa III : [Kalachuri] Year 486' Mr. G. V. Acharya has re-arranged the succession of the Early Gurjara princes. As the subject is of importance for the history of Gujarāt, I propose to examine his views in the light of the published records of the dynasty.

Until the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates by Mr. Acharya in the aforementioned article, seven records[2] of the Early Gurjaras were known to us. The genealogy together with relevant details about the *birudas* and religious creeds of the princes as mentioned in each is given below :—

I and II—Kairā Plates[3]
(K. 380 and 385)

Dadda
|
Jayabhaṭa-Vītarāga
|
Dadda-Praśāntarāga
(*Dinakara-charaṇ-ārchchana-rata*)

III—Sāṅkhēḍā Plate[4]
(K. 391)

Vītarāga
|
Raṇagraha
(*Dinakara-kiraṇ-ābhyarchchana-rata*)

IV and V—Sāṅkhēḍā Plates[5]
(Two sets of K. 392)

Vītarāga
|
Dadda-Praśāntarāga
(*Dinakara-charaṇ-ārchchana-rata*)

VI—Nausāri Plates[6]
(K. 456)

Dadda
|
Jayabhaṭa
|
Dadda-Bāhusahāya
(Paramamāhēśvara)
|
Jayabhaṭa
(Paramamāhēśvara)

VII—Kāvi Plate[7]
(K. 486)

Jayabhaṭa

In the Kaira plates of K. 380 and 385 and the Sāṅkhēḍa plates (two sets) of K. 392 the same draft of the eulogistic portion is used with this difference that in the latter the portion descriptive of the donor's ancestors is omitted, the name of the donor's father being known only from the sign-manual at the end. The Sāṅkhēḍā plate of K. 391 being the last plate of its set, contains no genealogical portion, but since it mentions that the grant was written with the permission of the illustrious Dadda who is mentioned separately from the donor Raṇagraha, we may take the latter to be a brother[8] and feudatory of Dadda-Praśāntarāga. In the Nausāri plates of K. 456

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

[2] I omit the odd Sāṅkhēḍā plate of K. 346 (above, Vol. II, pp. 19 ff) as it mentions no king. Similarly the Umeṭā, Bagumrā and Ilao plates of Dadda-Praśāntarāga dated in the Śaka era are also omitted as they are now held to be spurious.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff. and 88 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. II, pp. 20 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

[8] Dr. Bhandarkar takes Raṇagraha to be another name of Dadda-Praśāntarāga. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3. What he proposes to read as *Dadda-pād-āntarjñāti*[*nā*] is really *Dadda-pād-āntajñāta*[*ṁ*] which is evidently a mistake for *Dadda-pād-ānujñāta*[*ṁ*].

an altogether different draft of the eulogistic portion is met with. It has nothing in common with the extant portion of the fragmentary Kāvi plate of K. 486.

While editing the Nausāri plates Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji showed for the first time that the first Dadda mentioned in them was identical with Dadda-Praśāntarāga on the following grounds. This first Dadda was the great-grandfather of the Jayabhaṭa who issued the plates. 'Taking 455 as the commencement (*of the latter's reign*), and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 380 as the date of the first Dadda of the Nausāri grant.'[1] He is therefore identical with Dadda-Praśāntarāga for whom the two sets of Kairā plates furnish the dates K. 380 and 385. As regards the Jayabhaṭa of the fragmentary Kāvi plate of K. 486, Dr. Bhagwanlal identified him with the donor of the Nausāri plates of K. 456, the interval of thirty years not being too long for one reign. Dr. Bhagwanlal thus gave the following genealogy of the Early Gurjara princes[2] :—

Dadda I
(circa K. 330)
|
Jayabhaṭa I-Vītarāga
(circa K. 355)
|
Dadda II-Praśāntarāga
K. 380 and 385
|
Jayabhaṭa II
(circa K. 405)
|
Dadda III-Bāhusahāya
(circa K. 430)
|
Jayabhaṭa III
K. 456 and 486

This genealogical list was later on adopted in the *History of Gujarāt* in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 114 and has also been included by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 391. The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa, dated K. 486, recently edited by Mr. Acharya have, however, slightly affected it. The draft used in these plates closely agrees with that of the Nausāri plates in the eulogy of the first four princes. It carries the genealogy two generations further, mentioning Ahirōla as the son and successor of the last Jayabhaṭa mentioned in the Nausāri plates and finally Jayabhaṭa (IV) the son and successor of Ahirōla. The concluding eulogistic portion of the grant is identical with that of the fragmentary Kāvi plate which is also dated in the same year. The donor of the latter grant must

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

therefore be now called **Jayabhaṭa IV and not Jayabhaṭa III.** The genealogical list of the Gurjara princes will, therefore, stand as follows :—

Dadda I

|

Jayabhaṭa I-Vītarāga

|

Dadda II-Praśāntarāga
K. 380, 385, 391, 392

|

Jayabhaṭa II

|

Dadda III-Bāhusahāya

|

Jayabhaṭa III
K. 456

|

Ahirōla

|

Jayabhaṭa IV
K. 486 (two grants).

Mr. G. V. Acharya, however, has rejected the genealogy proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal and has instead arranged the succession of these princes as follows :—[1]

Dadda I. K. 330, 346

|

Jayabhaṭa I. K. 355

|

Dadda II-Bāhusahāya. K. 380, 385, 392

|

Jayabhaṭa II. K. 405, 456

|

Ahirōla

|

Jayabhaṭa III. K. 486.

It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Acharya nowhere mentions the *biruda* Praśāntarāga, but as he assigns the dates K. 380, 385 and 392 of Dadda-Praśāntarāga to Dadda-Bāhusahāya we must suppose that he identifies the two Daddas. The dates K. 330, 355 and 405 assigned by him to Dadda I, Jayabhaṭa I and Jayabhaṭa II are conjectural, as no records of these dates have yet been discovered.

In re-arranging the succession of the Gurjara princes in this way Mr. Acharya seems to have assumed that the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates dated respectively K. 456 and 486

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 149.

begin their genealogy with the same prince as the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda-Praśāntarāga dated K. 380 and 385. But this view is open to several objections :—

(1) Till now we have not come across a single instance in which a prince of this Early Gurjara dynasty assumed more than one *biruda*. In fact, as pointed out by Dr. Bhagwanlal[1], the use of the *biruda* was the expedient resorted to in order to prevent confusion arising from the use of only two names almost throughout the genealogy. Dadda-Praśāntarāga is not therefore likely to be identical with Dadda-Bāhusahāya.

(2) Dadda-Praśāntarāga is described in the Kairā and Sāṅkhēḍā plates as *Dinakara-charaṇ-ārchchana-rata* 'devoted to the worship of the rays of the sun', while Dadda-Bāhusahāya is called, in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, *Paramamāhēśvara* 'a most devout worshipper of Śiva'. We have no evidence to hold that Dadda-Praśāntarāga changed his religious creed as we have none to show that he changed his *biruda*.

(3) Dadda-Praśāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 may be supposed to have flourished from K. 375 to K. 400. If he is identified with Dadda-Bāhusahāya, his grandfather, *viz.*, the first Dadda mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, must be referred to the period from K. 325 to K. 350 *i.e.* from about A. D. 575 to A. D. 600. Now this Dadda is said to have given protection to the lord of Valabhī when the latter was attacked by the Paramēśvara Harsha[2] who is undoubtedly the great Emperor of that name who ruled at Kanauj (A. D. 606-647). Harsha came to the throne when he was a lad of sixteen years.[3] Even if we suppose that his invasion took place towards the end of Dadda I's reign (A. D. 575-600) he could not have been more than ten years of age at the time ! It is needless to add that he was not then Paramēśvara (Emperor).

(4) In the proposed succession Mr. Acharya is obliged to assign a reign of more than fifty years to Jayabhaṭa II. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If on the other hand we identify the first Dadda, the grandfather of Dadda-Bāhusahāya, mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates with Dadda-Praśāntarāga, he becomes a contemporary of Harsha, as his known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 (*i.e.* from about A. D. 630 to A. D. 642). Harsha's invasion of Valabhī during which Dadda gave protection to a Maitraka king must have occurred soon before the Harsha-Pulakēśin war. Dr. Altekar has adduced cogent reasons[4] to date the latter in the period A. D. 630-34. It may, however, be asked why Dadda-Praśantarāga is silent in *all* his records about his glorious achievement if he actually gave protection to the ruler of Valabhī against the powerful Emperor of Kanauj. The reason is not difficult to find. In this matter Dadda was evidently acting at the instance of his suzerain, Pulakēśin II. From the Aihoḷe inscription we know that he had submitted to the Chālukya Emperor. He knew full well that single-handed he was not strong enough to defy the lord paramount of North India. He could not have claimed credit for the protection of the Valabhi ruler during the life-time of Pulakēśin II. As a matter of fact, we find this achievement of Dadda II mentioned for the first time in a record of his great-grandson Jayabhaṭa III. His successors had evidently neither fear nor scruples in giving him credit for defying Harsha.

There would thus be no chronological difficulty in accepting the order of succession first proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal, with, of course, the addition of the two names which have now been brought to light by the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

[2] See *e.g.* l. 4 of the Nausāri grant of Jayabhaṭa III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 77).

[3] Cf. Smith—*Early History of India* (Fourth Ed.), p. 349.

[4] *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 300 ff.

No. 25.—GAUTAMI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN: YEAR 4.

By Kunja Govinda Goswami, M.A., Calcutta.

This set[1] of **three copper-plates**, which are in a good state of preservation, was discovered in 1937 in the village **Gautami** in the Badakhimedi Estate of the Ganjam District by a villager, while preparing the site for the construction of a house. Mr. Tumul Krishnamurti of Nuapara obtained the plates from the villager and handed them over to Pandit Nilkantha Das, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. Das again gave the plates to Pandit Binayak Misra, Lecturer in Oriya, Calcutta University, and the latter has very kindly made them over to me for publication. I am extremely grateful to Messrs. Das and Misra for thus providing me with an opportunity of editing these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

These three plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 95 *tolās*. Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. The ring is almost round, and is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, with its inner diameter of $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The seal is very small and is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. No emblem or legend is any more traceable on it. The plates are strung on the ring passing through the holes which were bored in the middle of the left hand side of each plate. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-one lines of writing, the first three sides containing eight lines each and the fourth seven.

The **characters** belong to the Northern variety showing signs of southern influence at places. Considering its script, the present inscription seems to be one of the early records of the Gaṅga Kings of Orissa, though not so early as the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman[2] of the same dynasty. It may be pointed out in passing that the name Padmachandra of the engraver of this latter record happens to be identical with that of the engraver of the present charter. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether one and the same person is meant thereby, as the scripts of the two records exhibit so marked a difference in the style of writing that they cannot be taken to have been incised by an identical hand; the script of the Dhanantara plates on the whole appears to be earlier than that of the plates under consideration.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the composition is in prose except that two customary verses occur in the concluding portion.

As regards **orthography**, there are some peculiarities to be noted:—the consonants after *r* are doubled in some cases while in others there is no such doubling, as in *-kuōr-mMahēndr-āchala-* l. 3, and in *chaturdaśa* ll. 1-2. Again *t* followed by *r* is doubled in *śakti-ttraya*, l. 7, *kshēttra* and *gōttra*, l. 15. The scribe does not make any distinction between the signs for medial short *i* and long *ī*. The forms of *b* and *v* also are not differentiated; everywhere we find the use of *v* only for both the letters. In ligatures a class nasal is sometimes used, *e.g.*, *śaśāṅka*, l. 2 and sometimes represented by *anusvāra*, *e.g.*, *Gaṁg°*, l. 5. In certain cases a letter or *visarga* has been wrongly left out. An *anusvāra* almost invariably takes the place of a final *m*, while occasionally it also stands for a final *n*, as in *sa-karaṇāṁ*, l. 12. In l. 16, the sign obviously meant for *vva* looks more like that for *vta*. Besides, there are certain other errors which have been duly corrected in the transcribed text.

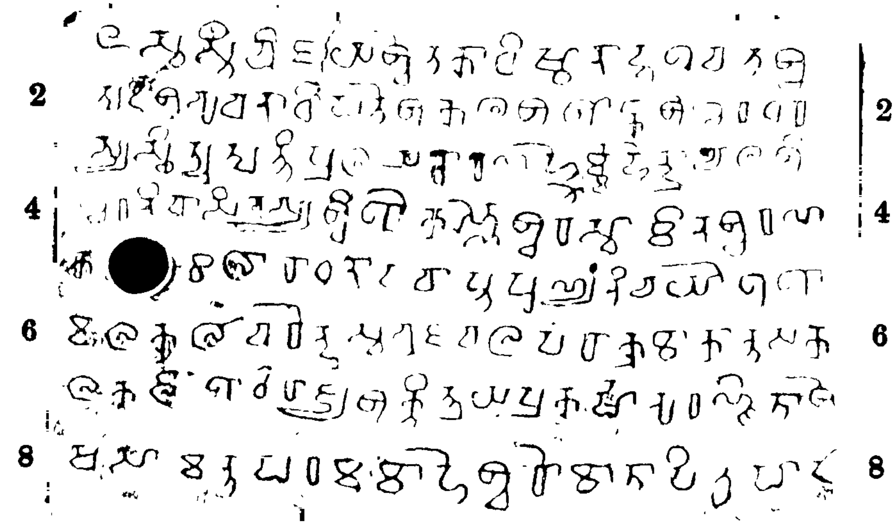
The first four syllables, containing a name, in l. 17 have been rendered obscure by some scratchings over these letters. It may be the correction made by the original scribe himself or somebody might have tampered with it subsequently.

[1] Referred to above, p. 133, n. 8.

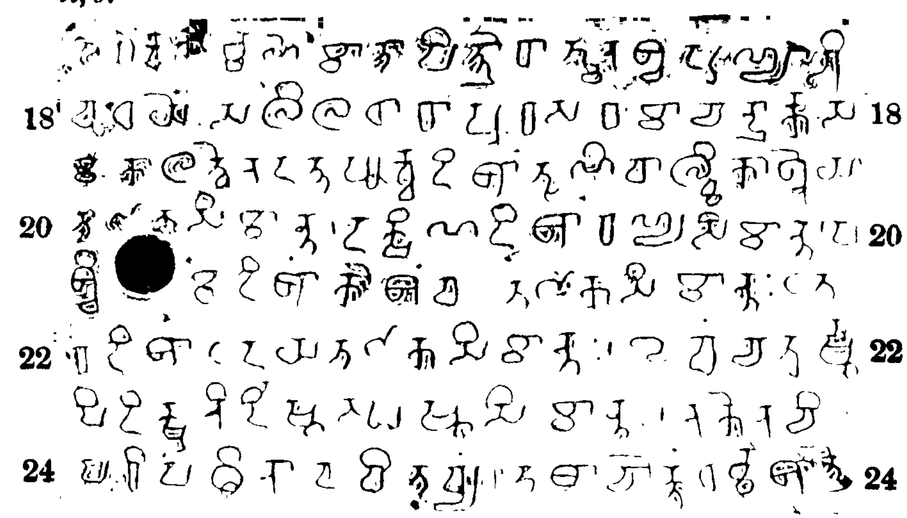
[2] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

Gautami Plates of Ganga Indravarman: the Year 4.

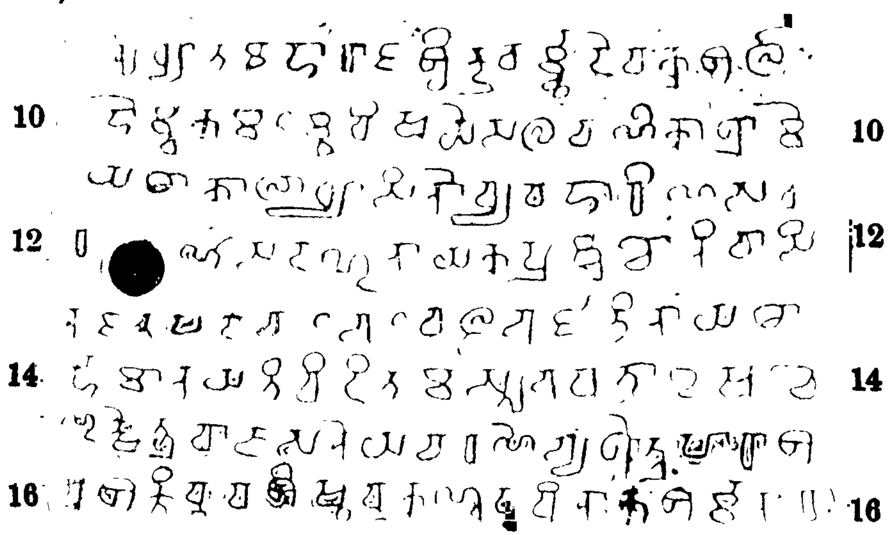
i.



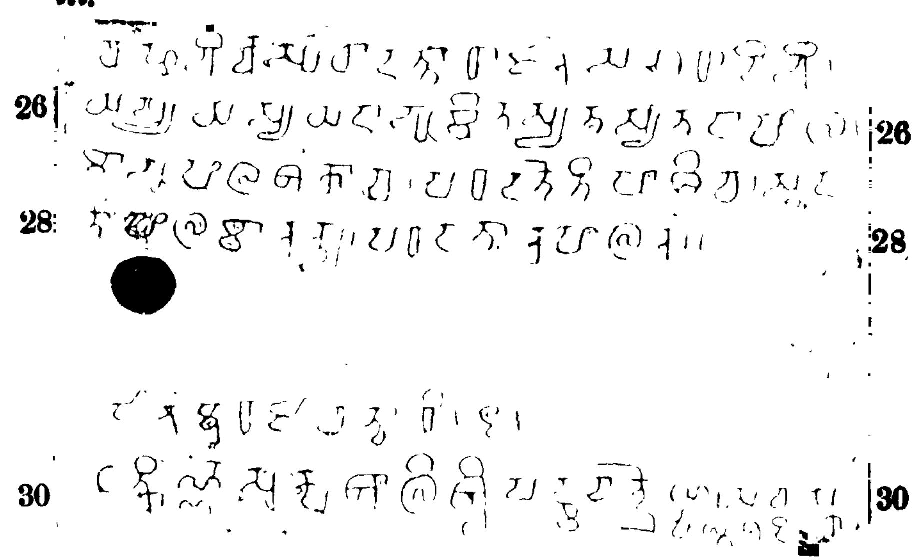
ii, b.



ii, a.



iii.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 1885 E'38–275

Scale: Two-thirds.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land in or near the village Salachaṇikā[1] of the **Hēmvakamaṭamva** district (*vishaya*) by the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* **Indravarman,** who was a devout worshipper of *Śiva,* to Brāhmaṇas, **Vināyakaśarman** and . . **śarman** of the **Vājasanēya** *charaṇa* of the Parāśara *gōtra* and of the Śakti-Kāṇva-Vaśishṭha *pravara,*[2] for the increase of merit of his father, mother and self. The boundaries of the land are specified in the grant. The engraver is *Akshaśālin* **Padmachandra.** The plates were issued from the victorious residence of **Śvētaka** on the **3rd day of the bright half of the month Phālguna of the year 4** which evidently refers to the regnal year of the king and not to any era.

Among the known charters of the Gaṅga rulers of Śvētaka only a few mention a date. Thus Śvalpa-Vēlura grant of Gaṅga Anantavarman[3] is dated in the year 19 which has likewise been taken to refer to the king's regnal year. *Rāṇaka* Jayavarmadēva's plates[4] are dated in the year 100 apparently of the Gāṅgēya era, but as these plates are suspected to be spurious[5], their date is not reliable. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman are not dated, but are placed in the seventh century A.D. on palæographical grounds, which has been borne out by a later discovery : the Phērava grant[6] (held to be) of the same Sāmantavarman dated in the year 185 or 165[7] which in all probability refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era, the initial point of which is supposed to fall in A.D. 497.[8] As already observed, the Gautami plates are palæographically later than the Dhanantara plates. We may place the former in the eighth century A.D.

As regards the **localities** mentioned, **Śvētaka,** according to Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, was perhaps the Country adjoining *Kaliṅga* to the west.[9] Some other scholars identify it with Chikiti[10] or Chikaṭi[11] in the Ganjām District. **Mahēndrāchala** probably refers to the hills of this name in the Ganjām District. I am unable to identify the district or *vishaya* of **Hēmvakamaṭamva** and the village **Salachaṇikā,**[1] mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.[12]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[13] svasti [|*] Vijaya-**Śvētak-ādhishṭhānād**=bhagavataś=cha-
2 turdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipatē[ḥ*] śakala-śaśāṅka-śēkhara-dhara-
3 sya sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr[14]=m**Mahēndr-āchala**-śi-
4 khara-nivāsinasya(naḥ) śri(śrī)-**Gōkarṇṇēśvara**-svāminaś=charaṇa-
5 kamal-ārādhanād=avāpta-puṇya-nichayō **Gaṁg**-ā-
6 mala-kul-āmva(l-āmba)r-ēndu[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākrānta-saka-
7 la-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] śakti-ttraya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśē-
8 sha-sāmanta[ḥ*] paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ā-

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[1] [See below, p. 182, n. 1.—Ed.]

[2] [The Parāśara *gōtra* does not have Kaṇva in its threefold *pravara* which is Parāśara-Śakti-Vaśishṭha. Kaṇva may be the *gōtra* of the second donee in the present instance.—Ed.]

[3] Above, pp. 192 ff. and plate.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 267 ff. and plate.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 268, n. 1.

[6] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 55 ff.

[7] Above, p. 132.

[8] This is according to the latest computation by B. V. Krishna Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff. Before this several scholars have offered different dates for the epoch of the Gāṅgēya era, thus A. D. 498 by C. R. Krishnamacharlu (*An. Rep. South Indian Epigraphy*, 1931-32, p. 45), A. D. 494 by R. Subba Rao (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 207 ff.); A. D. 496 by J. C. Ghosh (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237) and between A. D. 550 and 557 by R. C. Majumdar (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, p. 179).

[9] Above, Vol. XX, p. 270.

[10] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 490-91.

[11] J. O. R., Vol. XI, p. 59, and above, p. 133, n. 10.

[12] From ink-impressions.

[13] Expressed by a symbol.

[14] The letter *tō* has been engraved below the line.

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 nudhyāta(tō) mahārāja-śri(śr-Ī)ndravarmmadēvaḥ kuśalī(lī) [|*]
10 Hēmvakamaṭamva-vishayē Salachaṇikā[1]- grāmē
11 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇa[ḥ*] sa-ka-
12 raṇāṁ(ṇān) sa-daṇḍanāyaka-pramukhāṁ(khān) nivāsi-
13 na(nō) janapadāṁ(dān) chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātinaṁ[2] yath-ā-
14 rha[ṁ*] mānayati viditam=astu bhavatāṁ ēsha[3] kha-
15 ṇḍa-kshēttra[ṁ*] Vājasanēya-charaṇēbhya[4] gōttra-Pārāśa-
16 ra-Śaktivat Vaśishṭhavat Kaṇvavat Vināya[5]kaśarma-Nārā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 — —[rda]śarmaṇē[6] mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhi-
18 vṛidhayēḥ[7] salila-dhārā-pura[ḥ*]saram=ā-chandr-ārka-sa-
19 ma-kālatvēna datta[ṁ*] [|*] pūrvva-diśāṁ(śi) tūṇi valmik-āgnēyaṁ[8]
20 taṭāka-si(sī)mānta[ḥ*] | dakshiṇa-diśāṁ(śi) raṇya[9] -si(sī)mānta[ḥ*] | pa-
21 śchima-diśāṁ(śi) Kōśaṁva-taṭāka-si(sī)māntaḥ[|*] uta(tta)-
22 ra-diśāṁ(śi) Udaya-taṭāka-si(sī)māntaḥ ēvaṁ chaturshv[10]=a-
23 pi dikshu nirdishṭa-spashṭa-si(sī)māntaḥ | na kēnachit
24 paripaṁthinā bhavitavyaṁ | tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharma-śā[stre]

Third Plate.

25 Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājāna[11] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*] |
26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phala[ṁ*] | [|*]
27 Mā bhū-phala[12]-śaṁkā va[ḥ*] |[13] paradatē(tt=ē)ti pāthi(rthi)va(vāḥ) | sva-da-
28 tā(ttāt=) phalam=ānantya[ṁ*] |[13] paradatā(tt-ā)nupālanaṁ(nē) ||
29 dānaṁ murajā[ḥ*] chatvāri[14]|
30 utki(tkī)rṇṇaṁ akshaśāli-śri(śrī)-Padmachandrēṇa | saṁvaḥ(vat) 4
31 Phālgu[na*]-śudi 3

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ōṁ Hail ! The illustrious *Mahārāja* Indravarman, who has acquired a store of virtues by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious god Gōkarṇēśvara, the almighty—who is

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[1] [The name of the village may be read also as *Salavaṇikā*, because the form of *v* in some cases closely resembles that of *ch*, as in *dēvaḥ*, l. 9.—Ed.]

[2] Read *jātīyān*.

[3] Read *ētat*.

[4] Read *charaṇābhyāṁ*.

[5] The letter *ya* is incised almost below the line in smaller size, which shows that it was first omitted and later supplied.

[6] Read *śarmabhyāṁ*; the preceding portion is not clear.

[7] Read -*vṛiddhayē*.

[8] Read -*valmīkaḥ āgnēyyāṁ*. [The reading appears to be *trīṇi-vālmīk-āgnēyāṁ* which may be corrected as *trīṇi valmīkāny*=(or *trayō valmīkā*) *āgnēyyāṁ*.—Ed.]

[9] Read *araṇya*.

[10] Read *chatasṛishv*=.

[11] Read *rājabhiḥ*.

[12] Read *bhūd*=*aphala*-.

[13] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[14] Read *chatvāraḥ*. The meaning of the expression *dānaṁ murajā chatvāri* is not clear. *Muraja* generally means a kind of musical instrument such as drum or tambourine. [*Muraja* may denote a land measure, the area of the donated land being four *murajas*.—Ed.] There is a symbol between the two *daṇḍas* which looks like Nāgarī 6.

the lord of the fourteen worlds, who wears on the forehead the crescent, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction and who resides on the summit of the hill *Mahēndra*,—he a moon in the sky—namely the spotless race of the Gaṅgas, possessing overlordship of the whole of the *Kaliṅga* territory by the strength of his arms, endeared to all his vassals by the excellence of his threefold power, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, being well duly advises from the victorious residence of **Śvētaka**, the existing administrative officers together with the accountant, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* and the like, the inhabiting people of the locality, the officials of the rank of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabha*—at the village of Salachaṇikā in the *vishaya* or district of Hēmvakamaṭamva :—

(Ll. 14-24) " Be it known to you that this piece of land is given along with the offering of water to Vināyakaśarman and . . . śarman of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, Pārāśara *gōtra* and Śakti-Vaśishṭha-Kaṇva *pravara*[1] to continue as long as the sun and the moon exist for the increase of merit of mother, father and self. (*It is bounded*) on the east by an ant-hill, which is in the shape of a quiver[2], on the south-east by the tank, on the south by the forest, on the west by the tank called Kōśaṁva and on the north by the tank named Udaya. Thus on all sides it is marked by fixed and clear boundaries. No body should be opposed (*to this grant*). Thus it is said in the religious scriptures ":—

(Ll. 25-28) Here follow the two verses.

(L. 29) Gift of four *murajas*.

Incised by the illustrious *Akshaśālin*[3] **Padmachandra** ; on the **3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of Saṁvat 4.**

No. 26.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VAIDUMBA-MAHARAJA GANDATRINETRA.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The three subjoined inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were copied by the Office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1905, 1906 and 1922 respectively and are noticed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for the respective years[4]. They are called in the sequel **A**, **B** and **C** for the sake of convenience.

A.

The record is engraved on a slab set up in a field west of the village **Basinikoṇḍa** near Madanapalle. The alphabet is **Telugu-Kannaḍa** of the 9th century A.D. and resembles the script of the Bāṇa and Chōḷa records of the period secured in the Puṅganūr and Cuddapah regions. The language is **ancient Kannaḍa.**

The inscription records the death of a hero named Kaṟe Punnaṇi-māṇi in a fight with **Noḷaṁbi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi** and **Gunḍige-gu[ḷḷa]** who had mustered their forces on the occasion of a raid on the fort of **Sōremaṭi** made by **Mahārāja** (*i.e.*, **Gaṇḍatriṇētra**) and

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[1] [See above p. 181, n. 2.—Ed.]

[2] [See above p. 182, n. 8.—Ed.]

[3] As regards *akshaśālin*, we find in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* a chapter called " *Akshaśālāyāṁ Suvarṇādhyakshaḥ*". The Commentator interprets " *akshaśālāyāṁ* " as " *suvarṇa-rūpy-ādi-nirmāṇa-śālāyāṁ.*" [The commentary quoted by R. Shamasastry in his translation of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (2nd ed., p. 97) runs as follows : *Akshaśālā suvarṇ-ādi-parikarm-āvasthānasya saṁjñā*, *i.e.*, " Akshaśālā is a name of the chamber in which the artistic work of gold and other metals is carried out."—Ed.] So the term *akshaśālin* here seems to mean ' one who is in charge of the goldsmith's office '. [See also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 76.—Ed.]

[4] Nos. 295 of 1905, 533 of 1906 and 314 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

Bāṇarasa, when Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatrinētra was ruling the earth. The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it furnishes a synchronism which, as shown below, helps in determining the date of the battle and of Gaṇḍatrinētra.

B.

This inscription is engraved on a slab standing near the ruined Śiva temple in the Yānugarāti-maḍi field at Peddatippasamudram in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is early Telugu-Kannada and resembles that of A. In respect of orthography, it may be noted that the king's name is written as Kandatrinētra instead of Gaṇḍatrinētra. The language is Telugu of the archaic type. The nominative singular *ṇru* in *Chelvuṇru* is a precursor of later *ṇḍu*. The meaning of the expression *Yemmakāla* is not clear though it appears to have some connection with the Telugu word *emmekāḍu* meaning amorous or sportive (*vilāsavantuḍu*[1]).

The record belongs to the same Vaidumba king Gaṇḍatrinētra and states that Prabhu Chelvunṛu distinguished himself in the battle that took place between the Mahārāja and Nolambi at Sōremati and died after opposing and piercing the Nolambi army. It adds that the Mahārāja's servant (*mānisi*) Mutlamale Dōchayya also had distinguished himself in a sportive way (?). It is not clear why Dōchayya is introduced here. Perhaps Dōchayya and Prabhu Chelvunṛu both started to oppose the Nolamba army and the latter fell in his attempt to destroy the enemy's forces.

C.

This record is written on a slab in a field at Veligallu in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is early Telugu-Kannaḍa and resembles the one found in the inscriptions of Bāṇavidyādhara and Chōḷa Vikramāditya Satyādityunṛu. The shape of *ḷ*, however, deserves to be noted (ll. 3, 5, 6, etc.). The language of the record is archaic Telugu in lines 1-5 and 14-16 and ancient Kannaḍa in lines 6-14. Orthography and idiom are not uncommon to the period and locality where the inscription is found. Lines 4-5 offer some difficulty in interpretation. The passage has been construed in the following order :—*Vaidumba-Mahārāju Chantamāna-Daḍini vadhiṁchina paṇi gaṇi, Kō[r]a-Dēsiṅgaṁbu dīsa cūchi, elamgna Gaṇḍatrinētruni pa[dā]ḍelam-boḍiche*, according to which Kōra-Dēsingambu would be a servant of Chantamāna and an enemy of Gaṇḍatrinētra. Similarly some of the epithets of Chantamāna which are in ancient Kannaḍa are peculiar and archaic in form and do not admit of easy interpretation.[2]

The inscription introduces Gaṇḍatrinētra Vaidumba-Mahārāja as ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand country and states that Kōra Dēsingambu, after seeing the act (*paṇi gaṇi*) of the Mahārāja killing Chantamāna-Daḍi in a conflict at Muḍumaḍuvu during the fight with Nolambi, struck a blow at or pierced (*poḍiche*) the generals of Gaṇḍatrinētra who had opposed the king (*i.e.*, Nolamba) who ruled over him. Lines 5-14 extol Chantamāna-Daḍi as a great valiant with a string of descriptive epithets. Lines 14-16 refer to Kōra-Dēsiṅga again and mention *vishaya-suṅka* and *birāḍāya* at Veluṅgaguṇṭa (possibly modern Veligallu). The record was written by Śrīkaṇṭhadēva-Āchārjya (Āchārya). Since the grant portion is obscurely worded and badly damaged, the purport of the record is not clear though it appears that Kōra-Dēsingambu granted these incomes to Chantamāna's family in memory of his valour.

From the contents of the records given above, it may be gathered that Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatrinētra fought with a Nolamba king at Sōremati in the course of which he killed Chantamāna-Daḍi at Muḍumaḍuvu. According to A, the combatants that met at Sōremati

[1] *Vide* Telugu Dictionary *Śabdaratnākaram*, p. 111.

[2] See Translation below, p. 193.

were the **Mahārāja** and **Bāṇarasa** on the one side, and **Noḷaṁbi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi** and **Guṇḍigeguḷḷa** (?) on the other. A Baṅgavāḍi record[1] of Mahābali Bāṇarasa adds that **Permānaḍigaḷ** had joined the party of the Mahārāja in a fight with the same enemies at **Māndāvuda.** According to the Chadalla inscription[2] Mahābali-Bāṇarasa rose against Noḷaṁba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi on the battle field of Sōremaṭi on behalf of Permānaḍi. Mayindaḍi's name is substituted by Mayindiramikkirama (Mahēndravikrama) in another inscription of Baṅgavāḍi[3] dated in the 24th year of Vijaya Narasiṁhavikramavarman. The Sōremaṭi battle which took place during the reign of Gaṇḍatriṇētra must have therefore been of great consequence for the history of the south-eastern Dekkan in this early period. An attempt will be made in the sequel to enquire into the causes that led to the meeting of these powers at Sōremaṭi and to ascertain the probable date when this important event occurred as also the result of this campaign.

Two of the Vaiduṁba kings, *viz.*, Manujatriṇētra and Gaṇḍatriṇētra, are stated to be ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand country which, as we know, had been subject to the administration of the Chōḷas under Vikramāditya Satyādityunṛu.[4] The Rēnāṇḍu country comprised a major part of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts along the valley of the Kundēru river. The Mālepāḍu stone inscription of the Chōḷa king Satyāditya states that Siddhi-one-thousand (Siddhaut country) also formed part of the dominions of the Chōḷas.[5] Since the inscriptions of these early Chōḷas are found in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah District, Madanapalle and Puṅganūr taluks of the Chittoor District, besides Gōribidanūr of the Kolar District,[6] Mysore State, it may be surmised that their territory extended almost over the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, part of Chittoor and the north-western portion of the Kolar Districts. This could not have been held by them intact from the beginning of their political career. For Pulināḍu (in Puṅganūr) was mainly a Bāṇa district and had been occupied by the Chōḷas in the course of their aggressive campaign.[7] Similarly Gōribidanūr which was included originally in the Gaṅga or Noḷaṁba territory had been wrested from them by the Chōḷas in a similar campaign. The Rāshṭrakūṭas who were engaged in battles with the Gaṅgas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pallavas in the 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries A.D. could not devote their attention to the expansion of their dominion in the south-east of Dekkan, nor could they have done so without subduing the Gaṅgas and the Noḷaṁbas who ruled in the intervening province.

The Bāṇa (or Bṛihad-Bāṇas;[8] who were originally settled in the Śrīśaila country in the 4th century A.D. lingered on and continued to rule in the Gooty province[9] in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. as subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. After the decline of the Chāḷukyas, one branch appears to have slowly moved down to the south and taken service under the Pallava kings, protecting the north-western frontier of the latter's country. Their inscriptions are found in the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

[2] No. 453 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 227.

[4] Above, Vol. XI, p. 337. No. 342 of 1922 and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāgepalle 62. In the latter, the Kiṛudoṟe is mentioned as the limit of Rēnāṇḍu. This might be the Kundēru river mentioned below.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 345, Postscript.

[6] *E.g.*, Nos. 466 and 517 of 1906, 307 and 329 of 1922-23, 299 of 1905, 174 of 1931-32, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 69, 72-75, etc.

[7] Nos. 174 and 183 (probably a Chōḷa record) of 1931-32. The Chōḷas could not have occupied this district without an encounter with the Bāṇas.

[8] Tāḷgunda Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman (above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.). Perbbāṇavaṁśa is mentioned in an inscription of Śrīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja, from Arakatavēmula in the Cuddapah District (No. 474 of 1906). This Śrīvallabha is most probably Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I who according to the Gadvāl grant acquired the title of Śrīvallabha after defeating the Pallavas.

[9] Nos. 333 and 343 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

North Arcot and Salem Districts as well as in the Kolar and Chittoor Districts. Bāṇavidyādhara figures as a subordinate of Pallava Dantivarman and Nandivarman III and prior to him a certain Bāṇarasa who was probably Jayanandivarman or his son Malladēva held a subordinate position under Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Thus the Bāṇas had at this period thrown in their lot with the Pallavas who were waging constant wars with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Gaṅgas in the north and the Pāṇḍyas in the south. In the 9th century A.D. their territory extended far beyond their ancestral home. A record of Dhavaḷeyarasa of the Mahābalikula dated in Śaka 807 is found at Poṭṭipāḍu which would show that the northern boundary of their dominions extended up to the Jammalamaḍugu taluk; in the west, portions of Gōribidanūr, Kōlār and Muḷbāgal were included in their province as their inscriptions are found in that area and in the east Kāḷahasti formed probably the extreme limit of their province. Their original home, however, lay between Kāḷahasti and Puṅganūr to the north of the Pālār which area constituted the Perumbāṇappāḍi of the Tamil inscriptions.[1] This must have comprised the Vaḍugavaḷi-twelve-thousand and Pulināḍu-sixty. The occupation of the Cuddapah District as far north as Jammalamaḍugu must have brought them face to face with the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. Several Chōḷa records are found in this area, but the king is represented by the general epithet Chōḷa-mahārāja which does not help us in determining the period of the inscription or of the chief mentioned therein. After a rule of over 200 years,[2] the Chōḷa power was probably not strong enough to resist the invasions of the Bāṇas who, as stated above, pushed forward their conquests as far north as Jammalamaḍugu which was purely a Chōḷa country.

This Bāṇa-Chōḷa conflict must have commenced much earlier. For we find at Chippili a stone record of Puṇyakumāra[3] who in all probability was the donor of the Mālepāḍu plates, and in the same place is discovered an epigraph of śrī-Malladēva[4] who appears to have been referred to as Bāṇarasa in the record. If Malladēva is a Bāṇa chief, he must be identified with the father of Bāṇavidyādhara who flourished in the first half of the 9th century A.D. This would show that some time after Puṇyakumāra[5] the Bāṇas must have subjugated the Chōḷas and occupied a portion of their territory. This event must have taken place after the time of Vikramāditya Satyādityuaṟu, who ruled over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand and Siddhi-one-thousand. The Chōḷas were possibly driven to the north towards Cuddapah, Proddatur and Siddhaut,[6] where, too, their rule was not uninterrupted by the Bāṇas as evidenced by the Poṭṭipāḍu record of Dhavaḷeyarasa. They probably continued as petty chieftains in a portion of Rēnāṇḍu awaiting an opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted on them by the Bāṇas.

The Noḷambas who had become the faithful servants of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[7] by about A.D. 770 and whose territory lay adjacent to that of the Bāṇas could not have remained unaffected by the

[1] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, Part II, para. 26; *ibid.*, for 1906-07, p. 65, and above, Vol. IX, pp. 231 and 233.

[2] Huien Tsiang (*cir.* A.D. 642) mentions the Chōḷas as a ruling power in the Cuddapah region. I have shown (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97) that one branch of the Chōḷas ruled in the Godavari District in the 6th century A.D. and it is likely that another branch ruled simultaneously in the Rēnāṇḍu country which was ultimately overthrown by the Bāṇas in the 9th century A.D.

[3] No. 300 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 301.

[5] Recently a record of an early Puṇyakumāra—apparently a Chōḷa—engraved in characters of about the 5th century A.D. has been discovered at Tippalūr in the Kamalapuram taluk of the Cuddapah District. This would show that the Chōḷas were the earliest occupants of Rēnāṇḍu prior to the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.

[6] No Chōḷa records of the 9-10th century A.D. are found in the Madanapalle region, whereas a number of Bāṇa epigraphs exists in that locality.

[7] Two Chaḷḷakere inscriptions of Prabhūtavarsha Gōvinda (II) in which Chārupoṇṇēra figures as the king's subordinate.

aggressive campaigns of the latter. Poḷalchōra who was a feudatory of Nītimārga Eṛegaṅga[1] (Śaka 775) invaded Pulināḍu of the Bāṇas who under Prabhumēru Vijayāditya occupied as a counter-measure the Gaṅgaṛusāsira District of the Noḷambas. The conflict assumed a serious turn in the time of Mahēndra-Noḷambādhirāja who was determined to establish his power by exterminating the Bāṇa race and who accordingly sent a force under the command of Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maduva to seize Pulināḍu.[2] It may be noted that Bāṇa Vijayāditya's inscriptions are found in a portion of the Kolar District which comprised the Gaṅgaṛusāsira of the Noḷambas. It is significant to find that the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla I had contracted a marriage alliance with the Noḷamba Poḷalchōra by giving his daughter Jāabbe to him, so that their dominion in the south might be safeguarded from the attacks of the Pallavas and the Bāṇas. In one of the Būdikōṭe inscriptions,[3] Rāchamalla II is stated to have carried an expedition against Kāñchī, when Gaṅgaṛusāsira was under the administration of a Bāṇarasa who was evidently Prabhumēru Vijayāditya. And Mahēndra is described in a Hindupur record[4] to have been ruling the country extending up to Kāñchī. These events establish clearly the political hostility between the Gaṅga and the Noḷamba on the one side and the Bāṇa and the Pallava on the other in the period under review.

We know that the Gaṅga throne passed to the line of Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra, in supersession of the latter's sons Yuvarāja Mārasiṁha and Pṛithvīpati I. There are reasons to think that Mārasiṁha died prior to his father,[5] but Pṛithvīpati I ought to have, when he came of age, succeeded to his father's kingdom though perhaps he was a minor at the time of Śivamāra's death. Pṛithvīpati I's claim was evidently overlooked by his uncle Vijayāditya 'who had received the Gaṅga kingdom from his brother only as a trust as Bharata had that of Rāma'. Pṛithvīpati had, therefore, out of despair and disappointment, to seek alliance with the opposite party, *i.e.*, the Pallavas by taking service under them and giving his daughter Kundavve in marriage to Bāṇavidyādhara, the most powerful Bāṇa prince who was the servant of Pallava Dantivikramavarman and Nandivarman III. Thus the Bāṇas and the collateral Gaṅga branch became allies by this marriage under the patronage of the Pallavas who were the inveterate foes of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas.

The unsettled political condition in the Rēnāṇḍu country in the 9th century A.D. was favourable for the rise of petty chieftains to power. Some time in the beginning of that century, the Vaidumbas who hailed probably from Vaidumbavrōlu[6] (Madanapalle taluk) tried to measure their strength with the Chōḷas and other powers of the Dekkan. Their history is not known during the period of Chōḷa ascendancy. Since at Chippili, the records of Chōḷa, Bāṇa and Vaidumba

[1] No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

[2] Kaḷakaṭṭūr record (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, No. 306 of 1912).

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bowringpet 86.

[4] No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] Mārasiṁha has issued as Yuvarāja the Nelamaṅgala and Ālūr copper-plate charters dated respectively in A.D. 797 and A.D. 799. Śivamāra would not have offered the throne to his brother if Mārasiṁha the heir-apparent had been alive. It may be remarked that the view that these two charters are spurious is no longer tenable, since the script employed in them is perfectly regular for the period and closely resembles the writing of the Maṇṇe plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61). Further, the historical details mentioned in them are now corroborated by several genuine Gaṅga grants such as the Kūḍalur plates of Mārasiṁha II and the apparently impossible reference in them to the recrowning of Śivamāra II by Gōvinda III and Pallava Nandivarman III which took place in about A. D. 813 will have to be explained by supposing that the grants actually made by Mārasiṁha when his father was in prison were issued after the liberation and re-coronation of Śivamāra in A. D. 813, incorporating the events that had happened in the interval.

[6] Rice has suggested that Tuṁba in the North Arcot District might be the original habitat of the family.

kings are discovered,[1] that of the Vaidumbas being palæographically the latest in date, it may be surmised that the Vaidumbas had not yet attained an independent position in the 8th century A.D. and must have consolidated their power only after Malladēva or Bāṇavidyādhara. Accordingly they are found fighting with the Chōḷas and the Bāṇas at this period from whom they must have wrested Madanapalle and extended their territory on all sides so as to include in it the whole of Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand province. Their aggressive policy is noticeable in their records found in the Bāgepalli taluk of the Kolar District which was included in the Noḷamba territory. Finally the Chōḷa-Mahārājas appear to have been driven away from their country to a corner in the Gōribidanūr taluk of the Kolar District where, too, they had to fight constantly with the Noḷambas under Mahēndra.[2]

From the foregoing brief analysis of the political situation in the south-eastern Dekkan in the latter half of the 9th century A.D., it is apparent that the Vaidumbas and the Bāṇas had by their aggressive campaigns created enemies of the Gaṅga, Noḷamba and Chōḷa kings of the time and were biding an opportunity to give a decisive blow to the three powers. Such an opportunity offered itself in the cause of the Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati I whose claims to the hereditary throne had been set at naught by Vijayāditya and his son Rāchamalla I. Pṛithvīpati appears to have proclaimed himself king, at least temporarily, with the aid of the Bāṇas; for we find him as the reigning sovereign in a few inscriptions of the Punganūr taluk which belong to the 9th century A.D. on palæographical grounds.[3] But Pṛithvīpati having been killed in a fight with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, the struggle seems to have been continued by Nanniya-Gaṅga who, as stated in an inscription of Hirēbidanūr[4], was the son of Pṛithvīpati of the Gaṅga family. A record at Kibbenahaḷḷi[5] in the Tumkur District informs us that Nanniya-Gaṅga, evidently the son of Pṛithvīpati I, fought with Satyavākya Rāchamalla who must be the second prince of that name. We also learn from an epigraph at Rāyakōṭa (Salem District) that Mahābali Bāṇarasa invaded Maṇṇe on behalf of Gaṅga who could be no other than Nanniya-Gaṅga.[6] The Bāṇa chief, presumably Prabhumēru Vijayāditya, was victorious in the campaign, as some of his inscriptions represent him as ruling over Maṇṇe in addition to Vaḍugavaḷi-twelve-thousand province. It must be in the course of this fight that Nanniya-Gaṅga occupied Taḷakāḍu, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas, and proclaimed himself king, with the regal epithet Nītimārga as shown by a stone record at Arakalgūḍ.[7] The only Nanniya-Gaṅga known to the Gaṅga genealogy is Būtuga II who was, however, a Satyavākya and not Nītimārga. Hence the Nanniya-Gaṅga Nītimārga of the Arakalgūḍ record must be the son of Pṛithivīpati only, who must have borne the surname Nītimārga as a rightful successor of Satyavākya Rāchamalla whom he had ousted.[8] It was on this occasion that Rāchamalla II mustered his forces and sought the assistance of

[1] Nos. 298-301 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, see also p. 186, foot-note 4 above.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāgepalli 62.

[3] Nos. 326, 334 and 337 of 1912. Priduvayya-Piḷduvipati-Pṛithivīpati of these inscriptions has to be identified with Pṛithivīpati I who sacrificed his life for his friend Aparājita in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, since No. 337 bears an apparent reference to this battle in which the Pāṇḍya was one of the contending parties. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913, part II, p. 93. No. 326 describes Piḷduvipati as the younger brother of Durvinīta. This Durvinīta was evidently different from the son of Avinīta who flourished in the 6th century A.D. Yuvarāja Mārasiṁha had apparently borne the surname Durvinīta.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 55.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 4. The Bāṇas are not known to have been the friends of the Western Gaṅgas of the main line at this period.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Arakalgūḍ 24.

[8] The epithets Satyavākya and Nītimārga were borne alternately by the Western Gaṅga kings.

his relatives, the Nolambas, who were in open hostility with the Bāṇas and met on different fronts[1] of battle such as Sōremaṭi,[2] Mudumaḍuvu,[3] Tiruvuḷa,[4] Māndāvuda,[5] etc., the Bāṇas and Permānaḍi, *i.e.*, Nanniya Gaṅga who had been joined by the Vaidumbas on account of the common enmity with the Noḷambas and the Chōḷas. Since Satyavākya Rāchamalla and Nanniya Gaṅga were the rival claimants to the Gaṅga throne at this period, they both appear to have been called 'Permānaḍi' in the records of their respective subordinates or allies. Thus 'Permānaḍi' of the Kaḷakaṭṭūr record of Noḷambadiyarasa apparently refers to Rāchamalla while that occurring in the Bāṇa inscriptions such as Baṅgavāḍi, Chadalla and Rāyakōṭa epigraphs mentioned above refers to Nanniya-Gaṅga, the refugee of the Bāṇas who were instrumental in placing him on the Gaṅga throne at Taḷakāḍu. Among **the allies that met at Sōremaṭi, Rāchamalla** was evidently **Satyavākya Rāchamalla II, Noḷambi** was **Mahēndra** and **Mayindaḍi,** who was otherwise known as Mayindiramikkirama, was probably identical with the Chōḷa king **Mayindamachōḷa-Mahārāja** who is referred to as king in an inscription at Hirēbidanūr.[6] **Daḍiga** was possibly the Daḍiga of a Gōribidanūr[7] record who figures as an ally of (Noḷamba) Mahēndra. It is not impossible that this **Daḍiga** was **Chantamāna-Daḍi** who, as stated in inscription C below, fought with Gaṇḍatriṇētra on behalf of Noḷambi.[8] It must be as a preliminary to or in the course of the fateful battle of Sōremaṭi that Mahēndra sent under the orders of Permānaḍi, *i.e.*, Rāchamalla II, his officers Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maduva to seize Taḷakāḍu which was now, as stated above, in the hands of Nanniya-Gaṅga and to invade Pulināḍu on the way. This intensive fight finally resulted in glorious victory to Mahēndra. Pulināḍu of the Bāṇas was captured, the city Permāvi was burnt,[9] Nanniya-Gaṅga was dethroned and Rāchamalla re-occupied Taḷakāḍu. The Bāṇa who was the principal aggressor in the struggle was routed and finally killed by Mahēndra. In the records of Baragūr and Dharmapuri[10], Mahēndra is described as ruling the country in peace and quiet after having eradicated the Chōṟas and other kinsmen and destroyed root and branch the Mahābali race. The latter is dated in Śaka 815 (A.D. 892) by which time the event must have been accomplished. As the event is narrated as a fresh and recent exploit of Mahēndra, the Sōremaṭi battle which formed only an item in the long struggle must have taken place a few years before the destruction of the Mahābali race. Since Rāchamalla II issued his Biḷiyūr charter in his 18th year corresponding to Śaka 809 (A.D. 887), it may be presumed that the battle was fought in about A.D. 885.[11]

The battle of Sōremaṭi proved fatal to the confederate allies. After Prabhumēru Vijayāditya, the Bāṇas are thrown into oblivion until the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who

[1] Nos. 309 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and inscription C below indicate that these were fought during the same period. The Loṅkuḷas figure here as the enemies of Vaidumbas whereas in an archaic inscription copied recently at Tsadamu (Puṅganūr taluk), a certain Loṅkuḷāditya is represented as administering Sadambu under Vaidumba-Mahārāja. Probably on the eve of the Sōremaṭi battle the Loṅkuḷas availed of the general political chaos, rebelled against their masters and fought against them at Sōremaṭi (No. 310 of 1923) apparently on behalf of the Noḷamba, etc.

[2] Inscriptions A and B below; Nos. 543 of 1906 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] Inscription C below.

[4] No. 309 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

[6] *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 69.

[7] *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 75.

[8] The Noḷamba enemy of Gaṇḍatriṇētra was Mahēndra.

[9] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 24 and 38; above, Vol. X, p. 65.

[11] *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 2. See also Arakalgūḍ 24 and 26 the former of which mentions Taddayya as an officer of king Nītimārga Nanniya-Gaṅga while the latter, dated in Rāchamalla's 19th year (A.D. 888), refers to his death in a fight.

reinstated the last prince of the family, *viz.*, Vikramāditya III[1] in a part of the Chōḷa territory conquered by him. We find one Sambayya of the Mahābali race as an officer under Iṛiva-Noḷamba in A.D. 961.[2] Nanniya-Gaṅga himself who was left a destitute after the destruction of the Bāṇas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Noḷambas. For he figures as a subordinate of Nanniga Bīra-Noḷamba[3] in an inscription of Hirebidanūr and fights with the Sāntaras on behalf of his master. The Vaidumbas, too, could not have maintained their independence for long after A.D. 885. Though the order of succession and chronology of the several Vaidumba chiefs known to epigraphy cannot be determined for want of sufficient data, their subordination to the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Noḷambas in the 10th century A.D. is gathered from the following evidence: A Kiḷūr inscription[4] of Krishṇa III refers to Vaidumba-Mahārāja Vikramāditya as a governor of Malāḍu, Vāṇagōppāḍi, Siṅgapuranāḍu and Veṇkuṉṟakōṭṭam. A Vaidumba chief Vikramādityaṉ Tiruvayyaṉ is represented as an officer under Iṛiva-Noḷamba in the records[5] of Bowringpet and Chintāmaṇi, the latter of which is dated in A.D. 951. Chandraśēkhara or Śandayaṉ was also a subordinate of this Noḷamba king.[6] It is possible that he was the son of Tiruvayya mentioned above. His son Tiruvayya II was ruling in the South Arcot District under Krishṇa III in A.D. 961-62.[7] In one of the Grāmam inscriptions his son Śrīkaṇṭha is mentioned as an officer under the same king in A.D. 965.[8] Prior to A.D. 951, Vikramāditya who ruled in the Chōḷa country appears to have been driven away from there in consequence of which his son Tiruvayya I had to take shelter under the Noḷambas. This event must have taken place some time before the famous battle of Takkōlam in A.D. 948 after which date the Rāshṭrakūṭa power was acknowledged in the Tamil land at least for some years to come. Since Krishṇa's record of his 5th regnal year (A.D. 944) is found at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam in the South Arcot District, it is possible that he conquered the Chōḷas soon after his accession to the throne and appointed the Vaidumba chief Vikramāditya in the newly acquired territory. Not long after, Parāntaka I appears to have recovered the lost province from the Rāshṭrakūṭas as a result of which the Vaidumba Vikaramāditya or his son Tiruvayya had to retreat to the Noḷamba territory and take service under them. Krishṇa III, however, not brooking this reverse, led a huge army against the Chōḷas in A.D. 947-48 and inflicted a crushing defeat on their king at Takkōlam. Parāntaka I must have repulsed the Rāshṭrakūṭas from South Arcot within a few years after this event; for he is known to have issued a record[9] in his 48th year (A.D. 955) as far north as Puṅganūr in the Chittoor District. But Krishṇa did not keep quiet. He again marched to the south and camped at Mēlpāḍi on the Pennār in A.D. 959[10] with the object of distributing his new acquisitions among his trusted servants. Accordingly we find Tiruvayya II as ruling over South Arcot in A.D. 961-62. From an inscription at Pālagiri[11] which refers to an early Vaidumba Mahārāja under Chalake-Nallāta Akālavarsha Krishṇa (III), it may be surmised that the main line of the Vaidumbas con-

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. See also above, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 126.

[3] *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 4. Nanniga Bīra-Noḷamba was Ayyapadēva son of Mahēndra, who succeeded his uncle Nuḷipayya sometime after Śaka 820, Piṅgaḷa.

[4] No. 16 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 4 and Ct. 49.

[6] *Ibid.*, Mb. 198. See also above, Vol. VII, pp. 142-144.

[7] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 142 ff.

[8] No. 743 of 1905. But another son of his Śaṅkaradēva and grandson Sōmanātha figure as feudatories of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja I and Rājēndra Chōḷa I in certain Tiruvallam inscriptions.

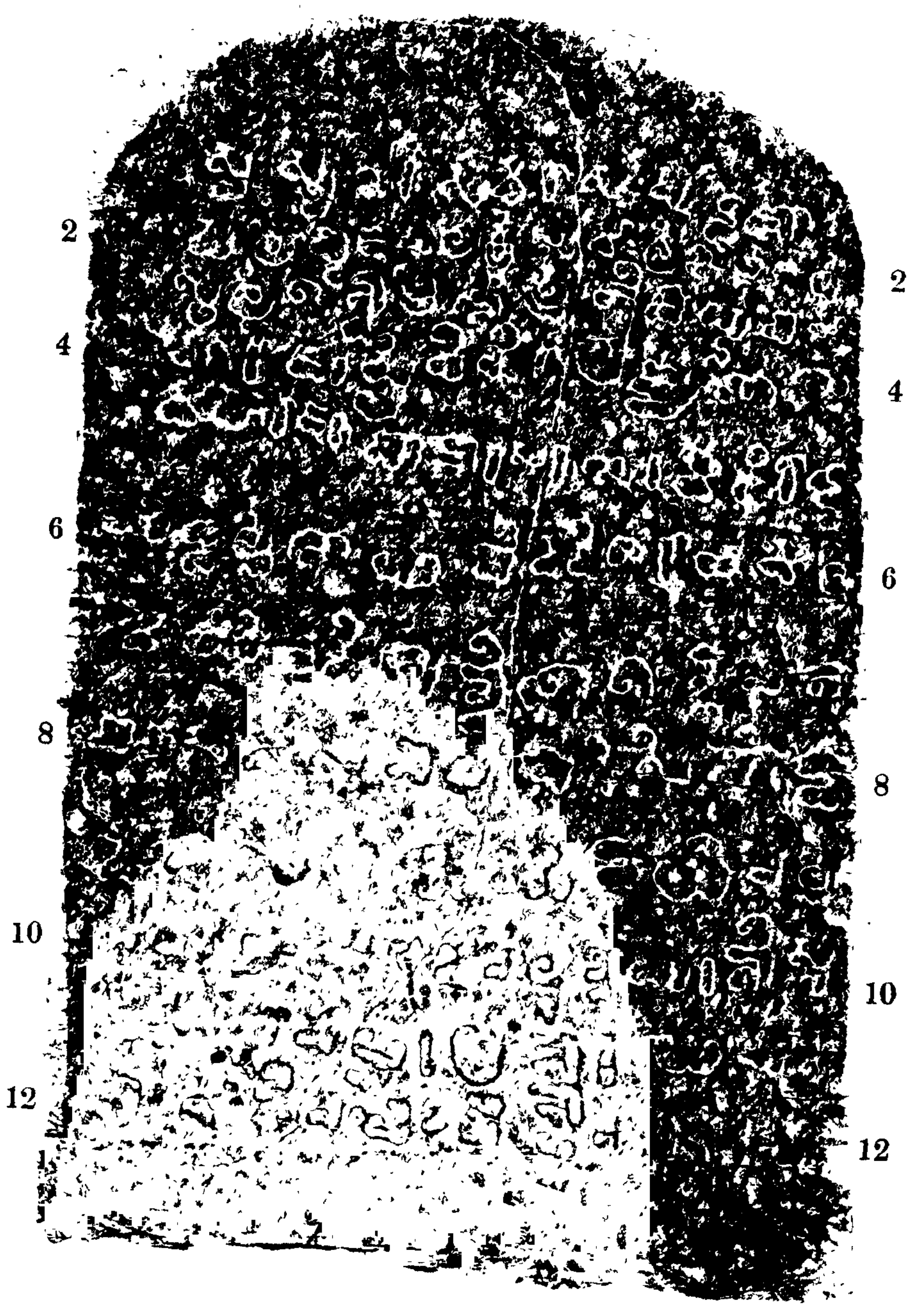
[9] No. 200 of 1931-32.

[10] Above, Vol. IV, p. 286.

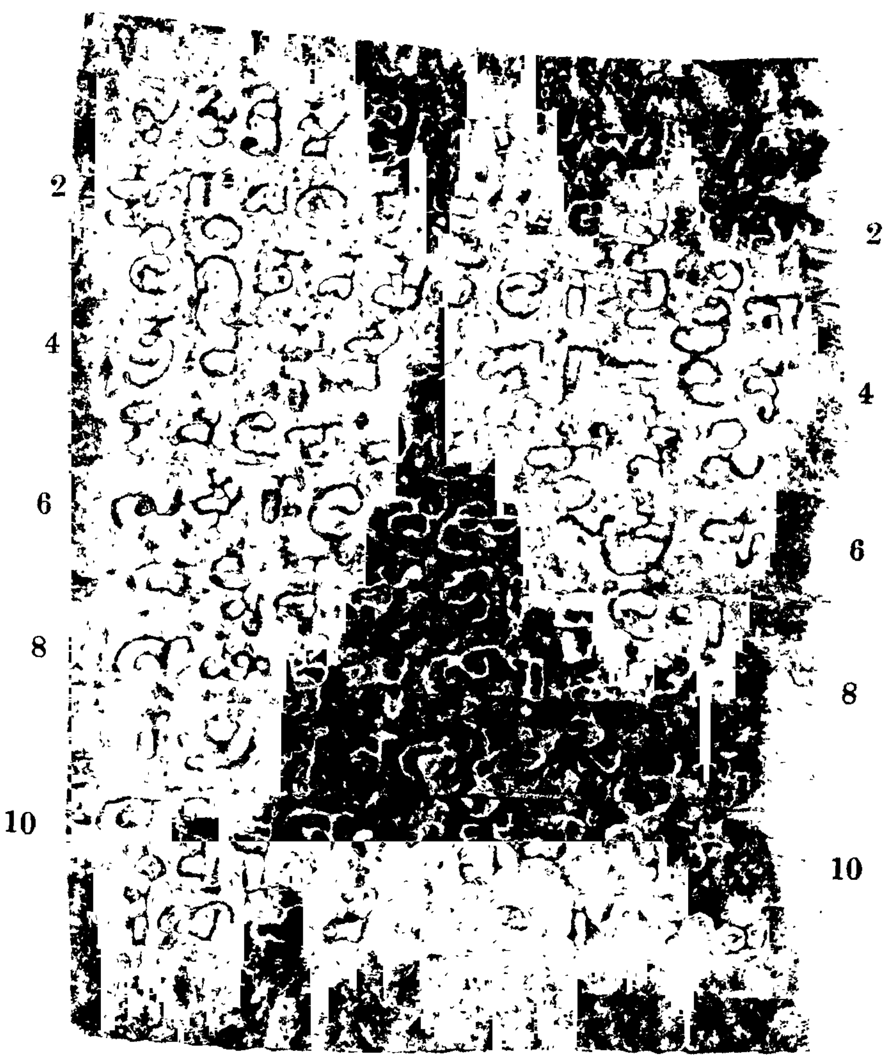
[11] No. 323 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VAIDUMBA-MAHARAJA GANDATRINETRA.

A



B

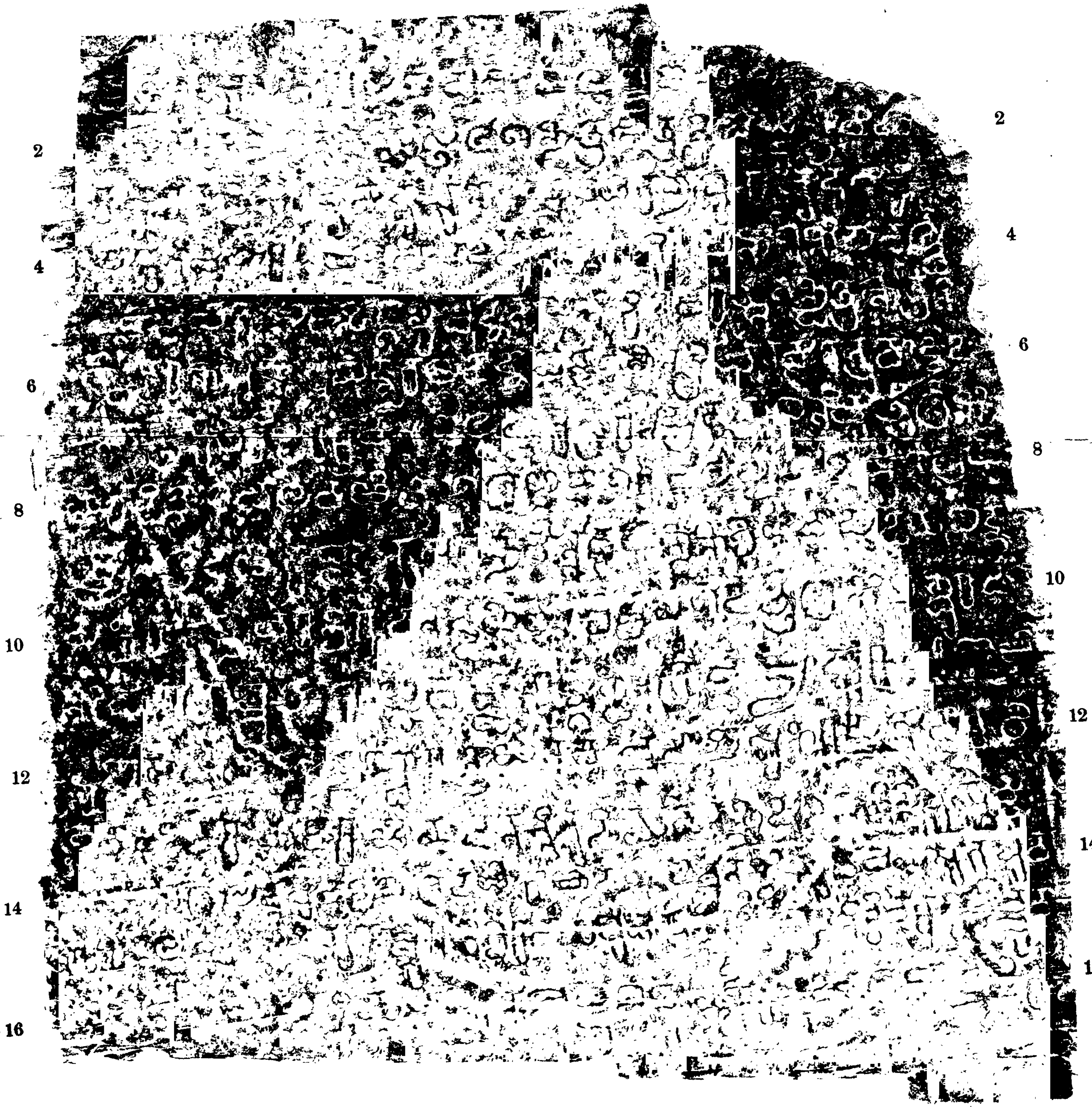


N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1860 E'38-295.

SCALE: ONE-TENTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

C



SCALE : ONE-EIGHTH.

tinued to hold the Cuddapah District in this period. This is supported by a charter of Vaidumba Mahārāja Bhuvanatriṇētra[1] dated in Śaka 893 (A.D. 971) according to which the king was ruling the country from his palace at Pottappi in Pākanāṇḍu. After the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Vaidumbas were reduced to vassalage by the Chōḷas as testified to by a record[2] of Rājarāja I dated in his 14th regnal year (A.D. 998-99) and the Tiruvallam inscription[3] of his 20th year (A.D. 1004-05) in which Nannamaraiyar son of Tukkarai belonging to the Vaidumba family figures as the governor of Iṅgallūr-nāḍu, a district in Mahārājavāḍi (Cuddapah District). The district of Mahārājavāḍi remained in the hands of the Chōḷas under Rājādhirāja I also whose officer Rājēndrachōḷa-Brahmamārāya was governing it in Śaka 970 from his capital Vallūru in the Cuddapah District.[4] From the Pālagiri record[5] of Śaka 978 mentioned above, it is learnt that Vaidumba Mahārāja Kaligetriṇētra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Ma[dhu]ka-Mahārāja did not acknowledge a suzerain power while making the gift which probably indicates that he attempted to declare independence during the troublous period consequent upon the warfare between the Chālukyas and Chōḷas in the 11th century A.D. This is the latest known date for the Vaidumba chiefs and the history of the family in the subsequent period remains to be cleared up by future discoveries.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the records proper, **Sōremaṭi** cannot be identified. It must be located in the Noḷamba territory adjoining Madanapalle since Vaidumba and Bāṇa are stated to have laid siege to it. **Mudumaḍuvu** which was one of the scenes of the Sōremaṭi battle may be identified with Mudimaḍugu in the Anantapur District. **Veluṅgaguṇṭa** is modern Veligallu in the Chittoor District where the inscription **C** was found. Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand comprised a major part of the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts.

TEXT of A.[6]

1 Svasty=anēka-samarā(ra)-saṁghaṭṭaṇ-ō-
2 palobda(labdha)-jaya-lakshmī-samāliṁgita-vaksha-
3 sta(stha)la **Gaṇḍatre(tri)ṇētra** śrī-**B(V)ayduṁba-Mā(Ma)-**
4 **hārājar** pṛii(pṛi)thivī-rājyaṁ-geye(yye)
5 **Mahārājaru[ṁ] Bāṇarasaruṁ Sōremaṭi** kō[ṭṭ]eṁ(kōṭṭe)
6 yiṭṭalli **Noḷaṁbi Daḍigaṁ Rāchamalla[ṁ]**
7 **Mayindaḍi Guṇḍigegu[ḷḷa]** ene-[7]
8 **baru samasta-balaṁ** beṟisi biṭṭo-
9 ḍe go[ḷa]-go[ṭṭu] yiṭṭ=aḷivalli
10 .....yadoḍe **vallu[bba]**yar=aṇisū-
11......Pāṟvara aṇṇark=**Kaṟe Punna-**
12 **ṇi-māṇi** yiṟidu biḻdan [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! when the illustrious **Vaiduṁba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṇētra** whose breast was embraced by the goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, was ruling the earth,

[1] *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1935-36, C. P. No. 7. See also No. 325 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection bearing the date Śaka 894 which records the coronation of this chief. Recently a record at Animala (Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District) has been discovered which is dated in Śaka 898 and belongs to Vaiduṁba Irigāya-Mahārāja.

[2] Mēlpāḍi inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 29, No. 19).

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 106.

[4] Above, Vol. V, p. 207.

[5] From ink impression.

[6] No. 323 of 1935-36.

[7] Read *inibaru*.

(Ll. 5-9) the **Mahārāja** and **Bāṇarasa** having attacked (*yiḍu*=to hit) the fort of **Sōremaṭi, Noḷaṁbi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi** and **Guṇḍige-gu[ḷḷa]**—all these having camped with all their armies,—offered battle (*goḷa-goṭṭu*) and destroyed (*the enemies*), after an attack,

(Ll. 10-12) **Kaṟe Punnaṇi-Māṇi** elder brother of......**Pāṟva**..........pierced (*the foes*) and fell.

TEXT of B.[1]

1 Svasti śṛī(śrī) [||*] Svasty=anēka-samara-saṁga-[2]

2 ṭṭaṇ-ōpalabda(bdha)-jaya-lakshmī-samā-

3 liṁgita-vaksha-tala[3] **Kaṇḍatriṇē-**[4]

4 **tra Vaydumba-Mahārājula** Mu-

5 ṭḷamale **Dōchayya** mānisi

6 yemmakāla meṟesi prabhū-

7 **Chelvunṟu Mā(Ma)hārājulayu**

8 **Noḷombiyu Sōremaṭi**

9 kayyambuna meṟesi prabhū

10 **Chelvunṟu Noḷombi**-vāgū(gu) tā-

11 nki(ṅki) poḍichi [vīra-lō]kā..pōye [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Usual *praśasti* of Vaidumba chiefs,

(Ll. 4-11) Servant (*mānisi*) **Dōchayya** of Muṭḷamale of **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṇētra**, distinguished himself sportively (?) (*yemmakāla*)[5] and Prabhu **Chelvunṟu** shone off in the battle of **Sōremaṭi** (*fought*) between the **Mahārāja** and **Noḷaṁbi**; (*of these*), Prabhu Chelvunṟu met and attacked the **Noḷaṁbi** army and went to the world of heroes (*i.e.*, died).

TEXT of C.[6]

1 Svasty=anēka-samara-[7]saṅgashṭaṇ-ōpalabda(bdha)-jayā(ya)-la

2 kshimi(kshmī)-sama(mā)liṅgita-[vo](va)ksha-stala[8] **Gaṇḍa-Tre(tri)ṇētra [śrī]-Baiydumba**[9]**-Mahā-**

3 **ra(rā)ju Rēnāṇḍ-ēḷu-vēḷum**(vēlum)=ēḷuchu(ēluchu)ṁ **Noḷambi-tōḷi** kayyaṁbu[na] **Muḍumaḍuvuna**

4 pōṭuna **Maharaju** (Mahārāju) **Chantamāna-Daḍini** vadhiṁchina paṇi gaṇi paḍa(ḍā)lve-

5 [la]m=boḍiche **Kō[ṟa]-Dēsiṁṅgaṁbu(Dēsiṅgaṁbu)** ēḷina ṟēnikin=edarayna **Gaṇḍa-Tre(tri)ṇētrani**

6... raṇa[ṁbu] [|*] urbbiyoḷ=sakaladoḷ=orbbane gaṇḍan śrī-Chantaman=entum=oḷpi[ḍe]-

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[1] From ink-impression.

[2] Read *saṅgha*°.

[3] Read °*sthala*.

[4] Read *Gaṇḍa*°.

[5] The meaning of this word is not clear. Can *Yemmakāla* be taken as the name of the servant of Dōchayya (*Dōchayya-mānisi*)? In this case it would be this Yemmakāla who distinguished himself (*in battle*) as stated in line 6.

[6] From ink-impression.

[7] Read *saṅghaṭṭaṇ*-.

[8] Read *vaksha-sthala*.

[9] Read *Vaidumba*.

7 **yam Gonti-sutarim=parākraman** bal[va]de Su(Śū)drakan pralaya-dhani mutti aṇi-

8 **ye[ṁ]**[1] **kadivoṁgaṁ** chalam-arivoṁgaṁ [ā]lmuvoṁgaṁ kuḍal-appoṁgaṁ orbbano(ne) **āchā-**

9 **rjya(yya)n adariṁ kattāl-mānusa-gaṇḍa mannava-bantaṇa(na)ṁ** biḷivōṁ [pe]ḍeyaṁ **be[la]-**

10 **pa bi(bi)ru[d]-appavara** birudan=oḍḍaḷivon biddha(dda) Ba(Bha)gadatti āṇi gaṇdhu-**(ndhu)kada ga-**

11 **ṇi pokka abba(bbe)ya** āḷma mechchin=āḷ-gaṇḍan ā[chā]rjya[2]-purusha iṛi-

12 **dta basam-ali[yade]** **bilvoran-tere(ra)[na]** mechchadoṁ pisuṇara posevo kuṭhi(ṭi)-

13 **laṁ vo. . va iyade iṛi(iṛi)ya[de]** nanni nuḍiyade **Nandi(ndi)dēvaṁgaḷissi** muyvaṁ=pa-

14 **ḍedoṁgara aledoṁ** mūdalipoṁ ā(a)darim **Kōṛā Dēsiṅgav**=e[nta]ṇisu ve(vi)shaya-**suṅkaṁbu Ve-**

15 **[lu]ṅguguṇṭa[lo]**. . . . [ddi]yu iṛṛu ī [vi] birāḍ-āyaṁbu vēyuva[ṇa] . . ṁbu dinikki(niki) **vakkraṁbu** vachchuvā-

16 . . . . naṛāṛṛu gaṭṭu ◎ **Śrīka[ṇṭha]dēvā(va)-āchārjya(yya)-liki(khi)[taṁ]**

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail! When the illustrious **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṇētra** (with the usual *praśasti*) was ruling over **Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand**, having seen the act of the **Mahārāja** killing **Chantamāna-Daḍi** in a conflict (*pōtu*) at **Mudumaḍuvu** during the fight with **Nolambi, Kōṛa-Dēsiṅgaṁbu** attacked the generals (*paḍālvelaṁ*) of Gaṇḍatriṇētra who had opposed the king that ruled over him.

(Ll. 6-14) **Chantamana** (*was*) the only hero in the whole earth, a receptacle (*iḍeyan*) of goodness (*olpu*), was more valorous than the sons of Gonti (Kuntī), a Śūdraka in prowess (?) (or in possessing a strong army), was the only *āchāryya* (teacher or master) to one who should steal the front (*of battle*) after having attacked with great force [lit. raising shouts (*dhani*) as in deluge ?], who knew (*to carry out or stick to*) his determination, who would (*aspire to*) rule and who conferred gifts (*upon supplicants*). Hence he was the hero among persons of great valour, who defeated (lit. threw down) the hero among the chiefs (*mannava=manneya*), destroyed (*oḍḍ-aḷi*) the *biruda* of titled persons who would stretch their head, *i.e.*, come forward (?) (*peḍeyaṁ belapa*), was the master to the brave favourites who were the lords of the lady that . . . . . . of the fallen Bhagadatta. (*He*) was the *āchāryya-purusha*, who did not appreciate the conduct (lit. method) of those that attacked without losing themselves, twisted down (*i.e.*, killed) those that were back-biters (*pisuṇa*), ... crookedness, and scattered away and mocked at those that obtained reward (*muyvaṁ*) from (*issi* ?) **Nandidēva**,[3] without making gifts, piercing (*in battles*) and speaking truth.

(Ll. 14-16) Therefore Kōṛā-Dēsiṅga . . . . the income of *birāḍa* (tax), housetax (?) . . . . (*accruable*) in the village of **Veluṅguguṇṭa** and whatever (*ent-aṇisu*) *vishaya-suṅka* (tax from the district) was available. Whoever comes crookedly to this (*gift*) . . . .

Written by Śrīkaṇṭhadēva-āchārjya(ryya).

[1] Read *aniyaṁ*. [2] Read *āchāryya*. [3] Who this Nandidēva was cannot be ascertained.

No. 27.—SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, BERLIN.

I.—The Mōrā Well Inscription.

Mōrā is a small village 7 miles west of Mathurā City and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathurā to Gōvardhan. In 1882 General Cunningham discovered there a large inscribed slab which formed part of the terrace of an ancient well. In 1908 Dr. Vogel had the slab removed to the Mathurā Museum under supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A transcript and a facsimile of the inscription were published by Cunningham, *ASR.* Vol. XX (1885), p. 49 and Plate V, No. 4. At that time the inscription was already fragmentary, more than half of it having peeled away on the right side, but it has since become much more damaged. It was edited again by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā* p. 184, No. Q1. His transcript was reprinted, with a photolithograph of the inscription in its present state, by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI.* No. 1 (1919), p. 22, and Plate VI, No. 5, and an attempt to correct the reading of the second line of the inscription was made by the same scholar in *MASI.* No. 5 (1920), p. 166f. The inscription was carefully engraved in 'archaic' characters and Cunningham's transcript and facsimile are apparently in the main correct. The following text is therefore based on them with such corrections as are warranted by a new impression or suggested by general considerations. In the notes I have stated the readings of the impression, of Cunningham's facsimile, of his transcript and of Vogel's transcript.[1] I think that this rather minute treatment is justified by the importance of the inscription.

TEXT.

1 卐 mahakshatrapasa **Rājūvulasa** putrasa svāmi . . . .

2 bhagavatāṁ **Vṛishṇīnā[ṁ]** paṁchavīrāṇāṁ pratimā[ḥ] śailadevagṛi . . . .

3 ya[s]=**To[shā]yāḥ** śailaṁ śrīmad=gṛiham=atulam=udadhasamadhāra . . . .

4 ārchādeśāṁ śailāṁ paṁcha jvalata iva paramavapushā . . . .

NOTES.

Line 1.

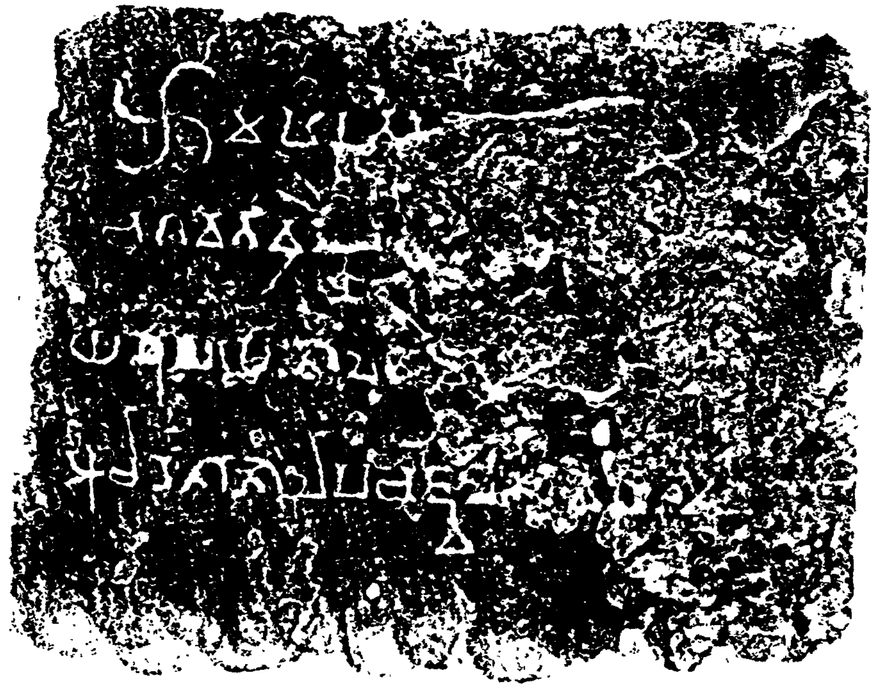
Impression : *mahakshat[r]a[pa]*
C.'s facsimile : *mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putra[sa] .v.*
C.'s transcript : *Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Swāmi Vā-(Vi)*
Vogel : *Mahak(sha)t(rapasa Rājūvulasa putra)*

As regards the name of the *mahākshatrapa* Cunningham's facsimile is certainly more trustworthy than his transcript. In the facsimile the *pu* of *putrasa* shows at the top some strokes which might be taken as the sign for *au*, but as the *u*-stroke at the bottom of the letter is quite distinct, *putrasa* must be considered the correct reading. The last word *svāmi* is based only on Cunningham's transcript, the facsimile showing only the subscript *va*. But *svāmi* is exactly what we should expect. Rājūvula's son was Śoḍāsa, who in the Mathurā inscriptions Nos. 59 and 82 of my *List*[2] and in the Mathurā pillar inscription edited below is styled *svāmin mahākshatrapa*. I have therefore no doubt that Cunningham's transcript is correct as far as *svāmi* is concerned and that the original reading was *svāmisa* (or possibly *svāmi-*) *mahakshatrapasa*.

[1] In Vogel's transcript the portions enclosed within round brackets have been taken from Cunningham's facsimile.

[2] The numbers of inscriptions quoted in the following pages always refer to my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.

I.—The Mora Well Inscription.



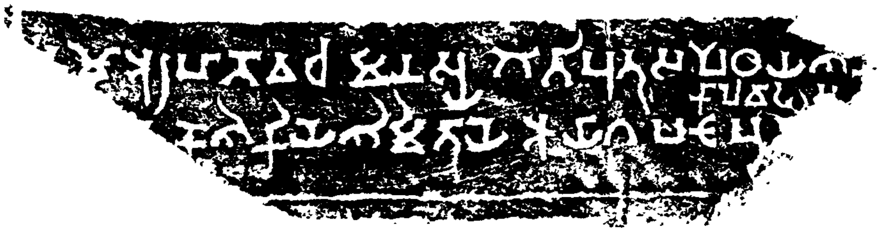
SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mora.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.

Right half.



Left half.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1859 E'38-275.

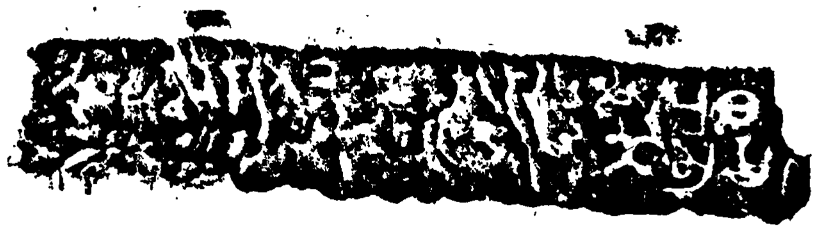
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Ganeshra.



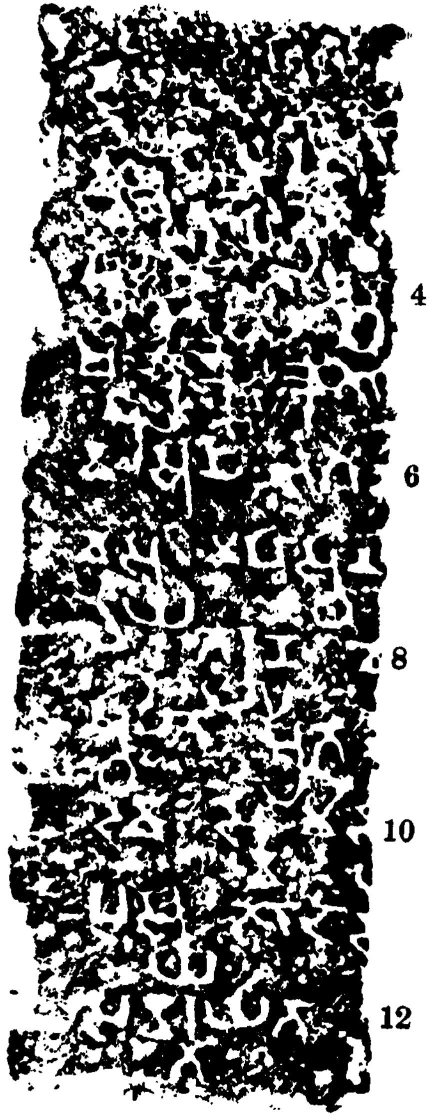
SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

Line 2.

Impression : *bhagavatāṁ Vṛi[sh]ṇīn[ā]. . . . [cha]*
C.'s facsimile : *bhagavatā Vṛishṇ . nā paṁchavīrāṇāṁ pratimā[ḥ] ś[ai]ladev. gṛi*
C.'s transcript : *Bhagavatā Vrishnena pancha Vairānām pratimu Saila trwa-(gra)*
Vogel : *Bhagavatā Vṛi(sh)ṇe(na paṁcha Vīrānāṁ pratimā śailatṛivagra)*

The *anusvāra* of *bhagavatāṁ* is perfectly clear in the impression, and so is the *ī* of *Vṛishṇīnāṁ*, although it has a peculiar form. The two strokes denoting the long *ī* are both turned to the left to avoid their running into the *ksha* hanging down from the first line. Similarly in the next word *paṁchavīrāṇāṁ* the two limbs of the *ī*-sign are drawn wide asunder on account of the long-tailed *rā* standing in the first line just over the *vī*. The *anusvāra* of *Vṛishṇīnāṁ* has not been noticed by Cunningham and is not visible in the impression on account of a fissure in the stone, but it was no doubt originally engraved. The reading *bhagavato Vṛishṇeḥ* proposed by Ramaprasad Chanda is impossible. Between *pratimā*, which is quite distinct in the facsimile, and the following word the intervening space is rather large, and the original reading was apparently *pratimāḥ*. A trace of the lower dot of the *visarga* is even visible in the facsimile. The last word is not quite distinct in the facsimile, the *la* lacking the long vertical and the *va* showing a small appendix at the bottom which makes it look like *vu*, but as Cunningham in his transcript renders the two letters as *la* and *va* and as the third letter clearly is the same as the third letter of the fourth line, the reading *śailadevagṛi* is practically certain, and the word is to be restored to *śailadevagṛihe*.

Line 3.

Impression : *ya . to[shā]yāḥ ś[ai]laṁ [śrī]ma*
C.'s facsimile : *yas=toshayā[ḥ] śailaṁ śrimad=gṛiham=atulam=u[da]dhasa [ma]dha*
C.'s transcript : *Yasto Shāyāh Ṣailam Sri mad graha mātula mudhadesa madhāra*
Vogel : *yastoshayā ś(ai)le (śrimadgrahamatula muda-dhasa)*

Cunningham's transcript of the first two words is probably correct, although his reading of the second and third *aksharas* cannot be verified completely from the impression. Instead of the *s* of *sto* there is at present little more than a square hole, but traces of the hook to the left of the letter are visible, and I consider the reading *sto* as certain. The *sha* also is much damaged and the sign of the long *ā* is indistinct, but, as we shall see later on, the length of the vowel is confirmed by the metre and Cunningham's reading may therefore be taken as correct. The *visarga*, of which the lower dot only is indicated in the facsimile, is quite distinct in the impression. The next four words are perfectly clear in the facsimile. The facsimile has *śrimad*, but the long *ī* is visible in the impression. The last words are uncertain. I can give only Cunningham's reading with the second and third syllables corrected from the facsimile. *Udadhi* would seem to be an obvious emendation of *udadha*, but the word does not fit well into the context.

Line 4.

Impression : *ārchādeśāṁ śailāṁ paṁcha jvalata [i]va pa[ramavapushā]*, but the last five *aksharas* are only faintly visible.
C.'s facsimile : *ārchādeśāṁ śailāṁ pacha jvalata iva paramavapushā*
C.'s transcript : *Ārcha deṣām Ṣailām pancha jwalaitā Iva parama Vapeshā*
Vogel : *archā daśaṁ śailaṁ pachajvala(ta iva parama vapusha)*

All readings divergent from the text derived from the impression are faulty.

Too much is lost of the text to fill up conjecturally the gaps. The extant words may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

(1) Of the son of *mahākshatrapa* Rājūvula, *svāmin* . . . . .

(2) The images of the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis[1] . . . the stone shrine . . . . .

(3) Who the magnificent matchless stone house of Tośā[2] . . . .

(4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty . . . . .

REMARKS.

As remarked already in the notes on the text, it is most probably the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa who was mentioned in the first line, and the record has therefore to be dated in his reign, which perfectly agrees with the palæography of the inscription. I consider it also probable that the words preserved of the first line belong to the date. It will be noticed that there is a marked contrast between the first line and the rest of the inscription as far as the language is concerned. Whereas the first line shows the popular language, the following three lines are apparently in pure Sanskrit. This strange diversity would seem to be best accounted for by assuming that the author of the inscription, even when writing in Sanskrit, for the date used the language customary in the documents of the time.

From the second line it appears that the inscription recorded the setting up of five images representing the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis in a stone temple. *Pañchavīrāṇām* hardly means simply 'of five heroes', which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchānāṁ vīrāṇām*. *Pañchavīrāḥ* would rather seem to denote a fixed group or body. In this sense the word occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the meeting or the meeting-house used by a *gaṇikā* for her musical performances is called *pañchavīragoshṭha* : *Kumāramañjaryāḥ svasā yavīyasī Rāgamañjarī nāma pañchavīragoshṭhe saṁgītakam anushṭhāsyati* (ed. K. P. Parab, p. 96). In commenting on the passage Kavīndra Sarasvatī quotes for the meaning of the word the *Kośasāra* : *tat pañchavīragoshṭhaṁ tu yat tu jānapadaṁ sadaḥ*[3]. *Pañchavīra*, therefore, would seem to be the designation of some administrative body, perhaps equivalent to the modern *pañchāyat*, but, as far as I am aware, no such body is mentioned in the Epic in connection with the Vṛishṇis. When some time ago I was reading the inscription with Dr. Alsdorf, I asked him if the term might perhaps be found in the Jaina scriptures, and he promptly favoured me with the following note :

" In the canonical writings of the Jainas, there occurs what might be called a statistics of the subjects ruled by Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva at Dvāravatī. In the first chapter of the *Antagaḍadasāo*[4] it reads as follows : *tattha ṇaṁ Bāravaīnayarīe Kaṇhe nāmaṁ Vāsudeve rāyā parivasaï . . . . . se ṇaṁ tattha Samuddavijayapāmokkhāṇaṁ dasaṇhaṁ Dasārāṇaṁ*, **Baladevapāmokkhāṇaṁ pañchaṇhaṁ mahāvīrāṇaṁ**, *Pajjunnapāmokkhāṇaṁ addhuṭṭhāṇaṁ kumārakoḍīṇaṁ, Sambapāmokkhāṇaṁ saṭṭhīe duddantasāhassīṇaṁ, Mahāseṇapāmokkhāṇaṁ chhapannāe balavagasāhassīṇaṁ, Vīraseṇapāmokkhāṇaṁ egavīsāe vīrasāhassīṇaṁ, Uggaseṇapāmokkhāṇaṁ solasaṇhaṁ rāyasāhassīṇaṁ, Ruppiṇipāmokkhāṇaṁ solasaṇhaṁ devīsāhassīṇaṁ, Aṇaṅgaseṇāpāmokkhāṇaṁ aṇegāṇaṁ gaṇiyāsāhassīṇaṁ, annesiṁ cha bahūṇaṁ īsara° jāva °satthavāhāṇaṁ Bāravaīe nayarīe addha-Bhārahassa ya samatthassa āhevachchaṁ jāva viharaï.*

For those who are not too familiar with Jaina Prakrit, I add the translation of Barnett : 'In this city of Bāravaī dwelt King Vāsudeve, hight Kaṇhe, ... Here he held sway over Samuddavijae and the rest of the ten Dasāras, over Baladeve and the rest of the five great heroes, over Pajjuṇṇe and the rest of the three and a half crores of princes, over Sambe and the

[1] Perhaps *bhagavatāṁ* is to be construed with *Vṛishṇīnām*.

[2] I omit the obscure words *udadhasamadhāra*.

[3] The quotation is given also, without stating its source, in Śivarāma's commentary and in the *Laghudīpikā*.

[4] P. L. Vaidya's *edition*, Poona 1932, p. 4f.

rest of the 60,000 fighting men, over Mahāseṇe and the rest of the 56,000 mighty men, over Vīraseṇe and the rest of the 21,000 warriors, over Uggaseṇe and the rest of the 16,000 kings, over Rūppiṇī and the rest of the 16,000 queens, over Aṇaṅgaseṇā and the rest of the many thousands of courtesans, and over many kings, princes, barons, [prefects, mayors, bankers, traders, captains,] merchants, and others, over the city of Bāravaī and the whole of the southern half of Bhārahe-vāse.'[1]

In the sixteenth chapter of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, we are told how King Drupada sends a messenger to Dvāravatī and commands him to invite to the *svayaṁvara* of his daughter Draupadī "*Kaṇhaṁ Vāsudevaṁ, Samuddavijayapāmokkhe dasa Dasāre,* **Baladevapāmokkhe pañcha mahāvīre** . . . . " The list which follows agrees verbatim with that of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, merely omitting the queens and courtesans, inserting Uggasena between Baladeva and Pajjunna, and inverting the order of Mahāsena and Vīrasena. A third version found in the *Vaṇhidasāo* is also practically identical.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāmokkhā pañcha mahāvīrā* included in the canonical list are identical with the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis mentioned in the Mōrā inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature.

The question now arises : who are the other four *mahāvīras* besides Baladeva ? The canonical list, though it does not give us their names, yet furnishes at least some negative clue for their identification, because it clearly excludes from their number several of the most prominent Vṛishṇis known to Jaina tradition, *viz.*, Kṛishṇa, the ten Daśārhas (including Vasudeva), Pradyumna, Śāmba, Ugrasena, Mahāsena, and Vīrasena. We must obviously look for four names, other than those just mentioned, which must be equally well known to the Jainas and the Brahmins. Further, considering that Baladeva, the leader of the group, is the eldest son of Vasudeva, the conjecture is perhaps not too far-fetched that the other four *mahāvīras* might be looked for among the brothers, or half-brothers, of Baladeva. Now the Jaina *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* gives a long list of Yādava princes who, under Kṛishṇa's command, took the field against Jarāsandha ; the list is found, in almost identical form, in Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (48, 38-74) and in Hemachandra's *Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharitra* (VIII, 7, 155-193). In this list no less than 47 sons of Vasudeva are enumerated. This great number is easily accounted for by the fact that Vasudeva has taken the place of Naravāhanadatta in the Jaina version of the *Bṛihatkathā*; the so-called *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, which forms also part of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*. Just like his Brahmanical counterpart, Vasudeva during his "*hiṇḍi*" wins 26 consorts, and the Jainas apparently thought fit that with each, or at least most of them, he should beget one or more sons. The list of the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* accordingly distributes the 47 sons among 23 mothers. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that most of those 47 names are secondary Jain inventions not likely to be met with in Brahmanical literature. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are either purely fantastic or, if they do occur in Brahmanical texts, their bearers are certainly no Vṛishṇis. The only exceptions to this—apart, of course, from Kṛishṇa and Baladeva—are four names, *viz.*, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha. These four are well-known Vṛishṇi princes expressly denoted as such in the *Mahābhārata*[2].

That the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* list of Vasudeva's sons should include, besides Kṛishṇa, Baladeva and neither more nor less than just four younger brothers of his who are recognised as Vṛishṇi princes in the *Mahābhārata* is no doubt a very remarkable coincidence. It can certainly not be regarded as a cogent evidence, yet I think we may feel justified in assuming that the "five great

[1] *Oriental Transl. Fund*, N. S.—Vol. XVII, p. 13f.

[2] *Vide* Sörensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata.*

heroes" of the canonical list, and therefore probably also the 'five heroes of the Vṛishṇis' worshipped in the temple at Mōrā, were **Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛshṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha.**"

In the following lines the stone-house (*śailaṁ gṛihaṁ*), of course, cannot be anything else but the stone-temple (*śailadevagṛi(ha)*) mentioned before, and the *ārchādeśāṁ śailāṁ paṁcha* must refer to the five images of the Vṛishṇis. I take *ārchādeśa* as a compound of *ārchā* 'adoration' and *deśa* as used here in the sense that in later literature is conveyed by the synonyms *āspada, pada, sthāna*. The lengthening of the initial *a* before *r* followed by a consonant found in *ārchā* seems to be a peculiarity of the Mathurā dialect; compare the frequent spelling *ārhat, ārahat, ārahaṁta, ārahāta* in Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period[1] and *ārtthasiddhaye, ārttheshu* in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas dating from the same time[2]. That *archā* was used with special reference to the worship of images is shown by the fact that the word in course of time assumed the meaning 'image of a god'; cf. *dīrghanāsiky=archā, tuṅganāsiky=archā, Mahābhāshya* 2,222,18; *Mauryair=hiraṇyārthibhir=archāḥ prakalpitāḥ, ibid.* 2,429,3; *ābhyāṁ liṅge=rōhitaḥ Śambhur=archāyāṁ bhavatā punaḥ* quoted in the commentary on *Maṅkha* 138. In the Kośas *archā* is quoted among the words for image (*pratimā*); *Am.* 2,10,36; *Hal.* 1,131, *Hem Abh.* 1463, *An.* 2,54; *Vaij.* 220,1. Grammatically *ārchādeśāṁ śailāṁ paṁcha* is acc. plur. agreeing with *jvalataḥ*. The spelling with the *anusvāra* instead of *n* is not only quite common in the Central Asian manuscripts of the canon of the Sarvāstivādins, but occurs also in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas[3] and in the manuscript of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* written in early Gupta script[4].

Little as is left of the last two lines, the language of this portion of the inscription will strike the reader as being unusual in a donative record. An expression such as *jvalata iva paramavapushā* sounds like poetry. Now an examination of the two lines shows that both of them begin like a *Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita* the scheme of which is — — — — — — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — in the quarter. Even the doubtful word *udadhasamadhāra* conforms to it in Cunningham's reading. That this was really the metre in which the two lines were composed can be shown also in a different way. The writing preserved in line 4 which consists of 19 *akshara*s fills about 11¼". A hemistich of 52 *akshara*s would fill about 2′ 7″, and allowing 3″ or 4″ for the blank at the beginning and at the end of the line and between the two quarters of the hemistich, we arrive at a total length of 2′ 10″ or 2′ 11″ for the writing of one hemistich, which agrees exactly with Dr. Vogel's statement that the width of the slab is 2′ 11″. It is thus proved that the stanza was engraved in hemistiches. Our inscription is the earliest example of this mode of writing verses which prevailed in the ornamental inscriptions on pillars and slabs until about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and occasionally occurs still in later times.[5] As far as I know, it is never found in copper plates, but it was practised

[1] See Nos. 78; 102; 105; 110 of my *List of Brahmī Inscriptions*.

[2] *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 31. The lengthening bears an analogy to the lengthening of the initial *a* followed by *nt* in the Mathurā inscriptions; see *āṁtevāsi, āṁtevāsinī* in Nos. 93; 99.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 31: *bhaga(vā)ṁ*, and even *śripuṇa* (for *śriguṇa*) *pushpā-*.

[4] *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, p. 40; *asmiṁ hi, jīvaṁ hi, maṁtrāṇ paramarshibhāshitāṁ ka-*.

[5] Cf. Mēharaulī iron pillar inscription of Chandra (GI. No. 32); Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 1); Ēraṇ stone inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 2); Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II. (GI. No. 6); Bilsad pillar inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I. (GI. No. 10); Bihār pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta (GI. No. 12); Kahāuṁ pillar inscription of the reign of Skandagupta (GI. No. 15); Barābar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman (GI. No. 48); Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of the same (GI. Nos. 49 and 50); Mathurā image inscription of G. 135 (GI. No. 63); some of the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions A.S. W.I. Vol. IV, pp. 129 and 138. The earliest inscription showing verses in continuous writing seems to be the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of the time of Viśvavarman, probably dated in V. 480 (GI. No. 17). Of the three inscriptions at Mandasōr engraved by Govinda the two copies of the Praśasti of King Yaśōdharman (GI. Nos. 33 and 34) have the verses partitioned off, while the well inscription dated in V. 589 (GI. No. 35) is written in continuous lines.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



E. 23

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

sometimes also in manuscript writing as proved by a palm-leaf manuscript in Gupta characters unearthed in Eastern Turkestan.

The occurrence of this stanza is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*,[1] but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if here a most artificial metre such as *Bhujaṅgavijṛimbhita* is used for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that **the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry was fully developed in the first century B.C.**

There is just enough left of the stanza to show that the first hemistich was mainly devoted to the praise of the stone temple where the five images were set up and that the beauty of the images themselves was extolled in the second half of the stanza. From the epithets conferred on the temple, even if they should be slightly overdrawn, we may infer that it was a remarkably fine building, but there is nothing to show that it was exclusively dedicated to the five Vṛishṇis. It is far more probable that it was a Bhāgavata temple where the five images were established. No trace of this temple has until now turned up at Mōrā. When in 1910 Pandit Radha Krishna examined the site, he found only a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks from which Dr. Vogel was able to make out the legend : *jivaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāsvātimita-*[*dhi*]*tu*[2] *Yaśamatāye kāritaṁ*. As stated by Dr. Vogel, the characters of that inscription are those of the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date also of King Bahasatimita who in all probability is identical with the Brahāsvātimita of the brick legend. The bricks therefore must have belonged to a much earlier building than the stone temple spoken of in the inscription. The emphatic, twice repeated, statement that the temple was built of stone leads one to think that it was destined to replace the older brick building. We shall see later on that it is not impossible that a detached piece of the temple has been preserved at Mathurā in another place.

Although the stone temple has entirely disappeared, I think it very probable that some remnants of the five images have survived on the spot. When visiting the Mōrā site, Dr. Vogel noticed some fragments of stone images consisting of two torsos of standing male statues, the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet remain, and the pedestal and lower half of a standing female statue[3]. All the images are carved in the round. The two torsos are much alike. Both wear a *dhoti* held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs. The main difference lies in the necklace. One wears a double necklace fastened in front by means of a clasp, the other a heavy single necklace tied in a knot at the back. On the pedestal of the female figure is a fragmentary inscription. The four images were transferred to the Mathurā Museum where they bear the numbers E 20-23.

When Dr. Vogel first announced his discovery, he suggested that the sculptures might be connected with the images mentioned in the inscription. Of course, his conjecture that the male figures represent those of the Pāṇḍava brothers and the female statue is an image of Draupadī is based on the wrong idea that the term *pañchavīrāḥ* in the inscription refers to the Pāṇḍavas, and must be abandoned. The female statue must be left out of consideration altogether, at any rate, at present. We shall see later on in what relation it may possibly stand to the other images and the well inscription. For the rest, Dr. Vogel's suggestion is plausible enough. From the inscription we should expect to find at the site of Mōrā five remarkably fine statues originating from

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

[2] This is the correct reading, not *Brihāsvātimita-*, as read by Vogel, *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 128, Plate LVIII, fig. 16.

[3] *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 151ff.; *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 127f. The two torsos are figured *ibid.* Plate LVII, fig. 12-15, the one with the double necklace also in Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII (*Ars Asiatica*, XV)

the time of Śoḍāsa and representing Baladeva and four of his brothers or companions and therefore being probably much alike in appearance. There are actually found at Mōrā images of three male persons. The torsos of two of them show that they were very similar in attitude and dress and certainly represented not foreigners as, *e.g.*, the three Māṭ statues, but some Hindu personages. They are, moreover, as far as I can judge from the photographs, of superior workmanship and, being carved in the round, cannot be assigned to a later date than the Kushāṇ period, but may be considerably earlier. The identity of the statues and the *pañchaviras* which thus becomes highly probable, would be finally established, if the fragments had been found in the ruins of the *śaila-devagriha*, where, according to the inscription, the *pañchaviras* were set up. But, as already remarked above, there is no trace whatever of a stone temple. The images were found lying round about the remains of a building constructed of bricks, but I do not think that for this reason the identity of the statues and the *pañchaviras* is to be given up. There is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within that brick enclosure.[1] It can be easily imagined that at the time when the temple was demolished and its materials were carried away, the statues also were cut up and thrown aside. Dr. Vogel himself seems to have changed his mind. He is now inclined to look at the statues as Yaksha images.[2] In my opinion they have a better claim to be regarded as the images of the Vrishṇi heroes, although I admit that this view cannot be definitely proved at present.

There is still one point that requires elucidation, *viz.*, the word *Toshāyāḥ* in line 3 of the inscription. I have stated already in the notes on the text that there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reading. Judging from the context *Toshāyāḥ* can hardly be anything else but the genitive of *Toshā* dependent on the following *griham*. At first sight one would obviously understand 'the house of Toshā' as a shrine dedicated to a goddess called Toshā, but I am not aware that there ever existed a goddess of that name. Under these circumstances, Toshā can only be taken as the name of the lady who caused the shrine to be built. Just as we find here *śailaṁ griham* combined with the name of the founder in the genitive case, we have *mahārājasya rājātirājasya devapūtrasya Hūvishkasya vihāre* in the Mathurā inscription No. 62 of my *List*, or *āchāryya-Somatrātasy=edaṁ Bhagavatpādopayojyaṁ kuṇḍam=uparyy-āvasathaḥ kuṇḍaṁ ch=āparaṁ* in the Tuśām rock inscription (GI. No. 67). Toshā does not sound like an Indian name. It is quite probable that Toshā was of Iranian extraction, and there would be nothing strange about the fact that she should have erected a Bhāgavata shrine as we know from the Heliodoros inscription at Bēsnagar that foreigners were adherents of the Bhāgavata religion. We shall probably find the name of Toshā in a different spelling again in the following inscription.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā.

The inscription is incised on the pedestal of a standing female figure which was discovered by Dr. Vogel at Mōrā together with the remnants of the three statues discussed above. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 109, No. E 20. It is figured *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II], Plate LVIII, fig. 19.

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[1] Perhaps this statement has to be modified. Mr. V. S. Agravala writes: "I inspected the Mōrā sites with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in November 1936. . . . . Dr. Lüders' remark that there is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within the brick enclosure does not seem to be grounded in fact. From actual inspection of the site we found that the images were set up at that very place, since there still exists *in situ* the stone pedestal in which the images were embedded. Mr. Devi Dayal took a photo of this part of the building and also measured the mortise cut into the stone which once received the image." It is not quite clear from this statement whether the five statues were all embedded in one pedestal and whether the measurement of the mortise can be shown to meet one of the Pañchavira statues, or perhaps that of the Toshā image.

[2] *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 116.

TEXT.

1 . . . . sya(¹) **Kan(i)[sh]ka[sya]**(²) . . . . . . [r](³) . . . . [m](⁴). . .
2 . . . . etasya (⁵) purvaye M[ā]thuri kalavaḍ[ā] o[ḍakh]i(⁶) . .
3 . . . . ye **Tośāye** patimā . . . . . . t(⁷) . . . . .

NOTES.

(1) Probably to be restored *mahārājasya.* (2) Vogel: *[H]uv[ish]ka[sya]*. The first *akshara* is distinctly *ka*. The vowel-sign of the second *akshara* has disappeared, but the *mātṛikā* is distinctly *na*. The *sh* of *shka* and the *sya* are blurred, but certain. (3) Probably to be restored as *saṁvatsare.* (4) Of the seven or eight *aksharas* following [*r*], only the lower half of *ma* is distinct. The *akshara* before *ma* seems to have contained a subscript *ma*, so that the original reading may have been something like *grīshmamāse*. (5) Traces of two *aksharas* before *etasya* are still visible, but it is impossible to read them. (6) Vogel: *mathurikalavaḍap* . . The *ā*-sign is not quite certain, but probable. The dot distinguishing the dental *tha* from *ṭha* is indistinct. The seventh letter is certainly *ḍa* as read by Vogel, a similar form occurring in one of the Māṭ inscriptions, but there appears to be an *ā*-sign attached to the letter. The reading of the last three *aksharas* is very uncertain. What Vogel reads as *pa* consists, as far as I see, of two letters. The first letter looks like an initial *o*, but in the middle of the vertical line of the letter there is a small horizontal stroke which might suggest to take the letter as *au;* it is, however, probably only accidental. The second letter, the lower portion of which has disappeared owing to an erosion of the stone, may have been *ḍa*. The same erosion has destroyed also the body of the last *akshara* which may have been *khi*. Possibly one *akshara* is lost at the end of the line. (7) The last word also has become illegible on account of the peeling off of the stone with the exception of a subscript *ta* which must have belonged to the third letter of the word. The word is probably to be restored as *patistāpitā;* cf. *pratistapita* in No. 45[a], *prattistāpenti* in No. 149[b]. The slanting stroke to the left of the *ta* seems to have been caused by the erosion of the stone.

REMARKS.

It is impossibe to offer a connected translation of the inscription, too much of the text being lost to fill up the gaps even conjecturally.

As the date fills half of the text, the numbers of the year, the month and the day were apparently given in words, not in figures. The king's name is distinctly **Kanishka.**

In the third line the only legible words are *Tośāye patimā* after which probably *patistāpitā* is to be supplied. The meaning of the words may be either that an image was set up by Tośā or that an image of Tośā was set up. If *Tośāye* were taken as the name of the donatrix, the object of the donation would here simply be called *patimā*. However, this would be quite unusual. In no other inscription of this time[1] *pratimā* alone is used in this way, No. 68, where the second line ends with *Jinadāsiye pratimā*, being apparently incomplete. Everywhere the name of the person represented by the statue is added to *pratimā*, sometimes compounded with it (Nos. 13, 28, 29, 37, 50, 51, 118, 121, perhaps also 72), but oftener in the genitive case (Nos. 18, 24, 26, 34, 43, 45, 45[a], 47, 69[a], 71, 110 ; in 74 *bhagavato Varddhamānapratimā*). Generally the name in the genitive precedes *pratimā*; a different position of the words occurs only in No. 39 (*dānaṁ pra-*

[1] In later times *pratimā* alone occurs occasionally, *e.g.* in the Mathurā inscription of G. 113 edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.

timā Vadhamanasya), No. 119 (*pratimā pra(tishṭhāpitā Vardha)mānasya*) and apparently in No. 68 quoted above. It is therefore not only possible, but even more likely that *Tośāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. Unfortunately the upper half of the statue is lost, and what remains of it is not sufficient to determine exactly the character of the person represented. All that can be said is that it is a woman as shown by the anklets and that she wears a folded cloth with one end tucked up in the waist-belt and the other slung over the left arm. This seems to have been the costume of a fashionable lady of that time. Exactly the same dress is worn by the female worshippers on a doorjamb in the Mathurā Museum (P2)[1]; cf. especially the figure in the upper compartment. There is absolutely nothing to show that the statue was meant for a goddess or a Yakshī or a Nāga woman. Nor do we know of any goddess of the name of Tośā. Now, considering that the image which according to the inscription probably represents a lady called Tośā has been found together with the remnants of three statues which probably are mentioned in the well inscription as having been set up in the stone house of Toshā, we can hardly reject the idea that Tośā and Toshā refer to the same person. The difference in the spelling of the name cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle to the identification as the name appears to be of foreign origin and, moreover, we have even in Sanskrit *kūśma* by the side of *kūshma*, *kesha* by the side of *kośa*, etc. There can be no doubt that the well inscription is about a century older than the statue inscription; it shows the 'archaic' writing that is found in all other records of the time of Śoḍāsa, whereas the statue inscription is dated in the reign of Kanishka and written in the typical clumsy characters of that period. As Tośā cannot have set up a statue during the reign of Kanishka, if her shrine was already in existence at the time of Śoḍāsa, the identification of Tośā and Toshā would definitely prove that *Tośāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. On the other hand, we should be compelled to assume that somebody erected the statue of Tośā at her shrine about a hundred years after her death. Such a posthumous honouring by one of her descendants would not seem to be impossible, if we remember that probably a statue of Vima Kadphises was set up at Māṭ some time after his death, but I admit that the evidence for the identity of Tośā and Toshā is not much more than a chain of possibilities or probabilities that requires substantial strengthening before it can be regarded as conclusive.

The second line of the inscription affords no help in this respect. *Māthuri kalavaḍā* probably means 'the wife of the *kālavāḍa* of *Mathurā*', although the formation of the second word is unusual. In analogy to such derivations as *sārthavāhinī* from *sārthavāha*, we should expect rather *kālavāḍinī*. As will appear from the following two inscriptions, *kālavāḍa* or *kālavāḷa* was the title of a high official at Mathurā. Owing to the large lacuna of the text in the beginning of the third line, it is impossible to decide whether *Māthuri kalavaḍā* refers to the person who erected the statue of Tośā or to Tośā herself. Nor can I suggest anything with regard to the meaning of the following three syllables which I have tentatively read *oḍakhi*.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone-slab from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate XIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33, and Plate, and commented on *ibid.* p. 393f. Fleet made it the subject of a learned paper, *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 635-655, and R. D. Banerji treated it briefly, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49.

[1] Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 173, and Plate IIb; *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XXIIb.

The inscription which is written in the script preceding that of the Kushān period was read and translated by Bühler as follows:

"1. [na]mo arahato Vardhamāṇasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhayaśaka-

2. kālavāḷasa

3. . . . . . . [1] Kośikiye Śimitrāye[2] āyāgapaṭo[3] pra.i . . . . . . [4]

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (*of*) the Kauśika (*family*), (*wife*) of Gotiputra (*Gauptīputra*), a black serpent for the Poṭhayas and Śakas."

Gotiputra's epithet was explained by Bühler as referring to his fights with the Poṭhayas and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. The Poṭhayas he identified with the Proshṭhas, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a nation of Southern India. Fleet, although agreeing with Bühler in the reading and the literal translation of the epithet, tried to show at great length that by the Śakas were meant the Buddhists and by the Poṭhayas the Digambara Jainas and that Gotiputra, who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, was marked in the record as being particularly successful in disputation with adherents of those rival creeds.

Many grave objections may be raised against these interpretations, but I deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion, as in my opinion they are untenable, or at least highly improbable, already for general reasons. An epithet with the meaning assumed by Bühler and Fleet is against the style of these dedicatory inscriptions, which in a formulary language record facts, but refrain from rhetorical embellishments taken from the language of the Kāvyas. Secondly, although metronymics are sometimes used instead of personal names, especially in the case of Buddhist saints, I consider it extremely unlikely that in an inscription like this one a private individual should have been called simply by his metronymic. It is far more probable that just as in innumerable other cases the metronymic was followed by the personal name, and there is no reason why Poṭhayaśaka should not be taken as a name formed by compounding the abbreviated form of the asterism Proshṭhapada and *yaśas*, or rather their Prakrit equivalents, and adding the suffix *-ka*. Personal names the first member of which is the name of a *nakshatra* are very common in the period to which the inscription belongs. Poṭha itself occurs in Poṭhaghosha in the Mathurā inscription No. 59, Poṭhadevā in the Sānchi inscription No. 205 and the hypocoristic form Poṭhaka in the Sānchi inscription No. 342. For *yaśas* as the second member of a compound name we have in epigraphical records Kṛishṇayaśa in the Kanhiāra inscription No. 8, Dhamayasā (fem.) in the Sānchi inscription 410, Śivayaśā (fem.) and Phaguyaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 100 and Bhadrayaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 107. As *Phagu* is a shortened form of *Phalgunī* and *Bhadra* an abbreviation of *Bhadrapadā*, the last two names are almost exact counterparts of *Poṭhayaśaka* in our inscription.

If we take Poṭhayaśaka as the name of the husband of Śimitrā, we are driven to the conclusion that the original reading was *Poṭhayaśakasa* and that *kālavāḷasa* is an independent word characterising Poṭhayaśaka somehow or other. I think that this is fully confirmed by an examination of the outward appearance of the inscription.

The inscription is damaged both at the beginning and at the end. On the left side a piece of the stone is broken off, which has caused the partial loss of the *na* in the beginning of the upper line and the complete disappearance of three *aksharas* in the beginning of the lower line. Here

[1] Restore *bhāryāye*. [2] Read *Śivamitrāye*. [3] [Bühler: *ayāgapaṭo* (misprint).]
[4] Restore *pratishṭhāpito*.

certainly, as proposed by Bühler, some word like *bhāryāye* has to be supplied. How much of the text is lost on the right side can be determined from the last word of the last line. There can be no doubt that *pra.i* is to be restored as *pra(t)i(ṭhāpito)* and that this was the concluding word of the record. The *pra* stands exactly below the *ṭha* of the first line, and as the inscription is very carefully engraved, it may be taken for granted that the *ṭha* also was followed by four *aksharas*, which perfectly agrees with my suggestion that *sa* has to be supplied after *Poṭhayaśaka*. There is another point to prove that the text read *Poṭhayaśaka(sa bhāryāye)*. A glance at the inscription will be sufficient to show that originally it consisted of two lines only and that *kālavāḷasa* has been inserted by an afterthought below *Poṭhayaśakasa*. The word has been engraved in much smaller characters than the rest of the inscription, the *kā* being only ⅜" high, the *vā* only ⅜", whereas the second *ka* of *Kośikiye* measures 1⅛" and the *va* of *Vardhamānasya* ⅞". And there is another unmistakable sign that it was incised after the other two lines had been finished. It will be noticed that the *sa* is separated by a considerable space from the preceding letter, which can be accounted for only by the wish of the engraver to avoid the contact of the *sa* with the *i*-sign of *ti* standing in the line below.[1]

I therefore read and translate the inscription as follows:

TEXT.

1 [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhayaśa[ka](sa)
2 kālavāḷasa
3 (bhāryāye) Kośikiye Śimitrāye āyāgapaṭo pra(t)i(ṭhāpito)

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! The tablet of homage has been set up by the Kośiki (*Kauśikī*) Śimitrā[2], (*the wife*) of the *kālavāḷa* Poṭhayaśaka (*Proshṭhayaśaska*), the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*).

REMARKS.

The exact meaning of *kālavāḷa* is not known. The word does not seem to have turned up hitherto in literary sources.[3] Bühler was of opinion that both Śimitrā and her husband were shown by their family names to be of noble or royal descent. But this conclusion goes too far. The use of metronymics was by no means confined to the Kshatriya caste. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 637ff., has collected a large number of cases where the names of Brahmins also and sometimes of persons who seem to be neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas are coupled with the same metronymics that we find in connection with the names of princes and noblemen. So much only is certain that a man who attaches the metronymic to his name is a person of high social standing. From the fact that Gotiputra Poṭhayaśaka is called *kālavāḷa* we may infer that the word denoted some dignitary or high official. From our inscription it appears that the title was

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[1] The photolithograph published in *Ep. Ind.* has been tampered with. Here the upper portion of the *i*-sign has been joined to the *ḷa* and in this form, which has never existed, the *ḷa* has been entered on Plate II, XX, 41 of Bühler's *Palæography*.

[2] The etymology of the name is not clear. Bühler's correction to *Śivamitrā* is hazardous and hardly correct. Nor can the name be traced back to *Śrīmitrā* as Skt. *śrī* would have to appear as *siri*.

[3] *Kālavāḷa*, of course, cannot be connected with *kalyapāla*, *kallavāla* (*Mahāvy.* 186, 109), which denotes a distiller or seller of spirits, the modern *kalwār* or *kalāl*. Possibly *kāla*, which in the Kharoshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan occurs frequently as a very high title, is an abbreviation of *kālavāḷa*, but it cannot be proved at present. Professor Thomas, *Festschrift H. Jacobi*, p. 51, thinks that *kāla* is the same word as *kara* in Kujula Kara Kadphises, but this suggestion also is not convincing.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads[1] *Vedisa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānaṁ*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vedasa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānaṁ*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakalivatasa dānaṁ*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172[2] which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakulavaḍasa dānam*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datakalavaḍasa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍasa*. *Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍā* is meant for *kālavāḍā*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the **Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā** at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

TEXT.

namo arahato(¹) Māhāvirasa(²) — Māthuraka . . . . lavāḷasa(³) [sā] . . bhayāye(⁴) . . vara[kh]itāye⁵ āyā[gapaṭo]⁶.

NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *mahāvirasa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . . . lavāḍasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḍa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *ḷa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāḷasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . . *va* . . . *ītāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *i*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḷa* of Mathurā together with his wife **Śivarakhitā** (*Śivarakshitā*).

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366ff.

[2] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 258.

certainly, as proposed by Bühler, some word like *bhāryāye* has to be supplied. How much of the text is lost on the right side can be determined from the last word of the last line. There can be no doubt that *pra.i* is to be restored as *pra(t)i(ṭhāpito)* and that this was the concluding word of the record. The *pra* stands exactly below the *ṭha* of the first line, and as the inscription is very carefully engraved, it may be taken for granted that the *ṭha* also was followed by four *aksharas*, which perfectly agrees with my suggestion that *sa* has to be supplied after *Poṭhayaśaka*. There is another point to prove that the text read *Poṭhayaśaka(sa bhāryāye)*. A glance at the inscription will be sufficient to show that originally it consisted of two lines only and that *kālavāḷasa* has been inserted by an afterthought below *Poṭhayaśakasa*. The word has been engraved in much smaller characters than the rest of the inscription, the *kā* being only ¾" high, the *vā* only ⅝", whereas the second *ka* of *Kośikiye* measures 1⅛" and the *va* of *Vardhamānasya* ⅝". And there is another unmistakable sign that it was incised after the other two lines had been finished. It will be noticed that the *sa* is separated by a considerable space from the preceding letter, which can be accounted for only by the wish of the engraver to avoid the contact of the *sa* with the *i*-sign of *ṭi* standing in the line below.[1]

I therefore read and translate the inscription as follows:

TEXT.

1 [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa **Poṭhayaśa[ka](sa)**
2 **kālavāḷasa**
3 (bhāryāye) Kośikiye **Śimitrāye** āyāgapaṭo pra(t)i(ṭhāpito)

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! The tablet of homage has been set up by the Kośiki (*Kauśikī*) Śimitrā[2], (*the wife*) of the *kālavāḷa* Poṭhayaśaka (*Proshṭhayaśaska*), the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*).

REMARKS.

The exact meaning of *kālavāḷa* is not known. The word does not seem to have turned up hitherto in literary sources.[3] Bühler was of opinion that both Śimitrā and her husband were shown by their family names to be of noble or royal descent. But this conclusion goes too far. The use of metronymics was by no means confined to the Kshatriya caste. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 637ff., has collected a large number of cases where the names of Brāhmins also and sometimes of persons who seem to be neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas are coupled with the same metronymics that we find in connection with the names of princes and noblemen. So much only is certain that a man who attaches the metronymic to his name is a person of high social standing. From the fact that Gotiputra Poṭhayaśaka is called *kālavāḷa* we may infer that the word denoted some dignitary or high official. From our inscription it appears that the title was

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[2] The etymology of the name is not clear. Bühler's correction to *Śivamitrā* is hazardous and hardly correct. Nor can the name be traced back to *Śrīmitrā* as Skt. *śrī* would have to appear as *siri*.

[3] *Kālavāḷa*, of course, cannot be connected with *kalyapāla*, *kallavāla* (*Mahāvy.* 186, 109), which denotes a distiller or seller of spirits, the modern *kalwār* or *kalāl*. Possibly *kāla*, which in the Kharoshṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan occurs frequently as a very high title, is an abbreviation of *kālavāḷa*, but it cannot be proved at present. Professor Thomas, *Festschrift H. Jacobi*, p. 51, thinks that *kāla* is the same word as *kara* in Kujula Kara Kadphises, but this suggestion also is not convincing.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads[1] *Vedisa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānaṁ*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vedasa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānaṁ*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakalivatasa dānaṁ*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172[2] which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakulavaḍasa dānam.* There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datakalavaḍasa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍasa. Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I theretore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍā* is meant for *kālavāḍā*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stûpa at Mathurâ* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

TEXT.

namo arahato(1) Māhāvirasa(2) — Māthuraka . . . . lavāḷasa(3) [sā] . . bhayāye(4) . . vara[kh]itāye(5) āyā[gapaṭo](6).

NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *mahāvirasa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . . . lavāḍasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḍa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *ḷa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāḷasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . . *va* . . . *ītāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *i*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḷa* of Mathurā together with his wife Śivarakhitā (*Śivarakshitā*).

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366ff.

[2] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 258.

REMARKS.

For palæographical reasons the inscription must be assigned to the period before Kanishka. The fixing of an early date is also supported by the language which is pure Prakrit and further by the fact that the inscription records the setting up of an *āyāgapaṭṭa.* In the Kushān times the dedication of *āyāgapaṭṭas* seems to have gone out of fashion, there being no inscription in Kushān characters on any of the sculptured slabs unearthed at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

The two words *Māthurakasa kālavāḷasa*, which, though partly restored, may be regarded as perfectly certain, are of special interest, because they give us a hint as to the meaning of the term *Māthuri kalavaḍā* used in the Mōrā inscription, and at the same time confirm what I have said about the social position of the *kālavāḷa*. The donor of the slab would hardly have called himself simply by his title, without adding his personal name, if he had not been an official of very high rank.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Gaṇēshrā.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet remain. It is incised on the top of the pedestal between the feet. The stone was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Koli who is said to have obtained it from a Brahmin's house in the village of **Gaṇēshrā**, three miles north-west of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 122, No. G42.

TEXT.

1 Maha[daṁḍa]nā[yakasya](¹) yamasha-
2 [heka]s[y]a(²) [v]iś[v]a[saka]sya(³) **Ulānāsya**(⁴) paṭimā

NOTES.

(1) Only the first two *aksharas* are well preserved, the rest of the word is more or less effaced. Vogel reads *maha[hi]na[yanasya]*, but the reading given above is certain with the exception of the *anusvāra*[1]. (2) This is Vogel's reading. The first *akshara* is possibly *yā,* though the *ā*-stroke would be very short. The lower portion of the *he* and the *ka* and the subscript *ya* have disappeared through the breaking off of the stone. The *he* is doubtful, and instead of *ka* we may read *na.* (3) Vogel : *[vi]sā[ya]sya.* The lower portion of *vi* and the subscript *va* are mutilated. There may have been an *ā*-sign attached to the *śva*, but it is doubtful. The third and fourth *aksharas* are almost completely effaced, but from the faint traces they can be read with certainty as *saka.* There seems to have been no *i*-sign on the top of the *sa.* (4) Vogel : *Ulanāsya.* The *ā*-sign of *lā* is quite distinct.

TRANSLATION.

The image of the great general, the *yamashaheka*(?) (*and*?) *viśvasaka* **Ulāna.**

REMARKS.

From the inscription it appears that the statue represented the great general Ulāna, who, judging from his name, was certainly a Śaka, *Ulāna* being formed with the suffix *-āna* which is common in the Śaka language. What is left of the statue, points into the same direction. The feet are shod with the same wadded boots that are worn by Kanishka in his well-known statue.

[1] According to Mr. V. S. Agrawala the word was correctly read by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report Northern Circle*, 1921, p. 3, which is not accessible to me.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.







N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

As regards Ulāna's titles, *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* occurs again in the Mathurā inscription No. 60 of Saṁ 74. In my edition of the record[1] I read in ll. 6ff. *mahadāṇḍanāyakasya Vālinasya*, but the true reading appears to be *Valānasya*, and *Valāna* and *Ulāna* being evidently only different spellings of the same name, it is quite possible that the general mentioned in that inscription is identical with the person represented by the statue. The title *viśvasaka* is found in slightly different spellings in several Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period. Nos. 127, 128 and 141 record gifts of the *viśvasika* or *viśvaśika* Vakamihira, No. 1259 a gift of the *viśvasika* Aśyala or Suśyala. It will be noticed that the title is only borne by persons who by their names are shown to be of foreign descent. Perhaps the correct form of the title is *viśvāsika*. In the *Divyāvadāna* p. 188 it is said of a certain Brāhmaṇa : *sa rājñā Prasenajitā Kauśalena hastimadhyasy=opari viśvāsikaḥ sthāpitaḥ*, but here also *viśvāsikaḥ* is not warranted by the manuscripts which write either *visvāsikaḥ* or *visvāśikaḥ*. *Yamashaheka*, provided the word has been read correctly, would seem to be a foreign title or a local designation, though I cannot suggest anything as to its meaning. But whatever his functions may have been, the title of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* certainly shows that Ulāna was a high official, and the present inscription, although it is badly preserved and its original place is not known, is yet of great importance as proving that during the Kushān period not only kings, but also dignitaries of lesser rank were honoured by statues. As shown by the following inscription, the statue of Ulāna is not an isolated case.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathurā.

The inscription, as stated by Vogel, is incised on the base of a male figure, standing, clad in the Indo-Scythian dress : tunic, trousers and boots. He holds a bunch of lotus-flowers in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The head is lost. The image was found in a *bāghīcha* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā. It is at present in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, and only the date of the year was read by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 110, No. E25. The statue is figured *JRAS*. 1911, Plate VIII, fig. 2.

TEXT.

1 sa[va]tsarā(1) 70 2(2) h(e) . . . . . . s(e)(3) pratha(me)
2 . . . . rṇasya(4) pra(timā)

NOTES.

(1) The *ā*-sign of *rā* is pretty distinct. After *rā* there is a long vertical stroke, apparently caused by a fissure in the stone. (2) The first figure is not quite distinct. Vogel took it to be 40, but it is more probable that it is 70. The second figure is probably 2. (3) The *e*-sign of *h*(*e*) and *s*(*e*), if they were originally engraved, are entirely obliterated. The word was certainly meant for *hemantamāse*. (4) Before *rṇasya* about ten *aksharas* are illegible.

REMARKS.

Although only one complete word and two numerical signs can be read with tolerable certainty, the inscription, in conjunction with the complementary evidence furnished by the dress of the statue, allows us to affirm that, probably in the year 72 of the Kushān era, in the first month of winter, the statue of a foreigner, whose name ended in *-rṇa*, was set up at Mathurā. The custom of erecting portrait statues seems to have been in vogue among the foreign chiefs at Mathurā

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

during the Kushān period. The Mathurā Museum contains no less than six heads of statues[1] wearing the high conical hats which are an essential part of the Scythian dress. In my opinion, these facts give additional weight to the suggestion that the female statue from Mōrā also represents some lady belonging to a clan of the foreign invaders.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb dug out of an old well in the Mathurā Cantonments in 1913 and is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription consists of 12 lines, but the first five lines are so much obliterated that only here and there a letter can be made out with more or less certainty. Each line consisted of nine or ten *aksharas*, of which four or five on the right side are missing. From an examination of the stone Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda came to the conclusion, which undoubtedly is correct, that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned into door-jambs. The inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10[2], and edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI*. No. 5, pp. 169-173, and Plates XXV and XXVI.

TEXT.

1 . [v]. . . . .
2 sa[s]ya(1) . . . .
3 [vas].(2). . . . .
4 [p] . . . [ṇa] Śiva(3). . . . .
5 shapu[t]r[e]ṇa Kauśi(4) . . . .
6 Vasunā bhaga[va](to Vāsude)-(5).
7 vasya mahāsthāna . . . . (śai)-(6)
8 laṁ toraṇaṁ ve(dikā cha prati)-(7)
9 shṭhāpito (8) prīto [bha](gavān Vāsu)-(9)
10 devaḥ svāmi[sya] (mahākshatra)-(10)
11 pasya Śoḍā[sa](sya). . . . . . (11)
12 saṁvartayatāṁ(12)

NOTES.

(1) *Sasya* is distinct, and as we should expect the inscription to begin with the date, the first line is probably to be restored as *svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śoḍā-*. The subscript *va* visible in the first line may have belonged to *svāmisya*. (2) The second *akshara* of this line is *sa* with an indistinct vowel-sign. The preceding *akshara* looks like *va*. Considering that probably the date stood in this line, *vas*. is possibly to be restored as *divase*. (3) The reading of the first and third *aksharas* of this line is by no means certain. (*Pra*)*pautreṇa* would be in keeping with the context, but what is visible of the letters can hardly be reconciled with that reading. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *śi* followed by an *akshara* that probably is a *va* of the same shape as in *devaḥ* in l. 10 and *saṁvartayatāṁ* in l. 12, but it may be *ma*. (4) The first *akshara* is clearly *sha* and to the right of it below the line there is a distinct *pu*, so that at first sight one might read *shpu*. However, there seems to be no connecting line between *sha* and *pu*,

[1] G-32, Add. 1252 (from the village of Māṭ), 1519, 1566 (from Pāli Kherā), 1567, 2122. Two of them are figured in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate IV; cf. p. 23; 92.

[2] This report is not accessible to me.

and I therefore consider it more probable that *pu* was at first omitted by mistake and afterwards inserted below the line. As the second *akshara* certainly had a subscript *ra* and the third *akshara* is *ṇa*, the reading *shaputreṇa* naturally suggests itself, and although the upper portion of the second *akshara* is very indistinct, the reading would not seem to be impossible. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *ka* with the ordinary *o*-sign at the top and another very distinct horizontal line to the left. The next *akshara* is *śa*. From the reverse of the inscription it appears that of the two strokes visible at the top of the letter the one to the left is accidental, whereas the stroke on the right seems to be the *i*-sign. Perhaps the two *aksharas* are to be read *Kauśi* and the word to be restored as *Kauśikīputreṇa*. (5) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (6) The missing portion of the compound *mahāsthāna* . . . . can hardly be restored with any certainty. At the end of the line I would supply *śai*. Other possibilities are discussed below. (7) Chanda restores *vedikāḥ* (which seems to be a misprint for *vedikā*) *prati*, but the additional *cha* is indispensable. (8) The *o*-sign of *to* is distinct, but *to* must be a mistake for either *te* or *tāni*. (9) Chanda wrongly restores *bhavatu* instead of *bhagavān*. (10) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (11) Something like *aiśvaryaṁ* or *āyurbalaṁ* is to be supplied at the end of the line. (12) Chanda read at first *saṁvartayataṁ* and afterwards *saṁvart[e]yātaṁ*. The third *akshara* is undoubtedly *rta*, not *rte*, the last *akshara* is *tāṁ*, and the reverse of the impression shows clearly that the supposed *ā*-sign of *ya* is only a flaw in the stone.

TRANSLATION.

. . by Vasu, a gateway of stone (?) and the railing was erected at the....of the great temple of *bhagavat* Vāsudeva. May *bhagavat* Vāsudeva, being pleased, promote (*the dominion* or *the life and strength*) of *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

REMARKS.

Owing to the extreme uncertainty of the reading, the first five lines of the inscription cannot be translated. As stated above, from the few letters legible in the first two lines it becomes probable that the inscription was dated in the reign of *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa, and this is borne out not only by palæography, but also by the benediction pronounced on the *mahākshatrapa* in the conclusion. The genealogy of the donor is hopelessly fragmentary. Not a single name can be relied upon, and it is not even quite sure whether the donor's own name was simply Vasu or a compound name ending in *-vasu*. Only so much seems to be certain that he was not a foreigner, but a Hindu.

The gift consisted of a gateway (*toraṇa*) and a railing (*vedikā*)[1] and perhaps a third object the name of which ended in *-laṁ*. Chanda restored *laṁ* as *chatuḥśālaṁ* which is highly improbable as this term never occurs in inscriptions of this time. Possibly *laṁ* is the rest of *devakulaṁ* used here in the sense of a small shrine as in the Jaina inscription No. 78, or, more probably, *laṁ* is to be restored as *śailaṁ*. If the language of the record were quite correct Sanskrit, the predicate would be either *pratishṭhāpitāni* or *pratishṭhāpite*. The form actually found in l. 9, (*prati*)*shṭhāpito*, is wrong in any case and therefore of no account for the restoration of the subject of the sentence.

The name of the place where the *toraṇa* and the *vedikā* are said to have been erected, is mutilated and cannot be restored, especially because it is doubtful whether one or three syllables are lost after *mahāsthāna*. But whatever the missing syllables may have been, I cannot follow Chanda in taking the term 'the great place of *bhagavat* Vāsudeva' as meaning a spot that was believed to have been either the birthplace of Kṛishṇa or the scene of some notable event in his early career.

[1] Chanda translates *vedikā* by 'a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard', but the meaning 'railing' is absolutely certain.

Chanda himself has pointed out that in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 *bhagavato nāgendrasya Dadhikarṇṇasya stāne* means 'in the temple of the holy lord of the serpents Dadhikarṇa', and I see no reason why *mahāsthāna* should not simply denote a large temple or sanctuary also in the present inscription.

As the pillar, perhaps hundreds of years afterwards, was taken away from the large temple of Vāsudeva to be turned into the door-jamb of another building and ultimately to be thrown away into a well, all that can be possibly asserted with regard to the place of that temple is that it stood in Mathurā or somewhere in the environs of the City. The inscription moreover shows that that temple was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa by a person, who although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official in the service of the *mahākshatrapa*[1], carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, since in the benediction the benefit of the donation is attributed to Śoḍāsa alone. The facts that we can thus ascertain with regard to the temple of Vāsudeva agree in several respects with what we can infer from the Mōrā well inscription about the Bhāgavata sanctuary at that place. There also a temple (*devagṛiha*) is said to have been adorned with the images of the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis during the reign of Śoḍāsa. If my suggestion that in line 8 of the present inscription *laṁ* is to be restored as *śailaṁ* should prove correct, this also would be a point of agreement as in the Mōrā inscription also the temple and the images are expressly stated to be of stone (*śaila*). Moreover, as no trace of a stone building has been found at Mōrā, it appears that the temple was intentionally pulled down at some time and the materials carried away and probably used for some other purposes. Of course, these coincidences are no conclusive evidence, but considering everything I think it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā.

No. 28.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF (THE REIGN OF) KANISHKA: THE YEAR 2.

BY KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a big standing figure of a Bōdhisattva, which was recovered from the ruins of **Kosam** (ancient Kauśāmbī). The image is now kept in the Municipal Museum at Allahābād. In 1934, at the time of a visit to the said museum, I came across the image and deciphered the important portions of the inscription. As no photograph or estampage was available at that time, the inscription was first noticed by me in an issue of the Calcutta daily paper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and subsequently a tentative reading with translation and notes was published in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1934, without any facsimile. It has, however, now been possible for me to make out the full text of the epigraph with the help of a good photograph and a set of estampages, very kindly supplied by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, which he received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of only two lines of writing. The size of the letters varies between ⅝" and 1⅛". The **characters** are Brāhmī resembling those of the Sārnāth and the Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh image inscriptions of the time of Kaṇishka. The type may be termed "*early Kushaṇa*" after Dr. Vogel, who used this expression in reference to the characters of the Sārnāth inscription of the 3rd year of Kaṇishka.[2] It forms a transition between the script of the 'Northern Kshatrapa'

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[1] According to the inscription No. 82 the treasurer of Śoḍāsa also was a Brāhmaṇa.

[2] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 175.

epigraphs[1] **and that of the later** Kushāṇas.[2] The middle stroke of *ya* in *pra[tishṭhā]payati* is **almost equal in length** with the side ones. The subscript *ya* is used here in its full form (*e.g.* in ***rājasya***). **In later** Kushāṇa inscriptions, this letter, when used in a conjunct is indicated by a **cursive form or a** loop attached to the left hand side of the central line. The signs for medial *ā* in ***rājasya***, ***Buddhamitrā*** and *trepiṭikō*, *e* in *cha(ṁ)kame* and *o* in *-sattvo* are used by horizontal **strokes as in the** records of earlier period, but *e* in *trepiṭikā* and *o* in *bhagavato* show a tendency **towards the slanting** forms to be found in later Kushāṇa inscriptions.

The stone is much mutilated and although some letters have disappeared, it is not difficult **to fill up the lacunæ** by means of the clue supplied by associated letters. The first letter *ma* of **the word** ***mahārājasya*** in line 1, and the last syllable *ti* of *prati* in the same line have entirely been **obliterated** ; **a portion** of the conjunct letter *shṭhā* of *pratishṭhāpayati* (in lines 1-2) has also been **effaced.**

The epigraph is dated in the **second year of Mahārāja Kaṇishka, the second** (**month**) **of Hēmanta (winter), the eighth day,** and its purpose is the erection of a *Bōdhisattva* statue **by the nun, Buddhamitrā,** well versed in the *Tripiṭaka*, at the promenade of the Lord Buddha. **So far the records** of the 3rd year of Kaṇishka found at Sārnāth[3] were regarded as the earliest **epigraphic** evidence of his reign, but now we find that the present one is the earliest Brāhmī inscription of Kaṇishka, so far discovered.

The language of the inscription is a form of mixed dialect as found generally in the Brāhmī **inscriptions** of the Kushāṇa period. The genitive case-ending in *[Ma]hārājasya* is a regular Sanskrit termination, but *sa* in *Kaṇishkasa* and *Buddhasa* is a Prākrit case-ending.

As I have stated above, the donor of the image is the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā. We come **across the same name** among the donors of the Sārnāth image of the 3rd year of Kaṇishka.[4] This **name again** occurs on an inscribed Bōdhisattva image from Mathurā (now preserved in the Lucknow **Museum**) of the year 33 of King Huvishka.[5] In all these places she is mentioned as well versed in the *Tripiṭaka*, while in the Sārnāth and the Mathurā inscriptions, we are further told that she **was a female** pupil of the monk Bala, who knew the *Tripiṭaka*. It may be reasonably concluded **here that** Buddhamitrā of all the records mentioned above, is one and the same person. That **she was a very** well-known lady appears from the fact that the nun Dhanavatī, donor of a Bōdhisattva **image at Mathurā**, introduces herself as the sister's daughter of the *Trepiṭikā* Buddhamitrā.[6]

The style of the image bearing this inscription is that of the Mathurā school as in the case of **the two** other Bōdhisattva images found at Sārnāth[7] and Śrāvastī.[8] The material used in each **case is the red** Agra sand stone. More than three decades ago, Dr. Vogel, while explaining the **nature of art** of the Sārnāth image remarked : " Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bōdhisattva **type**, specimens of which found thier way to other famous centres of Buddhism."[9] This **statement of his** finds corroboration also in the present sculpture.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 199, plate facing page 200, No. 2.

[2] The script used in the inscription of the 5th year of Kaṇishka's reign is similar to that of the later Kushāṇa records. See above, Vol. I, p. 381, No. 1.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 173-179.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 176 ; D. R. Sahni, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, pp. 35-36.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 181f. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII (1904), pp. 39f.

[6] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

[7] D. R. Sahni, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, No. B(*a*)i., plate VII.

[8] Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 181.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

The image is badly damaged. Its head and right arm are broken and lost. The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. The folds of the dress are quite prominent. A double girdle tied round the loins keeps in the lower garment which reaches beneath the knees. Five lotus buds tied together, with a full-bloomed flower at the top, are found between the legs. There is another full-bloomed lotus by the side of the left leg of the image.[1] The difference of this sculpture with the one found at Sārnāth is that we find lotuses between the two legs in the former case, while in the latter the same place has been occupied by a lion.

TEXT.

1 [Ma]h[ā]rājasya Kaṇ[i]shkasa saṁva[tsa]r[e] 2 h[e] 2 di 8 Bodhisatvo(ttvaṁ) pra[ti]-

2 [shṭhā]payati bhikhuṇi Buddhamitrā trepiṭ[i]kā bhagavato Buddhasa cha[ṁ]kame[2]

TRANSLATION.

In the year 2, of *Mahārāja* Kanishka, on the 8th day of the 2nd (month) of Hāmanta, (Buddhist) nun Buddhamitrā, who is well versed in the Tripiṭaka, sets up (*this image of*) Bōdhisattva at the promenade of the Lord Buddha.

No. 29.—DOHAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHAMUDA (BEGARHA): V. S. 1545, SAKA 1410.

BY H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LOND.).

This inscription is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is now published for the first time from the stone itself as well as with the help of ink-impressions made available by the courtesy of the Trustees of the said Museum. The editor has also to thank Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Archæological Section, and Mr. R. K. Acharya, for assisting in deciphering a few passages of the inscription. The stone on which it is inscribed measures 3′ 3″ by 1′ 7″ and is reported to have come from Dohad, the chief town of the Sub-Division Dohad in the District of the Pānch Mahāls, Bombay Presidency, 77 miles north-east of Baroda. Besides the two vertical cracks across the stone, it is chipped off at several other places, which has made the deciphering difficult. The difficulty is enhanced by the application of vermilion or some other pigment on the stone. The record contains 22 lines of writing, a few letters of the first line and many of the last two lines being completely effaced. The average size of the letters is ½″.

The inscription is dated in **Vikrama 1545, Śaka 1410, Vaiśākha śudi 13** (and perhaps also in the Hijra era which might have been mentioned in the first half of line 21, which including the name of the day is now completely chipped off). This corresponds to Thursday, April 24, A.D. 1488 (and to H. 893 Jamāda'l awwal).[3] With regard to the date it is to be noted that the inscription records Śaka as well as Vikrama era and that this is a feature not only of all the Sanskrit

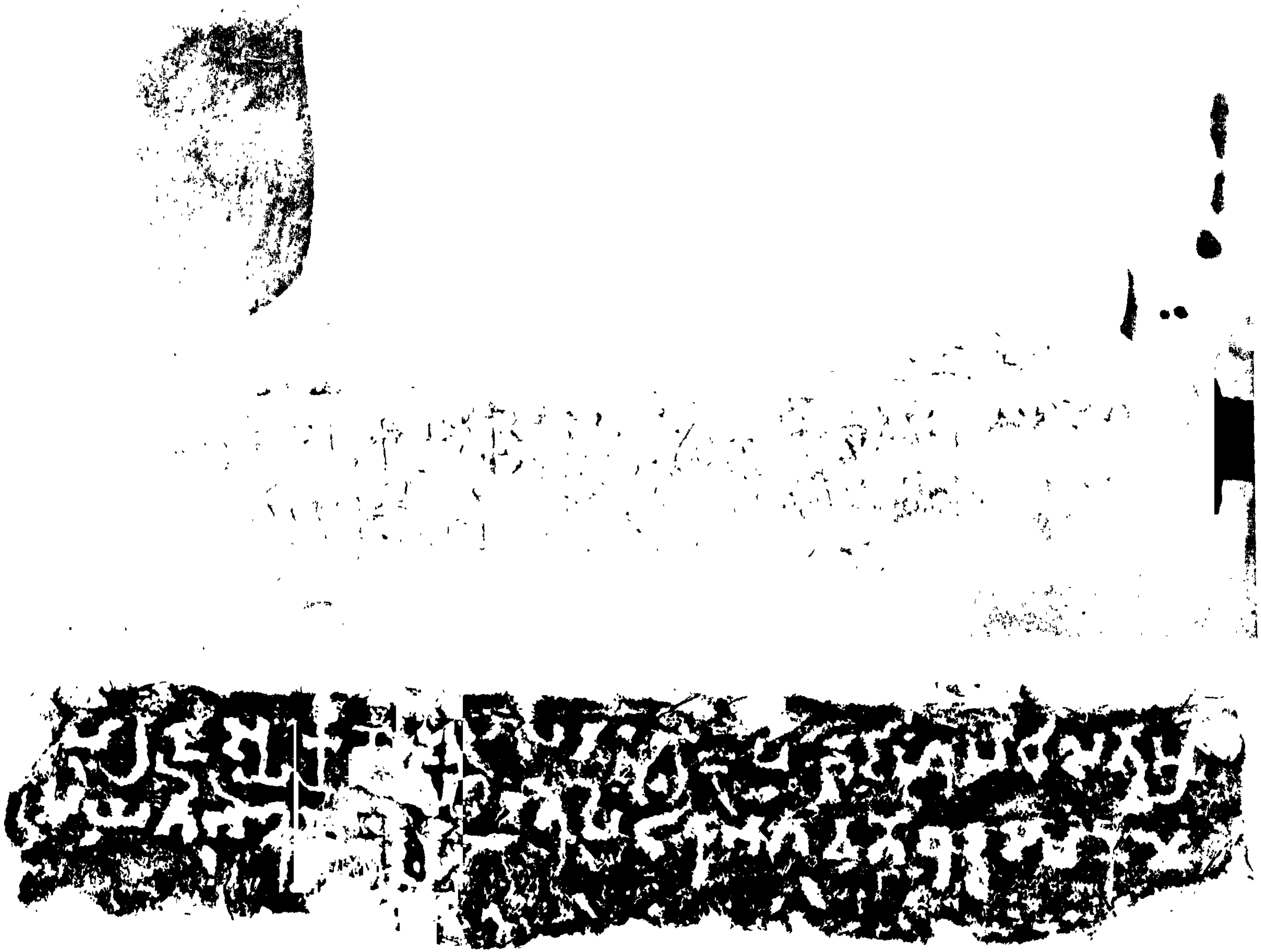
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[1] Kern Institute, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, Vol. IX (1934), pl. II(*c*).

[2] Mr. A. Ghosh entertained some doubt about my reading of the year 2, and suggested a symbol for 20, before 2 (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 575-76); but from the photograph and the estampage, it is perfectly clear that his assumption is not correct. The writing immediately preceding the figure 2 is not a symbol for 20, but the last portion of the word *saṁva*[*tsa*]*r*[*e*]. Again the last word of the inscription is *cha*[*ṁ*]*kame* and not *pukame* as read by Mr. Ghosh. In the estampage and the photograph *cha* is quite clear.

[3] Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 178.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA: THE YEAR 2.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTTI.
REG. No. 1898 E'38–275.

(From an impression).
SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

inscriptions[1] of Mahmūd's time found in Gujarāt but also of some other inscriptions of Northern India ;[2] whereas inscriptions found in Kāthiāwār,[3] during this period, use only the Vikrama era.[4]

The **script** is Dēvanāgarī and calls for no remarks.

With regard to **orthography** also there is nothing particular to note, excepting the frequent use of *anusvāra* instead of final *m* and the doubling of consonants after *r* in some cases, for example, *dharmma* (ll. 4 and 18) and *kīrtti* (l. 8).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the introductory invocation and the portion after the stanza 26 the entire composition is in verse.

Unfortunately as the last three lines are badly defaced it is not possible to say with certainty whether the inscription belongs to the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or whether it is his own, that is, ordered to be inscribed by Mahmūd himself to record his deeds. From the sense that can be gathered from the last lines it appears that the inscription was engraved after the building of the fort of **Dadhipadra** (Dohad) by **Imādalamulaka**[5] (*i.e.*, Imād-ul-mulk), the chief minister of Mahmūd Begarhā, and it incidentally gives the genealogy and the deeds of the Gujarāt Sulṭāns and particularly those of Mahmūd. It is, however, the first inscription[6] of the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or of his predecessors that gives some details of the deeds, *viz.*, of the wars won and buildings constructed by Mahmūd and his predecessors.

The inscription opens with an invocation to a goddess, who is said to be residing in Kashmīr,[7] after which it mentions one **Mudāphara Pātasāha,** who seems to be no other than Muzaffar I of Gujarāt.

The inscription then gives the following **genealogy** of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt : (1) **Shāh Mudāphara** ; (2) his son, **Mahammada** ; (3) in his family, **Shāh Ahammada** ; (4) his son, **Shāh Mahammada** ; (5) in his family, **Shāh Mahamūda.**

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[1] Bāi Harīr's Ins., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 368 and above, Vol. IV, pp. 298ff ; Adalja Vāv Ins., *Revised List Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, p. 300.

[2] See Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 723 and 1121 ; 736 and 1126 ; 737 and 1127 ; 748 and 1128 ; 757 and 1129 ; 773 and 1130 ; 873 and 1136 ; 901 and 1138 ; 967 and 1146.

[3] See *Revised List, etc.*, pp. 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248-49, 251, 254, 257, 263.

[4] This implies that the catholicity, as regards the use of the era, which was noticed in Kāthiāwār at the end of the 13th century had disappeared in the subsequent period.

[5] For details see below.

[6] Other inscriptions published so far are :—Arabic Inscriptions : *Revised List, Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, pp. 303, 306-07 ; one is reported in *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 146 ; it is said to give the names of the Sultāns of Gujarāt who were associated with the completion of the town of Dohad ; two from the Halol gate, Chāmpaner, are published in *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4. Sanskrit Inscriptions : from Adalja, *Rev. List*, p. 310 ; Bāi Harīr's Inscription, *Rev. List*, p. 300 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 368 and above, Vol. IV, p. 298. Of all the inscriptions—either of the Muslim rulers themselves or of Hindu kings referring to their Muslim overlords—till about A.D. 1500, only one record comes very near to the present one, *viz.*, the Inscription of Sādhāraṇa of V. S. 1373 found at Lāḍṇū in the Jodhpur State. It is in Sanskrit, in verse and though it emanates from a petty chief in Rājputāna it incidentally gives the genealogy of the Muslim emperors of Delhi, from Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī to Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. For details see above, Vol. XII, pp. 17-27.

[7] Other inscriptions of Mahmūd's time do not lend us much help in the attempt to identify this goddess. She seems to be Brāhmī *alias* Sarasvatī, for a Jain writer, Chandraprabhasūri (A. D. 1278) of Gujarāt, uses identical expression *dēvīṁ Kāśmīravāsinīṁ* in the section on Hēmachandra (Hēmachandrasūriprabandha), verses 39-46, of his work *Prabhāvaka-charita* (Ed. Hirananda Sharma, Bombay, 1909) for telling us that Hēmachandra worshipped the goddless Brāhmī of Kāśmīra and became a *Siddhasārasvata*. [The reference may be to the goddess Durgā—Sarasvatī probably of the Śāradā shrine of Kashmīr which was well known in India even in the 15th and 16th centuries. See Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of Kashmīr*, Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.—Ed.]

This differs from the genealogy given by the Muslim historians) and also accepted by the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*[1] in some respects) as considered below.

Firishta[2] and the authors of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*,[3] the *Mirāt-Ahmadī*,[4] and of the *Arabic History of Gujarāt*[5] give the following list :—

(1) Muzafar Shāh (Muẓaffar I); (2) Ahmad Shāh (Aḥmad); (3) his son, Muhammad Shāh (Muḥammad); (4) his son, Kutub-ud-din (Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh); (5) Daud (Dā'ūd) and (6) Mahmūd (Maḥmūd I), second son of Muḥammad Shāh.

Thus our inscription leaves out Nos. (4) and (5), *viz.*, Kutub-ud-din, son[6] of Muhammad Shāh, and Daud, a brother[6] of the latter (No. 3) and an uncle of the former (No. 4). But it does take note of Mahammada (called by the Muslim historians "Muhammada")—a name which was bestowed upon Tātār Khān by his father Zafar Khān before the latter proceeded to Delhi.[7] This event, however, took place when Zafar Khān was still a governor under the Delhi emperors and not an independent ruler of Gujarāt. Our inscription seems to refer to Mahammada in that capacity when it calls him *Mahīpati*, though it is possible that this title merely recalls the short period of Mahammada's sovereignty referred to above. The latter inference is all the more probable because the inscription besides giving him the epithet *Mahīpati* does not credit him with any conquests.

But it is not in our inscription alone that the names Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted. They are not found also in two Arabic inscriptions—one[8] of Mahmūd himself and the other[9] from Bāi Harīr's well. They are missing also in the legends on the silver coins of Mahmūd.[10] Moreover, these inscriptions refer to Muhammad (Tātār Khān), son of Muzaffar Shāh, as Muhammad Shāh, implying thereby that he was one of the independent Sulṭāns of Gujarāt.

Two other points in the genealogy of the present record are worth noting. (1) Though Ahammada (No. 3) and Mahamūda (No. 5) were the sons of Nos. 2 and 4 respectively, they are not explicitly called so as Nos. 2 and 4 are called the sons of Nos. 1 and 3 respectively. They are merely introduced with the words "in the family were born...". (2) The names of Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted from the list. The omission of Daud may be understood because his reign was very brief; moreover, he was not the direct descendant. But Kutub-ud-din was the eldest son of Mahammada and had a glorious, though brief, reign of about 7 years,[11] and the reason[12] for his omission in the epigraphs cannot be easily explained. It is possible that

[1] Vol. III, pp. 295 ff. and p. 711.

[2] *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power* (Tr. from the Persian by Briggs), Vol. IV, pp. 1 and 9; though on pp. 8-9 Firishta does cite a historian according to whom Muzaffar Shāh himself, before proceeding to Delhi, conferred upon his son the title 'Gheias-ood-Dowla-ood-Deen Mohamed Shah'.

[3] Tr. by Faridi, p. 7; he also says that Zafar Khān had invested Tātār Khān with the title of Nāsirudin Muhammad Shāh. But this was before Zafar Khān declared his independence.

[4] Tr. by Bird, pp. 196, 197, 201-02.

[5] *Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālih* (ed. Ross), pp. 1, 3, 14, 909 (see Vol. III, Index).

[6] See the authorities cited in notes above.

[7] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (according to Firishta, Tātār Khān imprisoned his father and assumed the title of Mohammed Shāh); Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 904 gives his name as Muhammad Khān, and Tātār Khān as his title.

[8] *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 367.

[10] See *Catalogue of the Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Sultans of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

[11] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 301-303; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-44; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 14,200, 451.

[12] It cannot be that he died in suspicious circumstances, because his father Muhammad also died in similar circumstances (Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36), though the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 301) says that he died of severe illness.

the inclusion of Muhammad I and the omission of Kutub-ud-din and Daud in all the epigraphs —Sanskrit and Arabic—of Mahmūd's reign may be with a certain motive which we do not know. But it is difficult to say that all of them derived their information from the same source which was not as exhaustive as those of the historians we know of, because Daud and Kutub-ud-din were the immediate predecessors of Mahmūd and thus not so far removed from him that the family records would forget them. On the contrary the family records are likely to possess much more information about them than outsiders should—and that perhaps accounts for the divergent genealogies of the epigraphs and the historians.

Further historical information we can gather from this record is that Muzaffar Shāh is called *Mudāphara* and *Nṛipaprabhu*. This latter epithet perhaps implies the establishment of the independent kingdom of Gujarāt in A.D. 1396 acquired by that Sulṭān by severing his allegiance to the Delhi emperors.[1] The capital of this kingdom was Pattana, the ancient Aṇahilapattana of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt (c. 960-1300 A.D.). His previous conquest over Farhat-ul-Mulk, the disobedient governor of Gujarāt and other kings of the neighbouring provinces,[2] while still a governor under the Delhi Emperor Muhammad Shāh seems to be referred to by the words *nṛipakulam=akhilaṁ yō vijity=ādhitasthau.*

Mudāphara's son **Mahammada** is merely called a *Mahīpati*. In absence of any other details this epithet does not mean much, and in reality Mahammada did not succeed his father, nor many exploits are credited to him by historians, hence the unembellished epithet seems to be justified.

After **Mahammada** comes **Ahammada.** He is said to be born to adorn the earth, and one who was omniscient (and knew) the essence of all religions, worldly things and thoughts. Further, not only did he afflict by his prowess and conquer the lord of **Mālava** but took his land[3] as well as wealth. History bears out, to some extent, the truth of these words of praise for Ahmad. As to the other praises, Ahmad may well be called an " ornament of the earth " because he was one of the first great Sulṭāns of Gujarāt and consolidated his dominions and founded the city of Ahmadābād, though, strange to say, there is no reference to this city among his achievements, but it is perhaps referred to only incidentally in verse 20.

Ahammada was really an eyesore to the King of Mālavas, who, we know from the Muslim historians, was Hūshang Shāh. Twice, in 1411 and 1418, he repulsed the invasions of Hūshang on Gujarāt.[4] Not content with this he himself invaded Mālwā in 1419,[5] but was only successful in defeating and compelling Hūshang to take refuge in the fort of Māndū. Once again[6] he invaded Mālwā in 1422 when Hūshang had gone to raid Orissa, but did not succeed in capturing Māndū. The result of these invasions was not very fruitful. Ahmad could only plunder and devastate the outlying territory of Mālwā, but not annex it to that of Gujarāt. Epigraphical reference to the seizure of the country of Mālava,[7] therefore remains unconfirmed by other historical sources.

[1] For details see *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 294-95.

[2] For details see *ibid.*, and Briggs, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 4-10 and Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7 ; 9-10 ; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[3] See below n. 7.

[4] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 16, 18 ; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15 ; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-7.

[5] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22 ; Faridi. *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

[6] Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25 ; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

[7] Expressed by *jagrāha tad-dēśa-dhanaṁ cha paśchāt* ; but if this expression is dissolved as *tad-dēśasya dhanaṁ* and not as a *Dvandva* compound : *tad-dēśaṁ cha dhanaṁ cha*, then it merely means that Ahammada seized the wealth of the country, *i.e.*, plundered the country. For details see Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 26, 30 ; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 17, 19, 21 ; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 188 ; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99. [See p. 223, n. 3.—Ed.]

It is remarkable that the inscription is silent about some of the other wars[1] of Ahmad, particularly with those of the Chūḍāsamā Chief of Girnār, King Nasir of Khāndesh, Rājā of Chāmpāner[2] whom he made a vassal in 1422, and the Bahmanī king, Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad of the Deccan.

About Ahammada's son, Mahammada, the inscription has not much to say and rightly so. For though he is credited with victories[3] over Rājā Bīr of Īdar, Rāṇā Kumbha of Mewār, and Rājā Gaṅgādās[4] of Chāmpāner, some Muhammadan historians describe him as a coward who turned his back when attacked by Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwā and as a result of his cowardice was poisoned and killed by his wife[5] at the instigation of some officers. Mahammada's one virtue was that he was exceedingly generous,[6] for which he was called "Karīm"[7] by the Muslims.

Immediately after Mahammada, we are introduced to Mahamūda, omitting, as mentioned above, his two immediate predecessors. Mahamūda is popularly known as Mahmūd Begarhā[8] (Gujarātī *Bēgaḍō*). The inscription says that he was noble[8] in warfare and further speaks something of Gyāsaddīna, and it is not clear whether it refers to Mahamūda or to some one in his family. If it does refer to Mahamūda then it is surprising to find this title, meaning "the Aid of the Faith" (Ghiyās-ud-dīn), given to Mahmūd, because the title given to him in his coins[9] and inscriptions[10] is usually Nasir-ud-duniyā Wa-ud-din meaning "Defender of the Faith and the World," whereas Muhammad II, son of Ahmad I, alone is called by the epithet "Ghiyās-ud-dīn" in his coin legends.[11]

Unfortunately there are some breaches in the lines dealing with his wars, which make it difficult to identify them in all cases. Verse 8 says something about Mahmūd's relation with the 'Lord of the South' and the Chief of Damana (?) and his subjugation of the earth (?) till the Raivata. The first reference seems to be the help that Mahmūd gave to Nizām Shāh, the King of the Deccan against the two attacks of Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwā in 1462 and 1463.[12] The second reference appears to relate to the submission of the King of Pārdi, near Daman, to Mahmūd in 1464.[13]

The mention of Raivata, that is, Mt. Girnar at Junāgarh, has reference, perhaps, to the first invasion of that state by Mahmūd in 1466, when its chief Rao Māṇḍalik was compelled to pay tribute and to discontinue even the insignia of royalty.[14] The next verse says that Mahmūd conquered that impregnable fort (?) of Junāgarh (Jīrṇa) and to commemorate this victory, the mountain Raivata itself was made a pillar of victory. This implies the final conquest of the Junā-

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[1] See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99.

[2] See below, p. 217, n. 4.

[3] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 300-01; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 35; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

[4] See below, p. 217, n. 4.

[5] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 26 attributes this action to one Sayad.

[6] In *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, p. 23, it is said that he earned for himself the name of "Gold Giver".

[7] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36, "Kurreem or the Merciful". Cf. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 196, "Zir-Baksh".

[8] See below, p. 217 and Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 69-70.

[9] *Catalogue, Sultāns of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

[10] *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, pp. 3-5; *Rev. List*, p. 253.

[11] *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

[12] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-05; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 206 mentions one encounter (1461-2) only; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 305; not mentioned in Bird, *ibid.*; Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 51 does not mention Daman but refers to a march between Gujarāt and Koṅkaṇ in 1465; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 mentions a march against the Barodar mountains and the conquest of a rock fortress; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 18, mentions the conquest of Bardu, "on hill-top overlooking Daman".

[14] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 305; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 52, places the first invasion in 1469; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54 and Bird, *op. cit.*, place it in about 1467; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

garh fort, and the annexation of Sorath to Gujarāt, in December 1470.[1] Muslim historians further tell us that the King of Girnār was compelled to surrender. He then accepted Islam, and was given the title of Khān Jahān. At the foot of the hill Mahmūd founded the city of Mustafābād, which became one of his capitals and also a favourite residence.[2]

Verses 10-12 tell us that Mahmūd then took **Champaka(padra** ?), *i.e.*, modern Chāmpāner, conquered the fort of **Pāvaka,**[3] *i.e.*, Pāvāgarh, captured its chief alive and ruled in that city. Here we have an allusion to the principal events in the final conquest of Chāmpāner and its hill fortress Pāvāgarh by Mahmūd. Chāmpāner held a strategic position between Mālwā and Gujarāt. Its rulers were Rājputs of the Chauhān clan,[3] and the only Hindu principality near the Gujarāt capital. So whenever the King of Mālwā wanted to attack Gujarāt he first instigated the Chief of Chāmpāner, or when the latter felt aggrieved he himself harassed the Gujarāt Sulṭāns by plundering their territory. Skirmishes and even serious battles had often taken place in the past between these two neighbours, but none of the Sulṭāns before Mahmūd could conquer Pāvāgarh and subdue its chiefs for long.

Mahmūd was aware of the rebellious deeds of the Chāmpāner chief, who was perhaps Jayasiṁha,[4] but he did not get a suitable opportunity to attack that kingdom. He got this in 1482 when one of his governors, Malik Sūdha, in charge of the country neighbouring Chāmpāner was killed by Patāī, the Rājā of that kingdom. Enraged by this action he invaded Chāmpāner, occupied it and built a mosque there. Patāī thereafter took shelter in Pāvāgarh, to which Mahmūd laid siege. This lasted for 21 months and at the end of which the fort was stormed by a strategy. Betrayed by this the Rājputs who were already reduced to their last straits, performed *jauhar* burning alive the women (to this a reference seems to have been made by the inscription), and marched forth to give an open battle to the Muslims. It is said that all of them were slain, but Rājā Patāī and a minister named Dungarsi were captured alive. Mahmūd was pleased with their courage and brave defence and after they were cured of their injuries in war, they were asked to embrace Islam. On their refusal to do so Mahmūd imprisoned them, and gave them time to think over his offer. But when they persisted in their resolve not to become Muslims,

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 305-06; p. 55; p. 57 and p. 209 (in 1472) respectively.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 306-07; p. 56, p. 57, p. 209 and pp. 20, 25, 26 respectively.

[3] According to an inscription of Jayasiṁha V. S. 1525, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2. See also Rawlinson, *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, p. 357; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 304; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66. They are now represented by the rulers of the Chhota Udepur and Devgaḍ Baria States.

[4] He was ruling at Pāvakadurga (according to the inscription cited in the note above) in V. S. 1525 and was perhaps still the ruler of the place when Mahmūd attacked it. In fact verse 21 of our inscription does speak of one Jayadēva, and, I believe, these two are identical kings. For their names tally very closely with 'Jeysingh' who according to the authors of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* (as cited by Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212) and *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 59) was the King of Chāmpāner whom Mahmūd defeated. Moreover, the name of his father and forefathers as mentioned in the inscription and by the Muslim historians also tally. Thus:

Inscription of Jayasiṁha of V. S. 1525.	Muslim Historians.
Vīradhavala	= Virsingh (*Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*); perhaps contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.
Triṁbakabhūpa	= Trimbakdās (*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, pp. 15-17); also contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.
Gaṅgarājēśvara	= Gaṅgadās (*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, pp. 24 and 30); contemporary of Kutb-ud-dīn.

Other chroniclers (for instance, Firishta, Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66) call him 'Beny Ray'; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67, also calls him 'Rāwāl Patāi'; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212, calls him 'Rawal Tuppai'; Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat* (1886), p. 211, "Rai Patāi". From this it appears that the chiefs of Chāmpāner were known as Rāya, as the kings of other Chāhamāna or Chauhān families were called. 'Patāi' seems to be the contraction, as Watson has rightly said *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2), of the word 'Pāwāpati' or the lord of Pāwā.

they were executed at the end of five months.[1] And after that Mahmūd founded the city of Muhammadābād and a fort around it called Jahān panāh.

The purport of verses 13-15 seems to be that Imādala was appointed to govern (?) (this newly acquired) province.

The next few verses continue to speak of **Malika Imādala**, his conquest of **Pallidēśa** and the construction of a fortress there. A reference to the same fort, built by the orders of Imādala as well as to the excavation of (two) tanks seems to be contained in verse 19. This Pallidēśa seems to be, as shown below,[2] some part of the Godhrā District and not the famous district of this name in Rājputāna.

Verse 20 speaks of a well, apparently caused to be dug by Imādala, at **Ahammadapura,** which probably refers to Ahmadābād and not to Ahmadnagar.[3]

Verse 21 again tells us that **Imādala** constructed an excellent fort and an artificial lake [at Champakapura (Chāmpāner) ?] with the consent of (?) Mahamūda Shāh. The former perhaps refers to the outer wall and special fortification that Mahmūd ordered to be built round Chāmpāner.[4]

Verses 22 and 25 mention the lord of **Bāgūla,** called **Jayadēva** in v. 22, and the complete destruction of his forces by Imādala. Verse 23 mentions the conquest of **Rāyadurga** or 'the fort of the Rāya (king),' probably belonging to the same ruler. Verse 24, however, again speaks of the destruction and capture of a fort. Now, it is not quite clear whether all these verses refer to the same conquest of the Pāvāgarh Chief, whose name was Jayadēva and who is to be identified with the Jayasimhadēva of the Pāvāgarh inscription, or Jayadēva, the lord of Bāgūla, was a person different from the Chief of Pāvāgarh. The only point in favour of accepting the first suggestion is the use of the word *digvijaya* in v. 23. The victory over Pāvāgarh may have been considered a *digvijaya* (world-conquest), as it was not accomplished so far by any of the Gujarāt Sultāns; and it was, further, the last Hindu kingdom which had remained independent so far. It cannot be argued that the conquest of Champakapura has once been referred to, and a further detailed reference is not expected as we find the mention of Pāvaka again in v. 25. This question, however, cannot be satisfactorily decided till Bāgūla remains unidentified. It may have been another name of the tract over which the Chāmpāner Chief ruled possibly due to a confusion with the name of the adjacent territory known as Vāgaḍa or it may be the same as Bāglān, which was a petty Rājput State between Gujarāt and the Deccan.[5] There is, however, no reference to a victory over 'Bāgūla' in Muslim chronicles.

Verse 26 which is only partly legible, speaks of the beautiful fort at **Dadhipadra,** modern Dohad, probably built by **Imādala Mulaka** in **Śaka** 1401 and **Vikrama** 1545. Line 21, however, seems to refer to its repair by **Imādala Malika** on a particular day, the details of which are obliterated.

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[1] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 309-10; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 66-70; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31.

[2] For details see p. 221 below.

[3] For details see p. 219 below.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 247 and Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Bayley, citing *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, *op. cit.*, p. 210. It is strange that there is no reference to this in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, which is usually followed by the author of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 612 and pl. XXV. A note in Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 212, says that "this appears to have been an upper citadel; apparently the remains of the upper fort now existing are of Muhammadan construction, and are attributed to Mahmūd Bigarha, who is said to have named the citadel Mān Mahēsh". See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 190.

[5] South and perhaps contiguous to the Pallidēśa (modern Godhrā tāluka) of the inscription. For details see pp. 220-21 below.

Verse 26 seems to give us a totally new information. None of the Muslim historians attributes the construction of or repairs to a fort at **Dadhipadra** (Dohad) to Mahmūd or to any of his friends whose deeds are described at length by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*.[1]

The inscription, it will be found, records all the important conquests of Mahmūd till about A.D. 1490, the date of the record, but omits Mahmūd's expeditions to Sind and Jagat (Dwārkā) in A.D. 1472 and 1473 respectively.[2]

The inscription, in lines 11, 13, 15-17, 20 and 21, refers to the deeds of a person designated as (1) **Imādala**, (2) **Imādala Malika**, (3) "**Vīra**" **Imādala**, (4) **Imādala Mulaka** and (5) **Imādala Malika** respectively.

The context in which the first is mentioned is not clear. He seems to have been entrusted with the 'protection of a country', probably the newly acquired country of Chāmpāner. The second, Malika Imādala, conquered Pallīdēśa and built a fort there. The third built a fort at Champakapura; whereas Imādala Mulaka, the fourth, made a gift (in connexion with the fort at Dadhipadra). The last, Malika Imādala, repaired the same (?) fort in his possession (*malikim* ?).

From the context it appears that all these deeds were performed by one and the same person, namely, Imādala Mulaka, which are described chronologically in the inscription—from the time of his appointment "to protect a country' to his repairing a fort at Dadhipadra in Śaka 1410.

This Imādala Mulaka may be identified with Imād-ul-Mulk,[3] which was a designation for the post resembling premiership. During Mahmūd's regime there were three[4] such 'Imād-ul-Mulks': (1) Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān, (2) Imād-ul-Mulk Hājī Sultāni, and (3) his son Buda. It was the first who helped Mahmūd to fight the conspiracy at the time of his accession to the throne; while Buda must be the person who assisted Mahmūd in his conquest of Chāmpāner, etc., and who built and repaired the fort of Dadhipadra (Dohad), because his father, Hājī Sultāni had died just before the invasion of Chāmpāner.[5]

The inscription refers to the following places: **Ahammadapura, Champaka(padra), Champakapura, Dadhipadra**; (the lords of) **Gurjara, Mālavaka, Damana** and **Bāgūla**; the forts of **Pāvaka** and **Jīrṇa** (?); and the mountain **Raivataka.**

The context in which **Ahammadapura** is mentioned is not clear, nevertheless it probably refers to the city of Ahmadābād, founded by Ahmad Shāh on the site of the old city of Asāwal,[6] and not to Ahmadnagar, (also built by him[7]), because Mahmūd is not credited with the construction of any building at Ahmadnagar, while at the former city he erected a number of splendid edifices[8] and surrounded it with a wall and bastions just after the conquest of Chāmpāner.[9]

Champaka(padra) or **Champakapura** is the modern Chāmpāner, the ancient splendour of which is vividly described by historians.[10] There are still some ruins of the buildings constructed

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[1] See Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-88; Bayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 ff. This historian, however, mentions one 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malik 'Aīn who built 'Aīn pūrah, "one of the most beautiful of the suburbs of Ahmadābād". But as Dadhipadra is to be definitely identified with Dohad this information does not help us much.

[2] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 306-07.

[3] According to the kind suggestion of my friend, Mr. Gyani, of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

[4] See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 and 309.

[5] See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[7] Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[8] *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. [illegible]

[9] Cf. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 70, "at this period".

[10] Abul Fazl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, pp. 241 and 242.

by Mahmūd at Chāmpāner. Of these—the walls of the citadel, its bastions and gateways, custom house, mosques and tombs—the finest is the *Jāmi Masjid*.[1]

Dadhipadra is identified with Dohad, and literally means a village (*padra*) on the Dadhi. The latter may be identified with the river Dadhimatī, on which Dohad now stands.[2] Dadhipadra is also mentioned in the inscriptions[3] of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla found at Dohad.

Our inscription settles the question regarding the construction of the fort at Dohad, which was left vague by the Muslim historians. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, for instance, says at one place[4] that Ahmad Shāh built a fort in " the market town of Dahmod, among the mountains ;" while at another place[5] the construction of the fortifications at Dohad is credited to Muzaffar II. But it appears from the account of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Dahmod and Dohad refers to one and the same place and that the fort at Dohad was built by Ahmad I[6] while the same was repaired by Muzaffar on his way to Mālwā in about 1514.[7]

From the context in which the fort at Dadhipadra occurs in our inscription it appears that a fort was already there[8] (perhaps built by Ahmad I as shown above), but it was in ruins and was subsequently repaired[9] in the reign of Mahmūd I by Malika Imādala.

As I have mentioned before, the country of Bāgāla may be the same as Buglana mentioned by Firishta[10] or Bāglāna by Abul Fazl and others.[11] According to the former, it was a ' district contiguous to Surat '; according to the latter, it was a mountainous, well-peopled country between Surat and Nandarbar. These descriptions correspond to one of the subdivisions of the modern Nāsik District[12] known as Bāglān. Muslim historians tell us that the chiefs of this place belonged to a Rāshṭrakūṭa family, perhaps identical with that of the Rāṭhōḍs of Kanauj[13] ; and that their hereditary title was Baharji—which may be the same as Baaurah, a family name of the ruling house of Kanauj, according to Masudi.[14] They also mention that the country had seven forts, two of which, *viz.*, Mulher and Sāler, were places of unusual strength.[15]

From very early times Bāglān was a half-way house between the Deccan and the Gujarāt coast. At the end of the 13th century it had given protection to its overlord Karṇa, the last Hindu ruler of Gujarāt. Later it was always a bone of contention between the Sultāns of Gujarāt

[1] For description of this and other buildings see *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 42 and pls. LVI, LVIII, LXI and XIV ; and *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 612-13 and pl. XXV.

[2] Mythologically the town was called Dudhipuranagara after the temple of Dudhēśvara Mahādēva on the banks of the river Dadhimatī. The latter was so named in honour of the sage Dadhīchi who lived there. As shown above Dadhipadra is the most natural etymology of the name ; Dudhipuranagara seems to be a later attempt to show the antiquity of the Śiva temple at the place.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 159.

[4] Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[6] Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. " fortified a *thāna* at Dohad, which was among the hills ".

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[8] Cf. *Dadhipadrē ruchirataraṁ durggaṁ vai* in l. 19.

[9] Cf. *uddharē* in l. 21.

[10] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 19 and 30.

[11] *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin), Vol. II, p. 73 first cited in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 188 ; Vol. VII, p. 65 ; *ibid.*, p. 189.

[12] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 399.

[13] *Maāsiru-l-omarā* (*Memoirs of the Nobles*) cited in Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 122. But its other statement that the Zamindar held the ... country for fourteen hundred years is doubtful.

[14] As suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 184, note 8.

[15] Many of them exist even now ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 400 : " Most of the ridges are crowned by perpendicular ledges of rock, and the tops of many are fortified, the chief being Sāler in Baroda territory in the extreme west and Mulher about 10 miles east of Sāler."

and those of the Deccan, now owned by the former and now by the latter, and at times independent. Our inscription seems to refer to its one of such conquests by the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt (before it was subdued in about 1487 by the brothers Malik Wagi and Malik Ashraf, the governors of Daulatābād), which is not mentioned by Muslim historians.

The context in which **Pallidēśa** is mentioned (l. 13) is not clear. It appears, however, that a fort was built there by Imādala. Now there is a place called Pāli in the Godhrā *tālukā*,[1] which seems to preserve the name of the ancient *Pallīdēśa*. The reason for identifying with this Pāli and not with the famous place and district of that name in Rājputāna[2] is that the context favours it. In conquering Chāmpāner Mahmūd must have conquered the territory now comprised by the modern Godhrā *tālukā*, (then known as *Pallīdēśa*), while no conquests are credited to Mahmūd in Rājputāna, unless it be the proposed invasion of Sanchor and of Jalor in Mārwār, entrusted to Imād-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khān with a view to levying tribute " on the rājās of Julwara and Aboogur."[3] But it is doubtful if this invasion took place at all. Godhrā, on the contrary, is known as a separate province under Mahmūd. Its governor was Kowam-ool-Moolk.[4] However, the reference to the building of a fort in this country cannot be explained at present.

The **Pāvakadurga** (l. 9) is to be identified with the hill fort of Pāvāgarh " about 25 miles south of Godhrā and by road 29 miles east of Baroda,"[5] in the Pānch Mahāls District of the Bombay Presidency. It is also called by this name in an inscription of its rulers mentioned above.[6]

Before Mahmūd, Ahmada Shāh and his son Mahammad Shāh had attempted to take this fort but had failed. After a protracted siege Mahmūd succeeded in storming and forcing open its gates in November 1484. It is said that on gaining possession of the hill Mahmūd strengthened the defences of the upper and lower forts[7] and built there a city called Mahmūdābād[8] which was known as Mahmūdābād Chāmpāner.[9] Our inscription perhaps refers to these deeds of Mahmūd by merely saying that he ruled in that city.

Jīrṇa(durga) is not to be identified with the modern Junāgarh, but it is to be identified with one of the forts at the place mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and also noticed in other epigraphs. According to these, in the 15th century there were two forts[10] and a city. The latter was presumably called Girinagara[11] as it was in the past—in the 2nd[12] and 8th[13] centuries A.D. respectively. The fort within the city, on the outskirts of the Dāmodar Ghāt[14] and on the rising slope of the Girnār (or the mountain Raivata), was known as **Jīrṇadurga**[15] or

[1] See *Rev. List, Ant. Rem. Bom. Pres.*, p. 98.

[2] In Jodhpur State; see *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, (Imp. Gaz. of India, Provincial Series), p. 203. Hēmachandra mentions one Pallidēśa in his *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*, *sarga* XX, v. 33. But, probably, this too, is identical with the country of that name in Rājputāna.

[3] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 64; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309; Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[4] Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 185, n. 1.

[6] See above p. 217, notes 3 and 4.

[7] For a plan of the hill and the fort of Pāvāgaḍ, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 196.

[8] Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 7; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 67. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 310.

[9] Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[10] See Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and p. 54; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[11] Cf. Briggs, (Firishta), *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 52-53, " Mahmood Shah........towards the country of Girnal, the capital of which bears the same name."

[12] Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

[13] Grant of Jayabhaṭa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 78, line 19.

[14] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

[15] Chōrwāḍ Ins. of Malladēva, V. S. 1445, *Rev. List, Ant. Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 250; above, Vol. XXI, Appendix, p. 103, No. 731. Hathasni Ins. of Mēhara chief Ṭhēpaka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 360; above, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 98, n. 1.

Jhimjharakōṭa[1] or Joonagarh[2]—presumably the modern Uparkot.[3] Evidently it was a fortified palace, or a citadel, like the fortresses of the Mughals, probably built under the Chūḍāsamā kings of Girnār. The second fort was situated higher up the mountain[4] of which no traces now remain. The transference of the name Girinagara to the mountain (supressing the latter's ancient names Raivata and Ūrjayat) and that of the citadel Jīrṇadurga to the city—now known as Junāgarh—probably took place after the 15th century.

Raivataka seems to be another name for the mountain Girnār. In one of the inscriptions found from the place the mountain is called Ūrjayat.[5] Both of these names, however, are mentioned in the inscription of Skandagupta.[6] Fleet identified Raivataka with one[7] of the two hills of Girnār and not with Girnār proper.[8] After this no epigraphical references are found, so far[9], till about 1300 A.D. Henceforward the inscriptions seem to identify Raivata with Ujjayanta.[10] In early times therefore Raivata and Ūrjayanta might have been names of two different hills at Girnār, but in later times they came to be regarded as identical.[11] The Raivataka in the present inscription, therefore seems to refer to the hill on which there are temples, etc., and which is now known as Girnār.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 10, 26 *Āryā*; vv. 3, 11, 12, 16-18, 20, 22, 23 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 5, 6 *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 13, 14, 15, 25 *Upajāti*; v. 2 *Sragdharā*; vv. 7-9, 19, 21, 24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 . .[12]. . . . . . . श्री[13]. . . . . . . । काशीर[14]वासिनी देवी भवा सादि[15] सुरत[फ]ल-
व्यासो । यं जयति लिख[सं]— —[16] च पात[illegible](मात्) ॥ १[॥*] यादौ
श्रो[गृ][17]जैन्यो नृपकुलतिलक[:*] भ्रातु-

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[1] *Rev. List, Ant. Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 361; Ins. No. 35, line 6.

[2] Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

[3] This is stylistically Hindu, probably of the 13-14th century or even of an earlier period. See *Arch. Sur. West. India*, Vol. II, p. 94.

[4] Cf. Firishta (Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53), "on a mountain.....the strongest fortress....."

[5] Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

[6] *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 60.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 64, n. 1, "The hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Girnār"; whereas in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 441-42, it is said that Rēvatāchal is the name of the hill immediately over the Rēvata Kuṇḍ (and also the Dāmodar Kuṇḍ); that the hill was so called after Rājā Rēvat, who after marrying his daughter Rēvatī to Baladēva, brother of Krishṇa, came and resided at Girnār from Dwārkā. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa, skandha* X, *adhyāya* 52, mentions part of this story. There Rēvata is called the 'lord of Ānarta'. But it does not say that Rēvata went to Girnār and stayed there.

[8] Perhaps after the *Giranāra Māhātmya*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 239.

[9] From Gujarāt. Otherwise Raivataka is mentioned in the Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Īśvaravarman, *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 230.

[10] See Ins. No. 14 found in the temple of Nēminātha, *Rev. List, Ant. Rem., Bom. Pres.*, p. 355 and Chōrwāḍ Ins. of Malladēva, *op. cit.*, p. 250. In an inscription of a Maṇḍalika king both of them are mentioned but it is not clear whether they are the same or different. See *op. cit.*, pp. 347-48.

[11] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, p. 441, "The Jains sometimes incorrectly apply the name Revatāchal to the Girnār."

[12] Probably there was a symbol at the beginning.

[13] The top loop of *ś* and the stroke of *r* are faintly visible on the impression; the word preceding it may have been *svasti*.

[14] Read *Kāśmīra*.

[15] Should be *Śāsi*. The scribe has used the [illegible] form in line 3.

[16] [The previous two syllables [illegible] verbal form as [illegible]—Ed.]

[17] Only the *ā* of *Gā* is now left.

2 [खौं][1]कटेश[:] श्रीमान(न्) शौर्यादिसारैर्नृपकुलमखिल(लं) यो विजित्याधि[त]स्थौ ।
पश्चात् श्रीपत्तनेस्मिन् प्र[व]रगुण ⏑ — — रकीर्त्तियशस्वी मानी भूपाल-
मौलिर्वरमुकटमणि[2]वीरविख्यातमू-

3 [र्त्ति: ।][।*] २[॥*] श्रीमान् वीरोभवत् शाहिमुदाफरनृपप्रभु: । तत्पुत्रो वीरवि-
[ख्या]तो महम्मदमहीपति: ।[।*]३[॥*] तस्यान्वये — ⏑ ⏑ — प्रसूत: प्रताप-
संतापितमालवेश: । वीर: सदा श्रीमदहम्मदेंद्रो

4 राजा महीमंडलमंडनाय ।[।*]४[॥*] य: सर्वधर्म्मार्थविचारसारसर्वज्ञ[शुद्धो नृप]वंश-
जात: । जित्वा मही मालवकाधिपस्य जग्राह तद्देश[3]धनं च पश्चात् ।[।*]-
५[॥*] तस्मात्पुनर्भूमिपति: प्रधानवी-

5 र[:*] सदा साहमहम्मदोभूत् । दाता जगज्जीवनजातकीर्त्ति[र्यस्य प्रभावो] विदित:
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ।[।*]६[॥*] साहश्रीमहमूदवीरनृपति: श्रीग्यास[दीन]प्रभोर्विख्यात:
⏑ ⏑ —[4] उदारचरि-

6 तो जातोन्वये वीर्यवान् । यो राज्यादधि[क] ⏑ — पपदवी — — घदामेन[5] वै कर्ण्ण
विक्रमभूपतिं च जितवान् शास्त्रार्थसारे गुरु[:][5]।[।*]७ [॥*] राज्यं प्राप्य निजं
प्रसंव[6] [वद]-

7 नो दातातिवी[र्या]न्वित: पश्चाद(द्द)चिणदिक्पतिं स्वनगरे सं — ⏑ जित्वा[7] रिपुं ।
[तस्मो वै] दं(द)मनाधिपस्य सकलं देशं समं भूधरैर्नीत्वा श्रीमहमूदसाहनृपतिश्चक्रे
मतिं

8 [रै]वते ।[।*]८[॥*] तत्रो शृं[8]गनगेंद्रसंगतभटान् वीच्यादरेण [स्वयं] युद्धं चाद्भुत-
विक्रमं [स कृतवान्] भूप(प:) स्वसेनाजनै: । जित्वा दुर्गमशेषवैरिसहितं यो जीर्ण
संसं ⏑ —[9] कीर्त्तिस्तंभमि-

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[1] The reading is doubtful.

[2] The *r* stroke should be on the following letter *vi*. Read *maṇir=vīra.*

[3] [The reading is almost clearly *tad-vēśma dhanaṁ cha.*—Ed.]

[4] These three letters are obliterated. [Reading seems to be *sva-guṇair=udāra-.*—Ed.]

[5] [Intended readings may be *dānēna* and *Gurum.*—Ed.]

[6] The *anusvāra* over *sa* is superfluous ; it may be a flaw in the stone.

[7] [Probably we have to restore as—*dikpatē[ḥ*] sva-nagarē saṁkhyē cha jitvā.*—Ed.]

[8] [The reading seems to be correctly *tatr=ōttuṅga.*—Ed.]

[9] The letters read *saṁ saṁprati*, which yields no sense. [Reading seems to be *Jīrṇṇasaṁjñaṁ puna(naḥ)*.—Ed.]

9 दं चकार नृपतिश्चदेशतं प्रचंड(ण्ड) ।[।*]९[॥*] चंपक —[1] चंपक के — —
वैरिकुलकुलान्[*]। जित्वा पावक[दुर्गं] गिरि यं महामानमौ(वै)न ।[।*]१०[॥*]
मह्मूदमहीपालप्रतापेनैव पावकं । प्रविश्य ज्वालिनं

10 [सर्वं] वैरिवृंदं पतंगवत् ।[।*]११[॥*] जीवंतं तत्पतिं च[तु]रं दुर्गं [नी]त्वा महा-
बलं । चकार तत्पुरे राज्यं मह्मूदमहीश्वर[:] ।[।*]१२[॥*] ज्ञात्वा गुणै[:*]
कर्मभिरप्युदारैरेतं कुलीनं नृपवंशजातं । मुख्यं चका-

11 राजगृहे महीश: स सेवके[भ्यो]विक्रमान[3]दानैः ।[।*]१३[॥*] पञ्चाशि[तं] सेवक[भि]-
र्वनवीरमिमादरं कार्यभारं विदित्वा चा —[4] ◡ — — ◡ सदातिशूरं सदुवाच-
— — ◡ ◡ देश रक्षां(क्षाम्) ।[।*]१४[॥*] [पा]-

12 मीरवंशे नृपतिप्र[धा]न(नः) — — ◡ सोभूदतुलप्रतापः । स—ग्व या सं(सां ?)
नाकरीतं —[5] कूयते ◡ ◡ ◡ पावकीर्तिः ।[।*]१५[॥*] तस्मात् संभव
अनेन — — — प्रथित क्षितौ

13 मा(मी) प्रतापवान(न्) वीर(रो) विख्यात[:] पुण्यकर्माणि[6] [।*]१६[॥*] मह[मूद]मही-
पालसेवाप्रौढप्रतापवान् [।] दानवीरचिरं जीयाच्चविक्रमौर्द(ढ)मादरः ।[।*]
१७[॥*] पञ्चदेशाधिकारं च पुण्यं पुण्यम-

14 तिस्तदा दुष्टारिहृदये राज्यं[7] दुर्गमिनं चकार वै ।[।*]१८[॥*] [धिनादौ] ◡ ◡ — ◡
धीति[विपुलं] गंगोर्मिकल्लोलवत् पूर्णं पुण्यजलेन सर्वं ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — —
◡ — । कासारं ◡ दृष्टीद[8]

15 च मनसोल्लासेन निष्पादितं सोयं वीर दमादर्श[द्रन्टप तिर्दुर्गं चकारोत्तमं(मम्)
।[।*] १९[॥*] महम्मदपुरांतस्थ: कूपो यस्य विराजते । जगज्जीवनदानेन
वपीराशिमिवोद्धरन् ।[।*]२०[॥*] य[:] की-

[1] It may be *pallyāṁ* or *padyāṁ*; the former is improbable because place names *with the ending palli* are not met with in later Gujarāt inscriptions, though in this very inscription Palli occurs as a *complete name* of a place, and as will be mentioned in a note on it. *Pallidēśa* is also mentioned by Hēmachandra in his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*. Even in the case of earlier inscriptions, a few cases that are available are limited to the Traikūṭaka, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Valabhi and Western Chālukya inscriptions. [The reading, however, appears to be *Champaka-puryyāṁ*.—Ed.]

[2] The sense is not clear and the reading is doubtful.

[3] A superfluous *anusvāra* is seen over *mā* of *māna*.

[4] [On the impression the reading looks like *vīśa*.—Ed.]

[5] [Reading seems to be - - *kvayā* [*saṁ*]*prati sāgar-āntaṁ ya*(*yaḥ*).—Ed.]

[6] The reading according to Dr. Chhabra is *Tasmāj=jātō=titējasvī*.—*tō* ◡ *khi*[*la*]-*kshitau* । [*śa*]*mī* *pratāpavāna*(*n*) *vīra*(*rō*) *vikhyāta*[*ḥ*] *puṇya-karmmaṇi* ॥

[7] [The correct reading is *śallaṁ* for *śalyaṁ*.—Ed.]

[8] The sense is not clear as a few letters of this line are illegible. [Reading may be *kāsāra-dvayam=ādarāṇa*.—Ed.]

16 मर्व्वांस्मूल्याल्पया श्रीचंपकाख्ये पुरे — —[1] [की]र्तिविवर्द्धनं सुविपुलं तापत्र-
योन्मूलनं । सानंदेन चकार मानससमं सत्पुष्करं भूतले सोयं वीर
इमादलेंद्रग्र्ण्पतिर्दुर्ग्गं चका-
17 रोत्तमं(मम्) ।[।*]२१[॥*] बागूलाधिपतिर्यस्य जयदेवो म — ट ⌣[।*] .. . .[2]
मित्रैर्निज्वै सूपजोवग्निर[:*] स्वयं(यम्)[3] ।[।*] २२[॥*] तत्राशेषा[न्नि]पून् हत्वा
कृत्वा दिग्विजयोदयं । रायदुर्ग्गं समजयत् योसौ वीर इमादल: ।[।*]२३[॥*]
18 — — (रावल)वेधनेन सकलं तद्वैरिवृंदं त[था*] — — — लि — विमुक्तगोलक-
गणै: संहत्य चूर्ण्णीकृ[तं*] । दुर्ग्गं पू[र्ण]बली विजित्य सबलं प्रोद्यत्प्रतापेन
यो धर्म्माद्वारमिदं प्रहारसहितं त-
19 ⌣पा:ई दौ[4] ।[।*]२४[॥*] बागू[ल*]भूपालबलं प्रहृ[त्य प्रच]ण्डभूमीश्वरकालकर्त्ता ।
य: पावके पूर्ववि[द्व*]द्भर्त्ता किं वर्ण्यते चास्य जयस्य वार्त्ता ॥२५[॥*]
इषिपद्रे(द्रे) रुचिरतरं दुर्ग्गं वै दु:सह . .
20 . . . . . . । श्रीमदिमादलमुलको दान . . . . सुंदरसक्र ॥२६
[॥*] श्रीनृपविक्रमार्क(र्कां)समयातीतसंवत् १५४५[5] वर्षे शाके १४०१०[6] प्र-
वर्त्तमाने वैशाष(ख)शुदि १३
21 — — — — — — — — —[7] शुभे दिने मलिक श्रीइमादल मलिकिं दुर्ग्गं
उद्धरे[त्][8] ॥ [श्रीरस्तु]—जे गढ पोलिनो पारी ते वंतरी[9]
22 — — — — — — — — तिस

No. 30.—BHOPAL PLATES OF THE MAHAKUMARA HARICHAMDRADEVA.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

The following set of **two copper plates** was discovered about forty years ago by Dewan Seth Brij Mohon Dass, a leading banker of Bhopāl, while digging the foundations of his house in Chowk Bazar, **Bhopāl,** at the time of its re-erection and is in his possession at present. The plates are stated to have been found at a depth of about 20 feet, laid one above the other and nailed to the

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[1] [Probably to be restored as *puṇayaṁ*.—Ed.]

[2] Letters effaced.

[3] Sense not clear.

[4] [Reading seems to be *tasmai kṛip-ābdhir=dadau*.—Ed.]

[5] There appears a cipher between 154 and 5 which is perhaps a scratch in the stone itself.

[6] The zero before 10 is superfluous.

[7] All these letters are effaced; probably they contained the date in the Hijra era.

[8] Should be °*m=uddharēt.*

[9] The construction of this sentence beginning with *jē* and ending with *vaṁtarī* is identical with the relative clause in the Gujarātī language. The letters *jē* and *li* in *pōlinī* look like the modern Gujarātī letters. The sentence seems to contain a curse, as in many Śilāhāra and Yādava inscriptions, to the effect that he who would tamper with the fort (*gaḍh*), would be a witch (*vaṁtarī*) or afflicted by a *vaṁtarī*, etc.

ground. Nothing can [illegible] be said as to the place where they [illegible]. Mr. M. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archæology, Bhopāl State, very kindly sent me a set of excellent enlarged photographs of the plates to whom I also owe the details of the measurement, etc., of the plates and also of their discovery. Mr. Hamid himself published [illegible] the record in the *Hindusthan Times*, in its issue of 31st January, 1937. The charter is now edited here with the permission of Mr. Hamid and the consent of the owner of the plates which the former was good enough to get for me.

The plates are 11¼" long by 7¾" broad each, with a thickness of about [illegible]" at the edges which are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces. The first plate weighs 3 lbs. but the weight of the second plate is only 2 lbs. Each plate has two holes for the passing of two rings with which they were originally held. Both the rings and the seal which was probably attached to one of them, are now missing. The Plates are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. The first lot contains 21 lines of writing and the second only 20. The second plate has the figure of a Garuḍa, kneeling and facing right, engraved in the middle between lines 8 and 14. The plates are well preserved. A portion at the end of the last line of the first plate was left uninscribed. The [illegible] of the second plate which apparently contained the *gōtra* of one of the donees is illegible. It is doubtful if this portion also was at all engraved. With the exception of this the text of the whole record can be made out with certainty.

The characters are Nāgarī as prevalent [illegible] records of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā. In a few places *va* can hardly be distinguished from *cha*, *e.g.*, *-lava-chalam-* (l. 13). The final consonant has been indicated by a short slanting stroke at the bottom of the letters concerned, *e.g.*, [illegible] (l. 1), [illegible] (l. [illegible]), *pitṛiṇ* (l. 11) and *-ātat* (l. 30). The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of two invocatory verses in ll. 1-3 and seven customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 15-16, 32-38 and 39-40 the rest of the record is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: (1) *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* throughout; *e.g.*, *-śavdā°* (l. 5), *sauvaddhaḥ* (l. 7), *vrāhmaṇ°* (l. 8), etc.; (2) while *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, *e.g.*, *siraso* (ll. 1-2), *Paramēsvara* (ll. 3, 4), *prasasta* (ll. 5, 6), etc., *ś* has been wrongly used for *s* only once in *śaptamaṁ* (l. 34); (3) though consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have very often been doubled, *e.g.*, *°varmma* (ll. 3, 4, 5), *chaturddaśa* (l. 9), *pūrṇṇimāyāṁ*, *sarvva°*, *parvvaṇi* (l. 10), *harttavyā* (l. 37), etc., the exceptions being *samabhyarchya* (l. 11), *Garīśvara* (l. 17), *pārthiv°* (l. 35), etc.; (4) *anusvāra* has often been used in place of the nasal of the same class, *e.g.*, *aiṁdaviṁ* (l. 1), *-āṁkura*, *tanvaṁtu*, *kalpaṁtā* (l. 2), *paṁcha* (l. 5), *maṁḍalē*, *chaṁdra* (l. 7), etc. In a few places the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga* and even whole syllables have been dropped, evidently due to the fault of the engraver. The writing, however, has on the whole been executed carefully. All the errors occurring in the text have been corrected by me either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it. Often a mark has been put by the scribe at the end of a line where the last word could not be fitted into it and had to be continued in the next, apparently to draw attention to the continuity.

As in the case of many Paramāra records, the present inscription opens with the phrases *Ōm svasti* and *Śrīr=jjayō=bhyudayaś=cha* which are followed by two verses in praise of Śiva. It then introduces the donor, the Mahākumāra Harichaṁdradēva, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds (*samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabda*) and who had acquired the victorious sovereignty through the favour of (*prasād-āvāpta-vijay-ādhipatyē*) the Mahākumāra Trailōkya-varmmadēva who had also obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. The latter is said

to have meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Yaśōvarmmadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious **Naravarmmadēva** (ll. 3-7).

The object of the record is the grant by **Harichaṁdradēva** of the village **Dādarapadra** belonging to **Vikhilapadra**-twelve and situated in the **Mahādvādaśaka**-*maṇḍala* (l. 7). The village which was given with its suburbs on the east and the south (*pūrvva-dakshiṇa-tala-dvayōpēta*) was divided into 16 shares and given to 19 Brahmins, whose names and *gōtras* along with names of their fathers are given in the record. Of these donees, a list of whom is given in the table below, 13 received one share each and 6 half a share each. Two of the donees were related as father and son (Nos. 4 and 8) and the following as brothers: Nos. 3 and 11, 5 and 7, 6 and 12 and 14 and 16. The last two donees mentioned in the list were only pupils (*vaṭuka*).

The date of the record is given in words in ll. 9-10 as *śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-chaturddas(ś)-ādhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)t-āṁta[ḥ*]pāti-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē(ka)-sudi pūrṇṇimāyāṁ saṁjāta-sōma-grahaṇa-sarvva-grāsa-parvvaṇi*, *i.e.*, on the full moon day of Kārttika of the Vikrama year 1214, on the occasion of a complete eclipse of the moon. It regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 19th October, A. D. 1157 when there was a lunar eclipse. The grant was made by the ruler with the usual ceremonies after bathing in the river Vētravatī and in presence of the god Bhāilasvāmin.

If **Mukhyādēśa** is a proper name, he was the *Dūtaka* of the grant. The record concludes with the sign-manual of the **Mahākumāra** Harichaṁdradēva.

Of the rulers mentioned in the inscription, the P. M. P. Naravarmmadēva and the P. M. P. Yaśōvarmmadēva are the well known Paramāra rulers of Mālwā. For Naravarmmadēva we have the latest date as V. S. 1190 in Ratnasūri's Life of Ammasvāmin.[1] That he died in the same year is certain, as we find his son Yaśōvarman making a grant on V. S. 1191 Kārttika sudi 8 on the occasion of the death anniversary of his father.[2] For Yaśōvarman we have the latest date as V. S. 1199 if the reading of the date of the Jhālrapātan inscription[3] is correct and if the record belongs to the time of this ruler.

The next two chiefs mentioned in the record under consideration, *viz.*, Trailōkyavarman and Harichandra undoubtedly belong to that branch of the Paramāras who call themselves Mahākumāras in their inscriptions. The earliest ruler known in this family is the Mahākumāra Lakshmīvarman. In V. S. 1200 we find him confirming a grant made in V. S. 1191 by the M. P. Yaśōvarmadēva, on the anniversary of the death of the latter's father Naravarman. Lakshmīvarman confirmed this grant 'for the merit of (*his*) illustrious father' (*śrīmat-pitṛi-śrēyōrthaṁ*)[4] which shows that he was undoubtedly a son of Yaśōvarman. We shall discuss later what might have been the reason for re-issuing the grant after a lapse of nearly nine years. According to the Bhopāl plates[5] of his grandson Udayavarman, dated V. S. 1256, Lakshmīvarman 'obtained his kingship through the favour of his sword which he held (?) in his own hand' (*nija-kara-kṛita(dhṛita ?)-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya*). The Pipliānagar plates[6] of Hariśchandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236), the son of Lakshmīvarman, state that the former 'obtained his rulership through the favour of the last mentioned ruler' (*tasmāt=pṛishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasādād=avāpta-nij-ādhipatya*), namely, the P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva, the son of the Paramāra Yaśōvarmadēva of Mālwā. In connection with the history of these Mahākumāras, Dr. D. C. Ganguly observes: "According to the Pipliānagar

[1] *Dhar State Gazetteer*, p. 159.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 353.

[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1905-06, p. 50, No. 2097 and Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 252.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 352 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.

[6] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.

grant, *Hariścandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman*. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariścandra's father Lakshmīvarman made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakshmīvarman and his son Hariścandra ruled over separate territories. This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakshmīvarman without the intervention of Hariścandra, who again excludes his father Lakshmīvarman—in the Piplianagar grant—as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions."[1] Following the same argument are we to hold that Trailōkyavarman and Harichandra of the present record held sway over a third principality—a view which would only make the complication in the history of this branch more complicated? But the state of affairs is not so bad as it is made to look. If Yaśōvarman was still ruling in V. S. 1190 it is almost certain that Jayavarman's rule could not have come to an end before V. S. 1200, when Lakshmīvarman was already a Mahākumāra. In fact Dr. Ganguly's conclusion is based on a wrong interpretation of the Bhopāl plates. They *do not mention* that Lakshmīvarman became ruler by the force of his arms *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. The phrase *Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē* in l. 5 of the Bhopāl plates has no connection whatsoever with Lakshmīvarmmadēva. It qualifies only the concluding portion of the whole sentence *Udayavarmmadēvō vijay-ōdayī* in l. 8. There is, moreover, nothing in the Bhopāl plates to prove that Udayavarman succeeded to the throne of Lakshmīvarman without the intervention of Hariśchandra, nor do the Piplianagar plates show that Lakshmīvarman is excluded as a ruler preceding Hariśchandra. We know that inscriptions do not always give a full genealogy of the ruler to whose reign they refer themselves but may mention the names of one or two or even none of his predecessors.

The real difficulty that presents itself in our record is to establish the identity of the Mahākumāra Harichandradēva and the Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarmadēva. In my opinion Harichandra can be no other than Hariśchandra, the son of Lakshmīvarman. It is, however, more difficult to determine the place of Trailōkyavarman in the genealogy of these chiefs. That he belonged to the same line is certain from the titles he is given in the inscription. If he is not identical with Lakshmīvarman, which seems unlikely, he could only be another son or a brother of Lakshmīvarman, probably the latter. It is not impossible that when Lakshmīvarman died, Hariśchandra was very young and his uncle Trailōkyavarman acted as the regent during his minority. Trailōkyavarman, though only the regent, wielded the full power of a chief and is therefore given all the titles connected with the princes of this line. Had he been a son of Lakshmīvarman his name should have been mentioned in some other records of this family. As the Mahākumāras were subordinates of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā they had to obtain the formal sanction of their overlords at the time of succession. Probably Hariśchandra took up the reins of government not long before V. S. 1214, the date of the present grant, and that is why he mentions Trailōkyavarman as his predecessor from whom he received the kingdom and to whom he was grateful for managing affairs during his minority. But when he issued his other grant in 1235, when Trailōkyavarman was probably dead, he mentioned only the name of his sovereign ruler, *viz.*, Jayavarman, as the one through whose favour he got his kingdom and Trailōkyavarman being a collateral, his name was omitted from this and all the later inscriptions of this family.

Now to understand properly the political situation as revealed by the inscriptions of the Paramāra Mahākumāras, it will be necessary to consider the history of the Paramāras of Mālwā from

[1] *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 179-81. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 212.

Jayavarman down to Vindhyavarman. According to the Pipliānagar[1] (V. S. 1267) and the two sets of Bhopāl[2] plates (V. S. 1270 and 1272) of Arjunavarman, Yaśōvarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman, while in the (incomplete) Plates[3] of Jayavarman, the Pipliānagar Plates[4] of the Mahākumāra Hariśchandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236) and the Bhopāl Plates[5] of the Mahākumāra Udayavarman (V. S. 1256), Yaśōvarman is stated to have been succeeded by Jayavarman. From the information supplied by these records Kielhorn came to the following conclusion: "Yaśōvarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Lakshmīvarman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves *Mahārājas*. The third brother, Lakshmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E (*i.e.*, the Bhopāl grant of Udayavarman), he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. ' At the same time, Lakshmīvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D. (*i.e.*, the Pipliānagar plates), professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmīvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman."[6] Though there is nothing definite to show that Kielhorn is wrong in his assumption, I prefer to agree with Dr. Ganguly[7] that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman mentioned in the above inscriptions are identical. The later inscriptions, probably those issued after the re-occupation of Dhārā, call him Ajayavarman while the earlier inscriptions mention him as Jayavarman. Prof. Hall's theory that ' Lakshmīvarman sat on the throne with his sire ' and was thus the eldest son of Yaśōvarman[8] cannot be substantiated. When Yaśōvarman died, Jayavarman as his eldest son must have succeeded to the throne of Mālwā. Sometime before his death Yaśōvarman might have placed Lakshmīvarman in charge of a small principality which the latter ruled under the title of a Mahākumāra or, he might have wrested a part of the Paramāra empire which passed into the hands of enemies and established himself as the ruler. In any case, as he adopted a feudatory title he seems to have ruled only as a subordinate of the main branch. The boast of Lakshmīvarman that he obtained his sovereignty by force of arms as found in his Ujjain Plate is, however, not altogether an empty one as borne out by inscriptions. We find from the Bāndā Plate[9] of the Chandēla Madanavarmadēva that this ruler made a gift in V. S. 1190 when he was encamped near Bhailasvāmin. As I have shown below, this place was in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* mentioned in our grant. What led this Chandēla ruler to encamp at the place cannot be ascertained. But it is not unlikely that he was, at this period, leading a campaign against the Mālava ruler and encroached upon the Paramāra territories soon after. Probably we find a confirmation of this in the verse 11 of the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman[10], which says that ' the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated ' by this ruler. This Mālava ruler was possibly Yaśōvarman himself. But that the Chandēlas

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, p. 378.
[2] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 350 f.
[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.
[7] *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 181.
[8] *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 36 and Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 3.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 208 and pl.
[10] Above, Vol. I, pp. 197 ff.

could not keep this part under them for long is clear from the inscription of Lakshmīvarman of V. S. 1200. It appears that the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* adjacent to Bhāilasvāmin passed out of the hands of the Paramāra rulers temporarily and was re-conquered by Lakshmīvarman sometime before V. S. 1200 and this necessitated the re-issuing of the grant of 1191 of his father. That Lakshmīvarman also could not keep this *maṇḍala* in his hands for long is certain. An inscription dated V. S. 1229[1] of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapāladēva records the gift by Lūṇapasāka, an officer of the king at Udayapura which was included in the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*. According to this inscription this part of the country was acquired by the Chaulukya ruler ' by his own prowess '. Probably it passed under the Chaulukyas even a little earlier during the reign of Kumārapāla. A fragmentary inscription of this ruler, in which the date has been restored by Kielhorn as V. S. 1220, has been found at Udayapur[2], which calls him Avantinātha.

Though the Paramāras lost most of their territory in Mālwā to the Chaulukyas, the Mahākumāra branch still retained at least the southern portion of their principality, as their grants issued in V. S. 1235 and 1256 show. It is, however, possible to deduce from the grant of Udayavarman of V. S. 1256 that Vindhyavarman did not yet succeed in regaining the lost possessions of his ancestors as the expression *Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē* shows. For, had Vindhyavarman already succeeded in firmly re-establishing himself in Mālwā, one would expect his name to be mentioned in the record of Udayavarman, unless Kielhorn is right in his assumption that Lakshmīvarman and his successors never accepted the rulers of Mālwā from Ajayavarman downwards as their sovereign rulers. But as the former always used the same subordinate titles, and as Dēvapāla, the brother of Udayavarman, seems to have succeeded to the Mālwā throne as a matter of course, it is doubtful if there existed any feud between these two families as suggested by Kielhorn. Āśādhara in his *Dharmāmṛita* states that when the country of Sapādalaksha was conquered by Sihāb-ud-dīn (Muḥammad Ghūri) he left his native country with his family for Mālwā where king Vindhya was ruling.[3] Mahammad Ghūri's conquest took place in A. D. 1192, but if my supposition is correct, Āśādhara does not appear to have moved to Dhārā for a few years after the Muslim conquest till things really looked bad for him.

Udayavarman for whom we have only one inscription of V. S. 1256, is the last ruler we know of in the Mahākumāra line. If he is identical with Udayāditya of the Bhopāl inscriptions dated V. S. 1241 (A.D. 1184) and Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186) respectively, as Dr. Ganguly supposes,[4] he had already a rule of at least 15 years to his credit when the Bhopāl Plates were issued. We also know that his brother Dēvapāla ultimately succeeded to the throne of Mālwā. As the earliest inscription of Dēvapāla is dated V. S. 1275[5] and the latest inscription of his predecessor Arjunavarman bears the date V. S. 1272[6], Dēvapāla probably inherited the Mālwā throne shortly before V. S. 1275. It is significant that in his Harsauda inscription, though the subordinate title of the Mahākumāra is replaced by the Imperial one of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, Dēvapāla still retains a part of his original title, *viz.*, *Samasta-praśasti-upēta-samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* which is missing in all his later records. As we have no record of Udayavarman's successor it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he also had no male heir and his younger brother Dēvapāla first succeeded him as the Mahākumāra and then ultimately was raised to the throne of Dhārā when Arjunavarman also died without a male issue, thus uniting both the houses of the Paramāras.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 347 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 343 and n. 9.

[3] See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, pp. 246 f.

[4] *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 186.

[5] The Harsauda Stone Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

[6] The Bhopāl plates (second set), *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.

Of the localities mentioned in the record **Mahādvādaśaka**-*maṇḍala* must have comprised Udayapur and Bhilsā in the Gwalior State as far as Raisen[1] (Rājaśayana) to the south in the Bhopāl State. The Udayapur stone inscription of V. S. 1229 calls it the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*.[2] **Vētravatī** is the modern Betwā and the temple of Bhāilasvāmin which was situated on the Betwa, must have given rise to the name of the Bhilsā town. According to Dr. Hall, a fragmentary inscription which was originally discovered at Bhilsā, but is now no longer traceable, recorded the erection of a temple of the Sun god, under the name of Bhāillēśa on the Vētravatī, by one Vāchaspati, a minister of Rājā Krishṇa,[3] who is probably identical with the Paramāra Vākpatirāja.[4] I cannot identify the other localities mentioned in the record. Mr. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archæology, Bhopāl State, remarks as follows in his note on this inscription, which has been referred to above: "The temple of Bhāilasvāmin was situated on the banks of the Betwa river at Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, 34 miles from Bhopāl and 8 miles from Sānchi. The village Dādarapadra is in the Bhopāl territory. The name was obviously corrupted into Dharapadra, and later on into Padria, but as there are eleven villages of this name in the various districts of the Bhopāl State, Dādarapadra of our inscription was given the name of Padria Raja Dhar to distinguish it from other Padrias."

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichaṁdra.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
1	Āvasathika Śrīdhara	Agnihōtrika Bhāradvāja	Sāṅkṛitya	1
2	Tripāṭhī Gartēśvara	Tripāṭhī Nārāyaṇa	Bhāradvāja	1
3	Dvivēda Uddharaṇa	Dvivēda Kshīrasvāmin	Krishṇātrēya	1
4	„ Yaśōdhavala	„ Vatva(tsa?)	Adavāha	1
5	Paṁ[5] Madhusūdana	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	1
6	Dvivēda Pāhula	Dvivēda Silē	Śaunaka	1
7	Paṁ Sōmadēva	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	1
8	Dvivēda Pālhaka	Dvivēda Yaśōdhavala	Adavāha	1
9	Paṁ Raṇapāla	Paṁ Dhāmadēva	Gautama	1
10	Dvivēda Gaṁgādhara	Dvivēda Sōtā	....	1
11	„ Lakshmīdhara	„ Kshīrasvāmin	Krishṇātrēya	1
12	„ Śrīdhara	„ Silē	Śaunaka	½
13	Ṭhakura Vāchchhuka	Ṭhakura Vil[hv]ē	Bhāradvāja	1
14	„ „	„ Kuladhara	Śāṇḍilya	1
15	Dvivēda Vālhuka	Dvivēda Gōlhē	Gautama	½

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 352, Text, l. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 397.

[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1913-14, p. 60.

[4] See above, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

[5] *I.e.*, *Paṇḍita*.

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichandra—contd.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
16	Ṭhakura Rāsala . . .	Ṭhakura Kuladhara . .	Śāṇḍilya . .	[illegible]
17	„ Vishṇu . . .	Paṁ Sōṇḍala . . .	Kāśyapa . .	[illegible]
18	Āhaḍa, a pupil (*vaṭuka*) . .	Ṭhakura Ku[ñja] . . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	[illegible]
19	Mahaṇa „ „ . .	„ Vijapāla . . .	Kāśyapa . .	[illegible]

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[2] svasti[|*] Śrīr=jjayō=bhyudayaś=cha | **Jayati Vyōmakēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)-**bhartti tām | aiṁdavī[ṁ] si(śi)ra-[3]

2 sā lēkhā[ṁ*] jagad-vīj-āṁkur-ākṛitima(m) | [|*][4] **Tanvaṁtu va[ḥ*] Smarārātē[ḥ*]** kalyāṇam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) jaṭāḥ | kalpāṁta-samay-ōddāma-taḍi-

3 d-valaya-piṁgalāḥ || [|*][4] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Nara-varmmadēva**-pādānu[dhyā]-

4 ta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Yaśōvarmmadēva** - pādānu-dhyāta-samasta-pra-

5 sa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśavd(bd)-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna - **Mahākumāra** - śrī-**Trau(Trai)lōkyavarmmadēva**-pādā(da)-pra-

6 sād-āvāpta-vijñ(jay)-ādhipatyē(tyaḥ ?) samasta-prasa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśavd(bd)-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Mā(Ma)hākumāra-śrī-**Hari-**

7 **chaṁdradēvō Mahādvādaśaka**-maṁḍalē Vikhilapadra-dvādaśaka-saṁva(ba)ddhaḥ(ddha)-**Dādarapadra**-grāma-nivāsinaḥ pratigrāma-ni-

8 vāsina[ś]=cha rājapurusha-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīn vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōta(tta)rān=vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ ||[5] ya-

9 d=iha mayā śrī-Bhāilasvāmidēva-purasthitē[na][6] **śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-chatur-ddaś(ś)-ādhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)t-āṁta[ḥ*]pāti-saṁvatsa-**

10 **rē Kārttikē(ka)-sudi pūrṇṇimāyāṁ saṁjāta-sōma-grahaṇa-sarvva-grāsa-parvvaṇi** Kali-kalusha-hāriṇi Vētravatī-vāriṇi snā-

11 tvā dēv-arshi-manushya-pitṛīn saṁtarpya charāchara-guruṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ Bhavānīpatiṁ darp[p]ita-danuj-ēṁdra-nidrā-haraṁ Hariṁ cha samabhyarchya til-ā-

12 nn-ājy-āhuti[bh]ir=Hi[ra*]ṇyarētasaṁ hutvā jagad-ānaṁda-dāyinē śasi(śi)nē arghaṁ vidhāya sa-vatsa-kapilāṁ triḥ pradakshiṇīkṛi-

13 tya ākala[j(y)]ya saṁsāra[sy=ā*]sāratāṁ parilulita-kamala-dala-tala-jala-lava-chalam=ālakshya yauvanaṁ yauvana-mada-matta-vāṇi-

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[1] From photographs.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

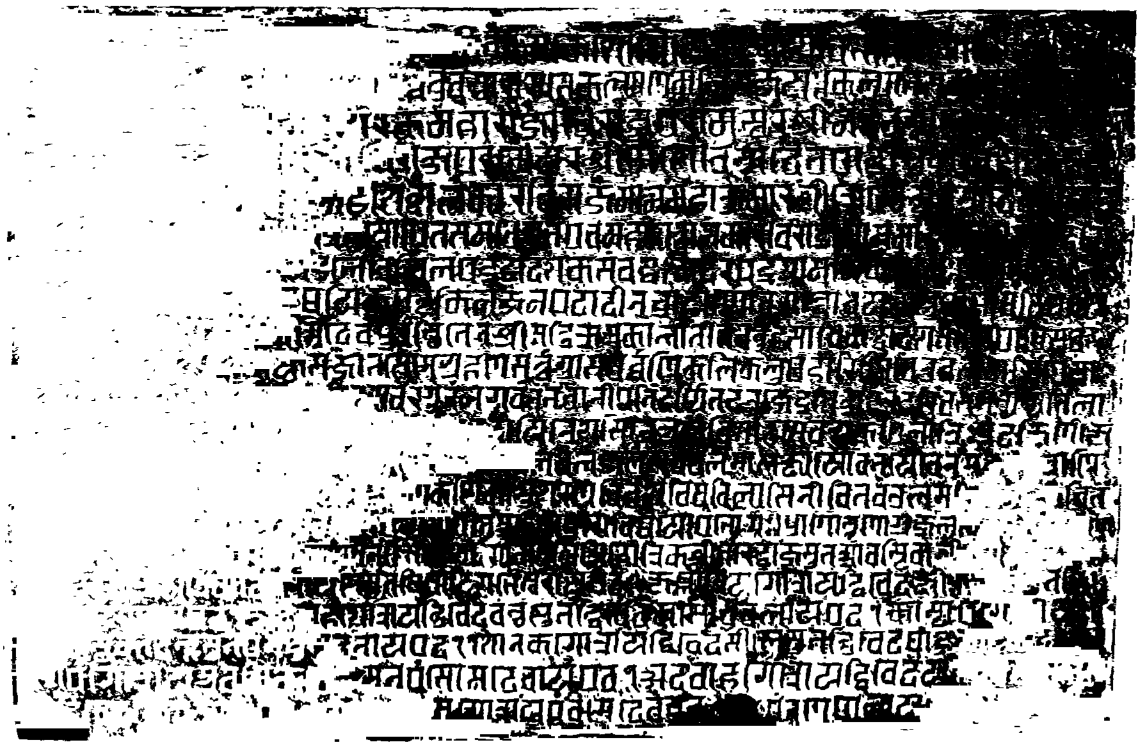
[4] Metre *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

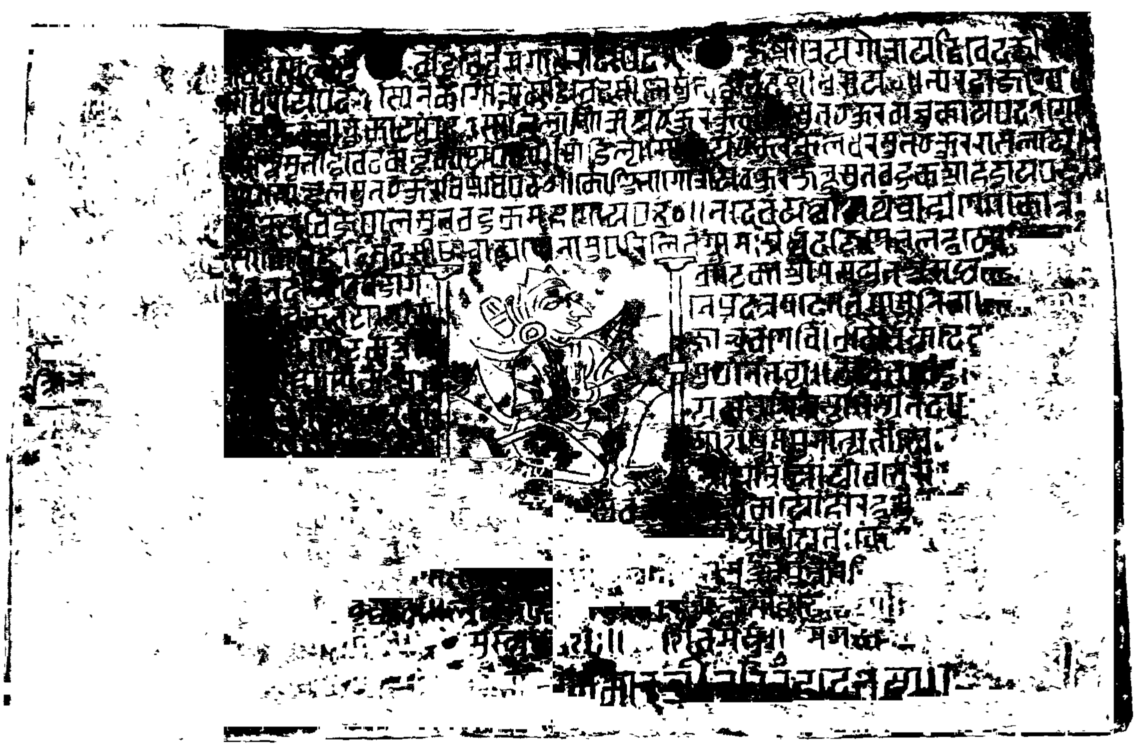
[6] The omission of *visarga* in *puras* is according to the *vārttika*: *kharparē śari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ.*

BHOPAL PLATES OF THE MAHAKUMARA HARICHAMDRADEVA.

First Plate.



Second Plate.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ONE-HALF. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

14 **[n]ī-bhrū-bhaṁga-bhaṁguram**=avalōkya draviṇaṁ draviṇa-kaṇik-ānuśaraṇa-vivaśa-visha-**vilāsinī-chita(tta)**-chaṁchalam=adhigamya jīvitaṁ

15 **| uktaṁ cha** [|*]. Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ bhuvan-ādhipatyam=āpātamātra-madhurō-**vishay-ōpabhbhōgaḥ** | prāṇās=triṇ-āgra-jala-viṁdu-samā narāṇāṁ

16 **dharmaḥ sakhā** param=ahō paralōka-yānē ||[1] Sā[ṁ]kritya-gōtrāya agnihōtrika-śrī-Bhāradvāja-**suta-a(t-ā)**vasthi(sathi)ka-Śrīdharāya pada 1 Bhā-

17 **radvāja-gōtrāya** tripāṭi(ṭhi)-Nārāyṇa-suta-tripāṭi(ṭhi)-Gartēsva(śva)rāya pada 1 Krishṇā-**trēya-gōtrāya** dvivēda-Kshīrasvāmi-suta-dvi-

18 **vēda-Ū[ddha]raṇāya** pada 1 Adavāha-gōtrāya dvivēda-Va[tva(tsa)]-suta-dvivēda-Yasō-**(śō)dhavalāya** pada 1 Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrāya|[2]

19 **āvasthi(sathi)ka-Dēlha**-suta-paṁ-Madhusūdanāya pada 1 Śaunaka-gōtrāya-dvivēda-Sīlē-**suta-dvivēda-Pāhulāya** pada 1 Kā-

20 **sya(śya)pa-gōtrāya** avasthi(āvasathi)ka-Dē[h]a-suta-paṁ-Sōmadēvāya pada 1 Adavāha-**gōtrāya** dvivēda-Yaśōdhavala-su[3]-

21 **ta-dvivēda-Pā[lha]kāya** pada 1 [Gauta]ma-gōtrāya paṁ-Dhāmadēva-suta-paṁ-Raṇapālāya **pada 1**[4]

Second Plate.

22 . . . .[5] **dvivēda-Sōtā-suta-dvivēda-**Gaṁgādharāya pada 1 Krishṇātrēya-**gōtrāya dvivēda-Kshīra-**

23 **svāmi-suta-dvivēda-Lashmī(kshmī)**dharāya pada 1 Sau(Śau)naka-gōtrāya dvivēda-Sīlē-**suta-dvivēda-Śrīdharāya** [pada*] ½ Bhāradvāja-gō[3]-

24 **trāya** ṭhakura-Vī[lhv]ē-suta-ṭhakura-Vā[chchhu]kāya pada 1 Sāṁḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya **ṭhakura-Kuladhara-suta-ṭhakura-**Vāchchhukāya pada 1 Gō(Gau)-

25 **tama-gōtrāya** dvivēda-Gōlhē-suta-dvivēda-Vālhukāya pada ½ Sāṁḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya **ṭhakura-Kuladhara-suta-ṭhakura-Rāsalāya** [6]

26 **pada ½ Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrāya** paṁ-Sō[ṇ]ḍala-suta-ṭhakura-Vishṇavē pada ½ Kauṇḍinya-**gōtrāya** ṭhakura-Ku[ñja]-suta-vaṭuka-Āhaḍāya pada

27 [½] **Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrāya** ṭhakura-Vijapāla-suta-vaṭuka-Mahaṇāya pada ½ [|*] tad-ēvaṁ **yathāyathaṁ** vrāhmaṇa ēkōnna[3]-

28 **viṁsatīnām**[7] **pada** shōḍas(ś)=āṁkē pada 16 [|*] tad=amīshāṁ vrā(brā)hmaṇānām=upari-li-**[khi*]ta-grāmaḥ** pūrvva-dakshiṇa-tala-dvay-ōpētō ni-

29 **dhi-nikshēpa-sahitō** nada-nadī-kūpa-taḍāga-vāṭikā-āma-[8]saṁyutaś=char-ādy-āy-ōpētaḥ|[6]

30 **sarvv-ābhyaṁtara-siddhy**=ōdaka-pūrvvakatayā śāsanē[na*] pradattas=tad=ētat(d-) **grāma-nivāsibhiḥ karsha-**

31 **kaiś=cha kara-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōg-ādika**[m=*]ā[9]jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā dēva-vrā-**(brā)hmaṇa-bhu**[3]-

[1] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[2] Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

[3] There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

[4] Space for about four letters is left after this.

[5] Seven or eight letters, probably specifying the *gōtra,* are completely effaced now.

[6] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[7] Read *brāhmaṇānām=ēkōnaviṁśatēḥ.*

[8] Read *vāṭik-ārāma-* .

[9] There is a *daṇḍa* after *ā* to show that the word is continued on the right side of rectangle containing the Garuḍa figure.

32 kti-varjaṁ sarvvam=amībhyō vrā(brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ samupanētavyaṁ || yad=uta | Va-(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhu[1]-

33 ktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) ||[2] Trīṇy=ā[1]-

34 hur=atidānāni gāvaḥ pṛi[th]vī sarasvatī | ā-śa(sa)ptamaṁ punaṁty=ētā dōha-vāha-nivēda-

35 naiḥ ||[2] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthiv=ēṁdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [|*] sāmānyō=

36 yaṁ dharmma-sē[tur*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ ||[3] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēd=vasuṁ(su)dhā[ṁ*] nṛipaḥ | na tasya pu-

37 nar-āvṛittir=nnarakāt=Kumbhipākā(ka)taḥ | [|*][2] Dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-dvija[4]-pradattā bhūr=nna harttavyā nṛipai[r*]=yē(ya)taḥ[|*] kēn=āpi saha vēsy(śy)=ēva na

38 gatā na chiraṁ sthitā||[2] Iti purātana-muni-praṇīta-vachana-paripāṭī-śravaṇa-samudbhūta-prabhūta-vivō(vē)k-ōdayēna mātā- |[5]

39 pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaś[ō]-bhivṛiddhayē || Iti jñātvā parair=bhūpair=asmad-va[ṁ]s-(ś)-ōdbhavē(vai)s=tathā | dharmmō=yam=iha nō[6]

40 lōpyō yaiḥ kē(kai)śchit(d)=[dharmma]-chiṁtakaiḥ ||[2] Dū° Mukhyādēśaḥ || śivam=astu | Maṁgala[ṁ] mahā-śrīḥ|

41 **Svahastō=yaṁ Mahākumāra-śrī-Harichaṁdra-dēvasya** || Śrī[ḥ]

No. 31.—SASANAKOTA PLATES OF GANGA MADHAVAVARMAN; 1ST YEAR.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates on which the subjoined grant is engraved are reported to have been discovered about 4 or 5 years back in the village of **Sāsanakōṭa** in the Hindūpūr taluk of the Anantapur District. They were kindly forwarded to me for examination in June 1937 by Khan Bahadur Javad Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Collector of the district, who obtained them from Mr. K. Gopalakrishnamacharlu of his office in whose possession they had previously remained for some time. The plates will be purchased for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they will be deposited.

The old village site at Sāsanakōṭa was subsequently inspected by me in March 1938. Specimens of old pottery and beads and other relics were collected from an extensive mound here. A preliminary note on these antiquities will appear in due course in the *Archæological Survey Report* of India. The area is full of promise and is expected to be explored by the Archæological Department at an early date.

The set consists of **four plates** measuring 7" by 2" and about $\frac{1}{16}$" in thickness. At the proper right margin in each plate is a ring-hole of about $\frac{5}{8}$" in diameter through which passes the copper ring bearing the seal. The ring measures about $2\frac{3}{4}$" in diameter. Its ends are soldered into the bottom of the **seal** which is oval and measures $1\frac{7}{16}$" by $1\frac{1}{4}$". On its counter-sunk surface is carved in relief the figure of a standing **elephant** facing the proper left. On the top and bottom sides

---

[1] There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Metre: *Śālinī.*

[4] The word *brāhmaṇa* in this *pāda* is superfluous.

[5] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[6] The left hand stroke of the medial *ō* in *nō* is joined to the preceding *ha*.

of the seal are small projections, of which the one at the bottom side looks like a small knob and bears carved on it a spiral, the significance of which is not apparent. The set with the ring and the seal weighs 60 *tolas*.

The inscription registers the gift of the village **Vēlputtoru** in **Paru**-*vishaya* as a *brahmadēya* to the **Brāhman Dharaśarman** of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and Taittirīya-*charaṇa* by *Mahārāja* **Mādhavavarman, son of Koṅgaṇivarma-Dharma-mahādhirāja** of the **Kāṇvāyana**-*gōtra* and the **Jāhnavēya**-*kula*.

The record is in **Sanskrit** prose except for the usual imprecatory verses attributed here to Manu as in the Penukoṇḍa plates,[1] given in ll. 17 to 23.

The **script** is an early variety of the Southern class of alphabets and is definitely anterior to that of the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman II (III) of this family discovered in 1914 and published by Mr. Lewis Rice.[1] These plates were then considered to be of special interest as being an admittedly genuine record of the early Gaṅga kings of Gaṅgavāḍi, or Mysore. In subsequent years, *i.e.*, during the last quarter of a century, a number of copper-plate grants purporting to belong to the early kings of this dynasty have come to light, mainly in Mysore, and are reviewed in the *Mysore Archæological Reports*. Some of these will be noticed in the sequel. But it deserves to be mentioned here that the **present grant is the earliest genuine copper plate document discovered so far not only for king Mādhava I but also for his family.**

The script resembles very much that of the Ōmgōḍugrant[2] of the early Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman II, and is more archaic than that of the Penukoṇḍa plates referred to above. The letters of our grant are of a more archaic type than those in the records of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman whom Dr. Fleet has assigned to a period later than Śaka 360.[3] They closely resemble those of the Narsapur plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman[4], which are in Prākrit prose. Our grant may, therefore, be assigned to a time immediately following the period of Prākrit charters of the Telugu country, *i.e.*, to about the fourth-fifth century A. D. Its characters would appear to be anterior to those of the Pīkira grant of Pallava Siṁhavarman[5]. In this connection see also Krishna Sastri's remarks on the period of the Pallava kings Siṁhavarman and his son Skandavarman, respectively contemporaries of Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II (middle of the 4th century A.D.).[6] The letters of the Penukoṇḍa plates are more developed and ornate and seem to bear evident influence of the so-called Pallava-Grantha style on the Gaṅga alphabets. The alphabet of the Kūḍalūr grant of Mādhavavarman[7] resembles that of the latter. This grant says explicitly that Āryavarman and his son Mādhava were crowned respectively by the Pallava kings Siṁhavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman. Moreover, as a token of the latter's suzerainty the grant bears, at the top, as preamble, the name of Skandavarman of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and the Pallava-*kula*.

The horizontal stroke at the top of several letters is not marked in our grant though a few have it. In this respect our grant resembles the Chendalūru plates of Pallava Kumāravishṇu II.[8] It

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

[2] Above, Vol. XV, plate between pages 250 and 251.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23. [But later on he gave up this date (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 291 and f. n. 1).—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 57 and plate.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 158 and plate.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 149. It should be remarked, however, that the statement made here regarding the crowning of the Gaṅga king by the Pallava is at variance with the original (*vide Ep. Rep.* 1914, pt. II, para. 4 and above, Vol. XIV, p. 333). [See correction, above, Vol. XIX, p. vii.—Ed.]

[7] *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259 and pl. XXIV.

[8] Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

must be observed that as in the case of the Āndhra and the early Pallava inscriptions some space is left after every syntactical group in this inscription (see especially lines 1 to 6). This is noticeable to some extent in the Penukoṇḍa plates also. The initial vowel *ā* is written in two forms : one with the length indicated by a curled loop at the bottom of the letter (*ātmanaḥ* in line 11) and the other with the length indicated by a small hook at the right bottom of *a* which carries a round loop (*ātma* in line 14). The medial short *i* is not a complete loop as in some early grants but is left open on the left side. In this respect our grant resembles the Uruvupalli grant of Siṁhavarman,[1] the Chendalūru plates of Pallava Kumāravishṇu II,[2] the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman,[3] the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant of Umavarman,[4] and the Ōmgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II referred to above. The *jihvāmūlīya* is used in *duḥkham* (l. 22) and the *upadhmānīya* in *adbhiḥ=pratta[ḥ]* (l. 15). The following mistakes due to oversight in writing may be noticed : *dāraṇ-āri* for *dāruṇ-āri* (l. 3), *vakkri* for *vaktṛi* (l. 9) and *Manu-gatā* for *Manu-gītā* (l. 18).

The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal of the following consonant in *svan-dātuṁ* (l. 21) and *likhit=ēyan=tāmra-paṭṭikā* (l. 24). The employment of a conjunct letter with *m* and the following consonant is commonly observed in this as in other early grants : *e.g.*, *Jitam+Bhagavatā* (l. 1), *svadattām=para* (l. 18). The final *m* is indicated by a miniature sign for *ma* in *daśamyām* (l. 13), and *pālanam* (l. 22) as in some early Pallava and other records ; but in other places this is indicated in our grant by a small hook at the right-hand lower corner : *vasundharām* (l. 18) ; *phalam* (l. 21). The letter *ṇā* is written in two different ways. In one, the length is marked in the middle on the right side of the letter (*vide dāraṇ-āri* in l. 3) and in the other by a small hook added to the upper right arm of the letter (*varmmaṇā* in l. 11, *kramēṇ-ādbhiḥ* in l. 15 and *śarmmaṇā* in l. 24). The letter *na* is written in two forms, *i.e.* with a small loop or without it. Both the forms are seen in *Padmanābhēna* in l. 1, while the latter form is distinctly noticeable in *sujana-janapadasya* (l. 3) and *janēna* (l. 11), etc. As in the other grants of this period the consonant following *r* is doubled.

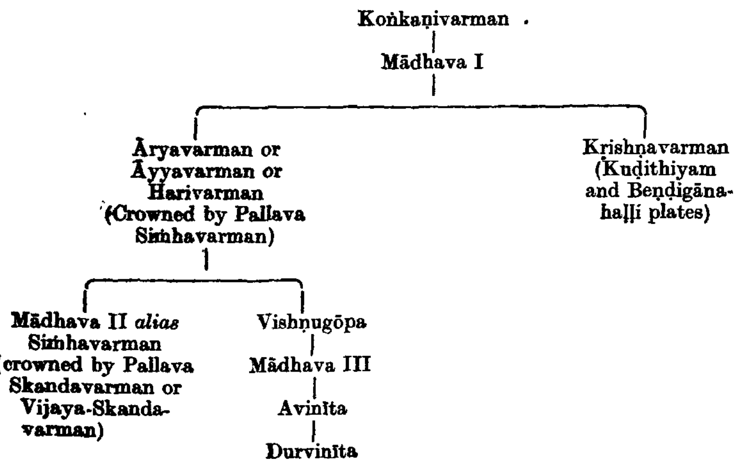
Since Rice published the Penukoṇḍa plates an earlier grant than these came to light in Mysore[5] in the Kuḍithiyam plates of the Gaṅga king Kṛishṇavarma-*Dharmamahādhirāja*, son of Mādhavavarma-*Mahādhirāja* and grandson of Koṅgaṇivarma-*Dharmamahādhirāja*, who belonged to the Kāṇvāyana-*gōtra* and the Gaṅga-*kula*. This king, known to Rice from later epigraphs, was presumed by him to be identical with Āryavarman (Tamil Āyyavarman) and Harivarman of other grants with the supposed variant and synonymous name Kṛishṇavarman. It would not generally be justified to assume identities on the mere basis of *synonymity* in names, because *names as names* must strictly be applied to the particular individuals to whom they are given. In solving the difficulty we must take into consideration the possible causes for the interference of the Pallavas just about the time of this generation. The Penukoṇḍa plates say that the Pallava Siṁhavarman crowned Āryavarman according to propriety (*yathārham*). But Kṛishṇavarman does not admit or lay claim to such a distinction, if it were a distinction at all. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Kṛishṇavarman of the Bendigānahaḷḷi plates and the Kuḍithiyam grant was a younger brother of Āryavarman who must have, for some unknown reasons, ousted Āryavarman and seized the throne. Āryavarman, thus dispossessed, must have called in the Pallava king Siṁhavarman for help with which Kṛishṇavarman must have been dispossessed and the result was that Siṁhavarman crowned Āryavarman. A sort of political overlordship having thus been established by the Pallava over the Gaṅga king, the practice of the former crowning the latter is continued even

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.
[3] Above, Vol. XII, p. 1.
[4] Above, Vol. XII, pl. between pages 2 and 3.
[5] *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1932, p. 124 and pl. XXII.

in the next generation and Skandavarman or Vijaya-Skandavarman[1] crowns Mādhavavarman who was surnamed Siṁhavarman[2] by his father, evidently, as a token of political feudality and personal gratitude also. The fact that Mādhava II, son of Āryavarman, claims in the Penukoṇḍa plates to have been led up to his ancestral kingship (*sva-vaṁśa-kram-āgata-rājya-praṇīta*) also suggests the correctness of this view.

Rice alternatively designates the later Mādhavavarman as Mādhava III on the ground that a comparatively later inscription at Nagar[3], containing several traditional and mythological statements, designates Koṅkaṇivarman also a 'Mādhava' and so he calls him Mādhava I. Since we have no early epigraphical data designating Koṅkaṇivarman as a Mādhava we need not confuse issues by creating a Mādhava II. It will be clear and precise to consider the latter only as Mādhava II and not Mādhava III.

Collecting the genealogical information furnished in all the known documents of this family and taking into consideration the probable causes for the Pallava intervention suggested above we may tentatively arrange a revised genealogy as follows :—



The names Arivarman and Harivarman occur only in the spurious or later copper-plates and stone inscriptions of this dynasty (Kielhorn, *Southern List* Nos. 108 ff.). These names must be given up in favour of "Āryavarman" of the earlier plates. Professor Dubreuil makes Harivarman a different person from, and a younger brother of, Āryavarman. But in the light of the Tanjore plates Hari might be the same as Ari and the latter a colloquial or pet form of Ārya. Rice's difficulty in allocating to Vishṇugōpa the proper place in the family genealogy is also overcome by adopting the scheme suggested above. His supposition that Vishṇugōpa's name 'was dropped out by mistake' in the Penukoṇḍa plates requires corroboration.

The inscription is dated not with reference to any era but gives the occasion of the grant as *śukla-paksha-daśamī* in the month of Phālguna in the **first year** of the king's reign. In determining the dates of the Penukoṇḍa plates of the present king's grandson Mādhava II, Fleet has given A.D. 475 as a very good date for it.[4] Shifting back by two generations of 25 years each our plates will have to be assigned to about A.D. 425, which is not improbable in the light of its palæography which has been fully discussed already.

[1] The name is given in this form in the Kūḍalūr grant of Mādhavavarman (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259).
[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335, text-line 11.
[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35.
[4] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

The **localities** mentioned in the grant are **Paru-vishaya** and the village **Vēlputtoru.** The former is evidently the same as Paruvi-*vishaya* of the Penukoṇḍa plates which has been identified by Rice with Parigi,[1] seven miles north of Hindūpūr in the Anantapūr District. The gift village is evidently identical with the modern village Vēlpumaḍugu[2] of the Gooty taluk in the same district. The plates must have migrated from Vēlputtoru to Sāsanakōṭa where they were discovered in course of time.

The **engraver** of the grant was Sōmaśarman. Nothing is stated about his official position or status.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 [4] ◎ Jitam[5]=Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [|*] śrīma-

2 j-**Jāhnavēya-kul**-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana[6]-bhāskarasya

3 [sva-bhuja-javaja-jaya-jani]'ta-sujana-janapadasya [8]dāraṇ-āri-gaṇa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

4 vidāraṇa-raṇ-ōpalabdha-vrāṇa-bhūshaṇasya **Kāṇvāyana**-sagōtrasya

5 śrīmat-[9]**Kōṅgaṇivarmma**-dharmma-mahādhirājasya putrēṇa pitur=anvāga-

6 ta-guṇēna sva-bhuja-vīry-ōtpāṭit-āvagṛihīt-āri-śrī-yaśasā[10]

7 nānā-śāstrattha[11]-sad-bhāv-ādhigama-praṇīta-mati-viśēshasya[12]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

8 vidvat-kavi-kāñchana-nikash-ōpala-bhūtasya[13] viśēshatō=py=ana-

9 vaśēshasya nīti-śāstrasya yathāvad=vakkṛi[14]-prayōktṛi-ku-

10 śalēna samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhigata-rājya-prayōjanēna

11 su-vibhakta-bhakta-bhṛitya-janēna śrī-**Mādhavavarmmaṇā** ātmanaḥ

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[1] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

[2] The term *toru* or *doruvu* is synonymous with *maḍugu* in Telugu and means a 'pond.' It would be interesting to note that Vēlpumaḍugu is a very ancient settlement. The adjoining 'isolated round-topped granite hill crowned with a fortification of post-neolithic date yielded a good harvest of celts and other neolithic artifacts' (Bruce Foote, *Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, p. 99).

[3] From the original plates and from ink-impressions prepared in my office.

[4] This symbol is engraved in the margin as in the Penukoṇḍa plates and probably stands for *Śrī* or *Siddham*. In addition to this the Penukoṇḍa plates have the expression *Svasti* in the margin.

[5] At the top of *ta* is a dot in the original. This is accidental and due to corrosion and need not be mistaken for an *anusvāra* which in this record is always marked at the right top corner of the concerned letter.

[6] The Penukoṇḍa plates have *vyōma-bhāsana-*.

[7] The portion enclosed within the brackets is engraved on an erasure like a palimpsest. The Penukoṇḍa plates read °*bhuja-java-jaya-*.

[8] Read *dāruṇ-āri*.

[9] The Penukoṇḍa plates have *Koṅkaṇi*°.

[10] After this word is a letter like *pa* engraved and scored out.

[11] Read *-śāstr-ārtha-*.

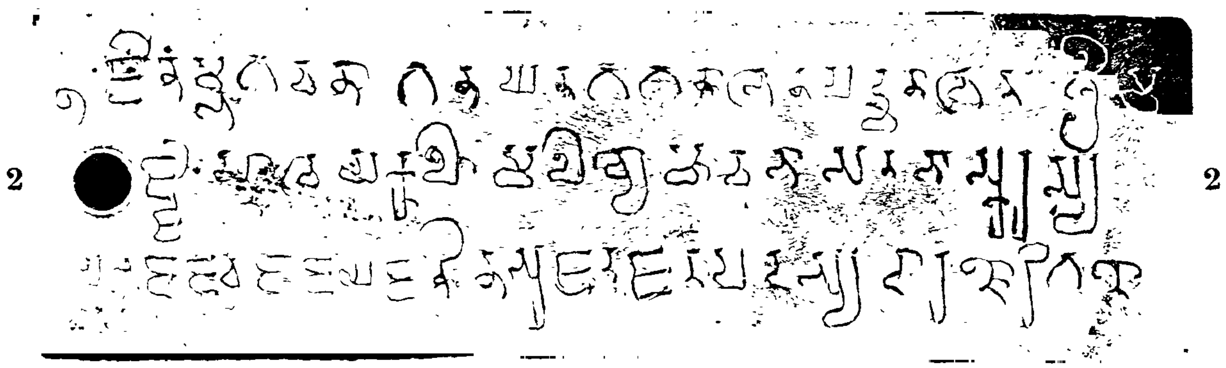
[12] Read *-viśēshēṇa*.

[13] Read *-bhūtēna*.

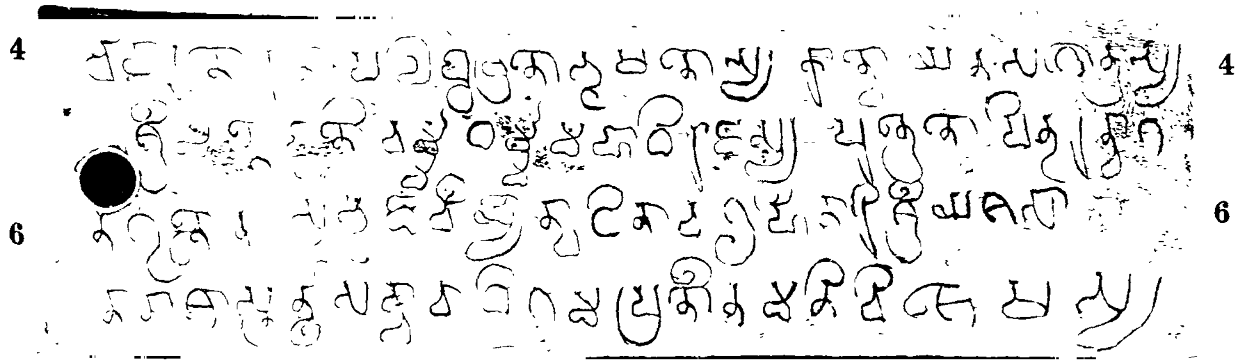
[14] Read *vaktṛi-*.

SASANAKOTA PLATES OF GANGA MADHAVAVARMAN; 1ST YEAR.

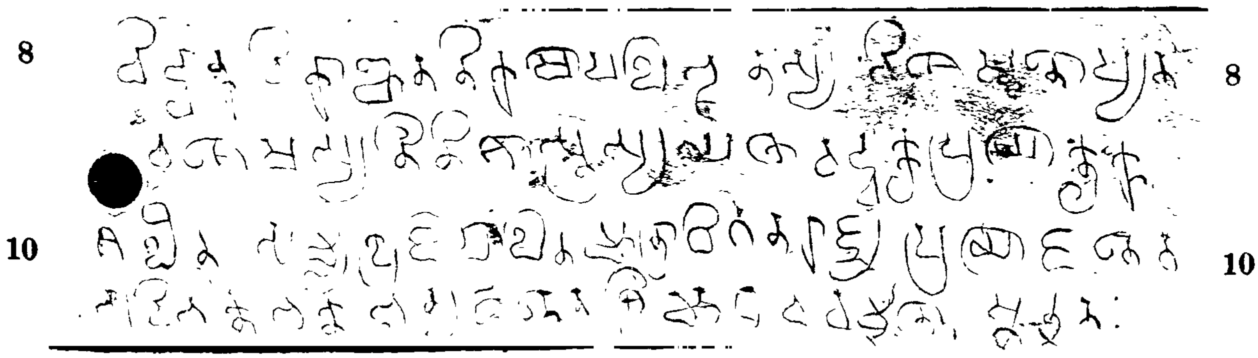
i.



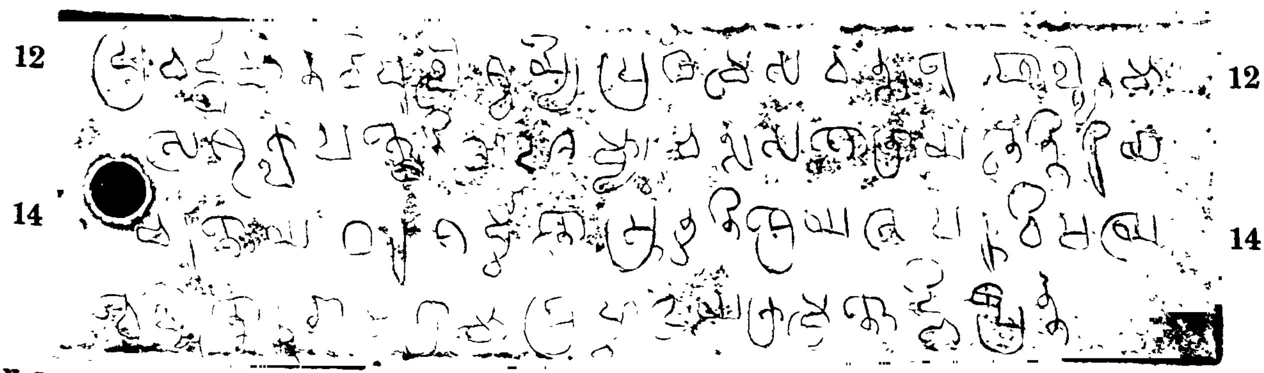
ii, a.



ii, b.



iii, a.

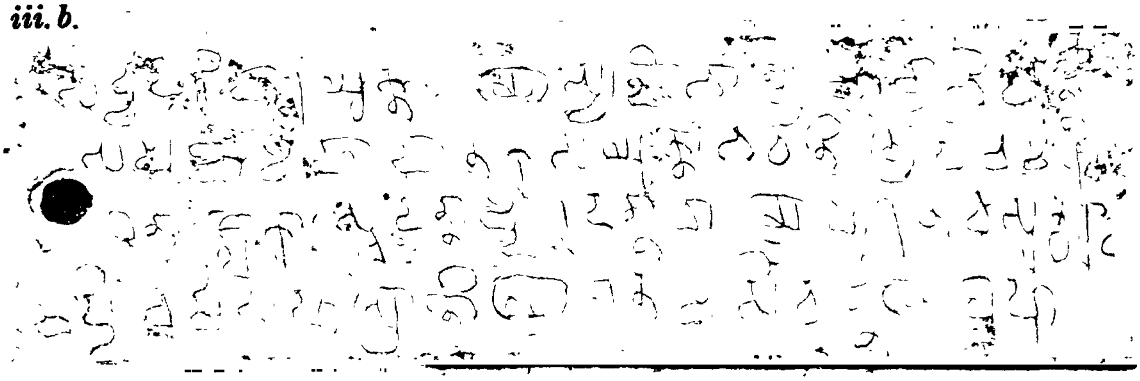


N. P. CHAKRAVARTTI.
REG. No. 1887 E'38-295.

SCALE: NINE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

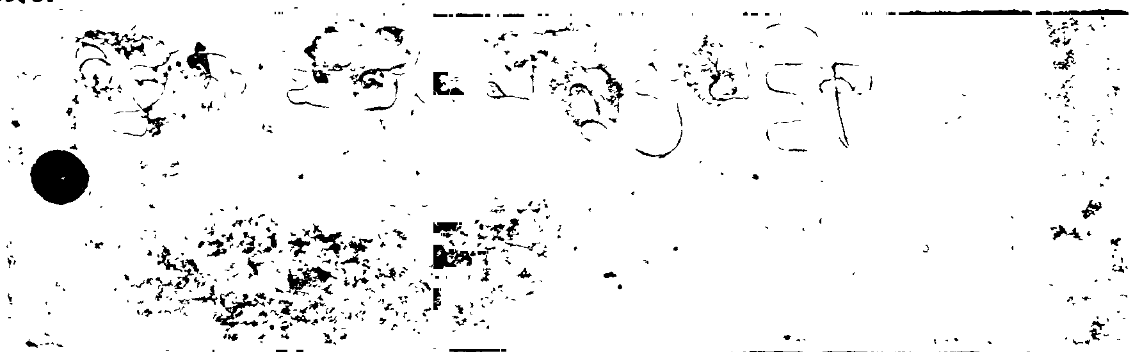
iii. b.



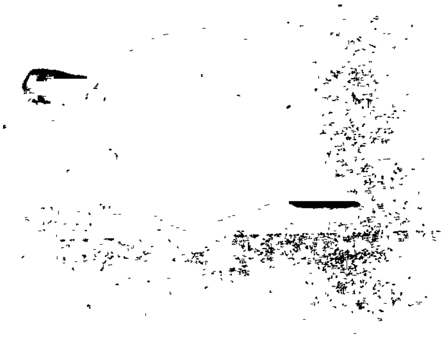
iv. a.



iv. b.



Seal (From a photograph).



Third Plate ; First Side.

12 **pravarddhamāna**-vipul-aiśvaryyē **prathamē** sava[ṁ]tsarē[1] Phālguna-mā-

13 **sē śukla-pakshē tithau daśamyām** Vatsa-sagōtrāya[2] Taittiriya[3]-

14 **charaṇāya Dharaśarmmaṇē** ātmaniśrēyasē[4] **Paru-vishayē**[5]

15 **Vālputtoru-nāma-grāmō** brahmadēya-kramēṇ=ādbhiḥ=pratta[ḥ*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

16 **sarvva-parihāra-yukta**[ḥ] [|*] [6]Yō=sya lōbhāt=pramā[dā*]d=v=ābhiharttā

17 **sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-sa**[ṁ]yuktō bhavati [|*] Api cha Manu-

18 gatā[ḥ*][7] **ślōkāḥ** [|*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām [|*]

19 **shaptiṁ(shṭiṁ) varsha-sahasrāṇi** ghōrē tamasi varttatē [||*] Bahu-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

20 **bhir=vvasudhā bhuktā** rājabhis=Sagar-ādhibhi[ḥ][8] [|*] yasya yasya

21 **yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā** phalam [||*] Svan=dātuṁ su-maha[9]ch=chha-

22 **kyaṁ duḥkham=any-ārttha**-pālanam [|*] dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v=ēti dānāch=chhrē-

23 **y=ōnupālana[m]** [||*] Sva-mahārāja-mukh-ājñaptyā[10] **Sōma-**

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

24 **śarmmaṇā**[11] likhit=ēyan=tāmra-paṭṭikā [|*]

No. 32.—RANIPUR JHARIAL INSCRIPTIONS.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Ootacamund.

Rānīpur Jhariāl, a village about 21 miles west of Titilagarh[12] in the Pāṭnā State of Orissa, is famous for its numerous old temples, all of which are now deserted and partly dilapidated. They are built on a rocky surface on one side of a big tank close by. The place was first surveyed as early as 1875 by Mr. J. D. Beglar who has left us a vivid description of the buildings and sculptures found at this site.[13] About seven years later Sir A. Cunningham also visited this village and examined its antiquities.[14] Lastly, in November

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[1] Read *saṁvatsarē*.

[2] The donee in the Penukoṇḍa plates also belongs to the same *gōtra* and *charaṇa*.

[3] Read *Taittirīya*. The Penukoṇḍa plates also adopt the form *Taittiriya*.

[4] Read *ātmanaḥ śrēyasē* or *ātma-niḥśrēyasāya*.

[5] The Penukoṇḍa plates call it *Paruvi-vishaya*. [The same *Paruvi-vishaya* is evidently intended here. The scribe seems to have dropped a *vi* by way of haplography.—Ed.]

[6] The Penukoṇḍa plates read only *yō=sya harttā*

[7] Read *-gītāḥ* as in the Penukoṇḍa plates. The same three imprecatory verses are cited in the said plates but in a different order.

[8] Read *-ādibhiḥ*.

[9] This *ha* is written below the line.

[10] Read *Mahārāja-sva-mukh-ājñaptyā*.

[11] The writer of the Penukoṇḍa plates was the goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*) Apāpa.

[12] Titilagarh is a railway station on the Raipur-Vizagapatam line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

[13] Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-137, plates XI-XVI.

[14] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 64-65.

1936, I went there, while I was touring in that part of the country, specially in quest of inscriptions. I copied there three epigraphs which form the subject of this article.

A.—Mahādēva Temple Inscription.

This record is engraved on the architrave over the entrance to the sanctum of a stone temple which is the largest of the whole group and is locally known as Mahādēva temple[1]. It has been noticed by Mr. Beglar according to whom it is "the only inscription in the whole of the innumerable temples here". Evidently the other two epigraphs treated of here escaped his notice. Nor has Sir Cunningham noticed them. The inscription under discussion consists of six lines of unequal length, the first four lines measuring more or less five feet each and the last two only one foot. The average size of the letters is 1¼".

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, but the composition is extremely faulty. Nevertheless the contents are fairly intelligible. No **orthographical** peculiarity is noticeable, except that the consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated, as in *sanirggata* of l. 1, and that the sign of *v* is used for both *b* and *v*.

Lexically, the usage of the word *kīrttitaṁ* (A. l. 2) as well as of *prakīrtitā* (B. l. 4) in the sense of 'built' is of interest. In the latter record the term *kīrti* is employed as a synonym of *kīrtana*,[2] meaning 'a building' or 'a temple.'[3]

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of the temple by an *āchārya*, named **Gaganaśiva**, an immigrant from Uttara-Terambagriha. It is clear from the inscription that the temple contained images of at least four different deities, namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī. The first of these names is obviously a shortened form of Sōmēśvaradēva which occurs in l. 1 and refers to Śiva, the principal deity of the temple. Svāmin is an epithet of Śiva's son Kārttikēya. As regards the name Siddhēśvara, it probably stands here for Siddhārtha, meaning the Buddha, a figure of whom is found sculptured on the jamb of the entrance of the temple in question. The figure of Lakshmī is found over the entrance. From the presence of relics pertaining to different creeds,[4] Beglar concluded "that the temple was first Vaishnavic, next Buddhist, and finally Saivic."[5] This conclusion is now disproved by the mention of the aforesaid four deities in the inscription itself, which rather shows that they all were installed simultaneously, and that the seeming diversity was the original character of the temple.

It may be pointed out that the inscription was examined both by Mr. Beglar and by Sir A. Cunningham, but their interpretation of it is open to question. For instance, the appellation *Sōmēśvaradēva-bhaṭṭāraka*, occurring in the beginning of the record, has been

[1] For its Buddhistic and Vaishnavic associations compare Mr. Beglar's remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

[2] The significance of this word has been discussed by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228-229, where he has also cited certain instances of its usage in the given sense both in literature and in inscriptions.

[3] The word *kīrtti* is found used in the same sense also in the Ghōsrāwā Buddhist inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 309 (also p. 308 and p. 312, n. 30), and *kīrtti-sthāna* in the Lakkhā Maṇḍal *praśasti*, above Vol. I, p. 14 and p. 15, n. 21.

[4] See above, n. 1.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 131.

taken by them as referring to a *rājā* of that name,[1] while, as is clear from the context, it refers in reality to Śiva, the main deity of the shrine.

The only information we get from the inscription regarding Gaganaśiva *āchārya* is that he hailed from Uttara-Tērambagṛiha. In this connection Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has kindly directed my attention to the Mattamayūra school of Śaiva ascetics, suggesting thereby that Gaganaśiva might have been one of them, as the names of some of them likewise end in *śiva*. This argument receives further support from the identification of Uttara-Tērambagṛiha with Tērambi as proposed below. Tērambi, it may be pointed out, is known from the Rāṇōd inscription to be the seat of an earlier Śaiva saint of the Mattamayūra line, whose name is not given but who is styled *Tērambipāla*, *i. e.*, 'the protector of Tērambi'.[2]

The saints of the Mattamayūra sect are known to have founded temples, tanks and monasteries at various places, being highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers.[3] The Rāṇōd inscription itself belongs to one such sage, called Vyōmaśiva, who is stated to have restored to Raṇipadra[4] its past glory[5] and beautified the *maṭha* there by building in its vicinity a magnificent tank, a temple, a garden and shrines with images of Śiva, Umā, Nāṭyēśvara and Vināyaka.[6] Of all these, prominence is given to the tank, the construction of which forms the main object of the record and which is glorified in no less than twenty verses (vv. 45-64). The line of disciples given in this record is as follows :[7] Kadambaguh-ādhivāsin, Śaṅkhamaṭhik-ādhipati, Tērambipāla, Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha, Purandara, Kachaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛidayēśa and Vyōmaśiva. Of these Purandara is described to have founded two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūra and the other at Raṇipadra. The latter place, it is narrated, was subsequently graced by Sadāśiva by doing penance there, while still later, as has already been stated, its grandeur was revived and enhanced by Vyōmaśiva. From the numerous laudatory verses in praise of Vyōmaśiva we gather that he was an ascetic of a very high order and a profound scholar, well-versed in the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* as well as in the Nyāya, Vaiśēshika, Mīmāṁsā and Sāṁkhya *śāstras*, equally proficient in the Lōkāyata, Bauddha and Jaina doctrines, who could easily silence his opponents in a debate, so much so that he is related to be a second omniscient Śaṅkara (*i.e.*, Śiva) incarnate.[8]

Now, considering that *Vyōmaśiva*, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is the same as *Gaganaśiva*, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that Vyōmaśiva is variously mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription by such equivalent appellations as Gaganēśa (v. 39), Vyōmaśambhu (v. 41), Vyōmēśa (v. 50) and Gaganaśaśimauli (v. 65). The same will be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, Hṛidayēśa of the Rāṇōd inscription

[1] The Secretary to the Cabinet, Pāṭṇā State, has kindly placed at my disposal copies of certain manuscripts by the late Mr. Manbodh Sahu, a resident of that State. One of them contains a transcript of the present inscription, with some notes regarding its contents. I find most of the text read by Mr. Sahu to be correct, except that he has, after the Oriya fashion, used *b* for *v* in his transliteration. As regards the contents of the record, while his explanation of it improves little upon that given by Mr. Beglar and Sir Cunningham, he follows them in regarding *Sōmēśvaradēva* as referring to a royal personage.

[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 355, v. 9.

[3] See R. D. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (*A. S. I. Memoirs*, No. 23), pp. 110 ff.

[4] R. D. Banerji wrongly gives it as Rāṇipadra.

[5] Above, Vol. I, p. 357, v. 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 359, vv. 43, 44.

[7] For a fuller list and a more detailed account the reader is referred to R. D. Banerji's monograph, *loc. cit.*

[8] Compare especially the verses 36-39 of the Rāṇōd inscription.

is called Hṛidayaśiva in the Bilhari inscription.[1] It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though merely to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyōmaśiva and Gaganaśiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Tērambi being identical with Uttara-Tērambagṛiha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyōmaśiva with Gaganaśiva, and that is the name *Raṇipadra*. Has this name anything to do with Rāṇipur Jhariāl ? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that 'they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten'.[2] But one may as well ask : Can it not be that we have a replica of Raṇipadra itself in Rāṇipur Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, *viz.*, Vyōmaśiva or Gaganaśiva ?

However plausible the above argument may appear, the whole question has to be left undecided in the absence of more convincing evidence. The verbal likeness between *Raṇipadra* and *Rāṇipur* may be as accidental as may the similarity between *Vyōmaśiva* and *Gaganaśiva* be fortuitous. And when we consider how ill compares the faulty and clumsy construction of the present brief record with the chaste and ornate composition of the copious inscription from Rāṇōd, the former depicting Gaganaśiva as a mediocre abbot and the latter representing Vyōmaśiva as a great celebrity among the learned and the holy, the possibility of the two being identical becomes remoter still. There is, however, no such obstacle in accepting Tērambi being the same as Uttara-Tērambagṛiha and Gaganaśiva being connected with the Mattamayūra sect of Śaiva saints.

As regards the location of the places referred to above, Raṇipadra has been taken to be Rāṇōd itself, an old decayed town in the state of Gwālior, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna.[3] Tērambi, it is suggested, may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Rāṇōd,[4] and which seems also to represent the Uttara-Tērambagṛiha of the inscription under discussion, unless, as a partial phonetic resemblance between the names would suggest, it be identified with the modern Tarbhā, an important mart in the Sōnepur State, lying on the borders of the Pāṭṇā State, some sixty-five miles north-east of Rāṇipur Jhariāl, which seems less probable.

TEXT[5].	CORRECTED TEXT.
1 [. . . ॐ न[6]]मः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसो- मेश्वरदेवभट्टारकपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादी: । श्री[7]उत्तरतेरम्वग्टहविनिर्म्मतगगनशिवा-	ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवभट्टार- कपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादिश्री[7]उत्तरतेरम्बगृह- विनिर्म्मितगगनशिवा-

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 259, v. 54.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 128.
[3] Above, Vol. I, pp. 351 and 353
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 353.
[5] From ink-impressions.
[6] It cannot be ascertained whether the stone contained any more letters before the conjecturally supplied two syllables *Ōṁ na*.
[7] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

2	[1]चभिधा[.. .. .]चार्येन[1] इदं स्थानं कीर्त्तितं सर्व्वं । तीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकानुग्राहकं पु[2]न्यं । सोमसा[3]मि- सिद्धेश्वरं ।	भिधा[नसिद्ध?]चार्येण[1] इदं स्थानं कीर्त्तितं सर्व्वतीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकानुग्राहकं पुण्यं सोमस्वामिसिद्धेश्वर-
3	लक्ष्मीनामचतुर्थकं ॥ इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा[4] सर्व्वपापविमोचनः । श्रीसोमीश्वना- थस्तव पादयुगले: श्राधनैकतत्पर[:]	लक्ष्मीचतुर्थकं नाम तीर्थं स्नात्वा[4] सर्व्व- पापविमोचनम् । श्रीसोमेश्वनाथ[5] तव पादयुगले[1]आराधनैकतत्परः
4	प्रणमति गगनशिवं यदि बद्धो मुक्ति- न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्ध- नसमर्थस्तपं किन्न भवति ॥ स्त-[6] थापि स्वामिनो ज-	प्रणमति गगनशिवः । यदि बद्धो मुक्ति- न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्धनसमर्थः । [7]तपसि किन्न भवति ॥ तथापि स्वामिनो ज-
5	गत्पति[र्ब]न्धं वा मोक्षन्ददासि	गत्पतिर्बन्धं वा मोक्षन्ददासि
6	गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥	गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Obeisance to Śiva ! The *āchārya* (or *siddhāchārya ?*) named Gaganaśiva, an immigrant from the glorious **Uttara-Tērambagṛiha,** (*who has been*) favoured with a boon by the Supreme Master, the Lord, the illustrious god Sōmēśvara, has built this (*holy*) place which combines in itself the merit of all the holy places, is beneficent for the people, and is sacred, containing (*the images of the four gods*) namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī as the fourth. This holy place delivers (*one*) of all sins, if (*one*) bathes (*here*).[9] O Śrī-Sōmēśanātha ! Gaganaśiva, being ever full of devotion, bows at your pair of feet. O Śaṅkara ! you bestow salvation (*on your devotee*), if (*he*) is in bondage. You are able even to put (*one*) into bondage, (*if one*) is freed. [10]What is not possible through penance ? ....the lord of the universe, you give bondage or liberation. But Gagana alone (*is ?*) this lord Śiva.

B.—Kēnduvalli Temple Inscription.

At a little distance in front of the Mahādēva temple described above, there is another, called **Kēnduvalli temple,** which is much smaller in size. The face of the rock on which

[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] Between *pu* and *nyaṁ* traces are visible of a cancelled letter which seems to have been a *nu*.

[3] The reading is probably *Svāmi-*, only the subscript *v* is not clear.

[4] The usage of this absolute gerund for a conditional clause is unusual.

[5] This is equivalent to *śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva.*

[6] This can also be read as *stath=āpi*.

[7] From here onwards the sense is not very clear to me.

[8] These names have been discussed in the introduction.

[9] See above, n. 4.

[10] See above, n. 7.

it stands is carved with figures of *nava-grahas*. The present short inscription is engraved to the left of these carvings. Owing to the exposure, both the drawings and the epigraph are badly weather-worn and can be made out only with difficulty.

The inscription consists of four short lines, each about a foot and a quarter in length, comprising one stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre; thus every line containing one quarter of the verse.

The **characters** are similar to those of the record **A.** already dealt with. The inscription can thus be assigned roughly to the 10th century A.D., which would also be the date of the temple the erection of which is recorded in it.

The **language** is Sanskrit, practically without any mistake. In point of orthography the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddhō* (l. 1) may be noted. The significance of the words *kīrtir=* and *prakīrtitā* has been discussed above.[1]

The record simply informs us that one **Dēvānanda**, son of Jōgēśvara, has raised this shrine in honour of Kṛishṇa, by which evidently the present Kēnduvalli temple itself is meant. It cannot be ascertained from the inscription whether the name Kēnduvalli is the same as was originally given to the shrine or whether it came to be attached to it later on. It is, however, only from this epigraph that we learn that the shrine was dedicated to Kṛishṇa, as the monument itself in its present condition is totally bereft of its original contents. As is evidenced by this as well as by the previous record, the temples of Rānipur Jhariāl were devoted to various deities. It must, therefore, have been a place of pilgrimage for Hindu devotees of all persuasions.

No information is given regarding Dēvānanda and his father Jōgēśvara so as to determine whether the builder of this Kṛishṇa temple was also an *āchārya* or simply a layman.

TEXT.[2]

1 जोगेश्वरसुतः सु(शु)द्धो

2 देवानन्देति[3] विश्रुतः ।

3 तेन कृष्णोपचारेण

4 कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

Jōgēśvara (*had*) a son, well-known as Dēvānanda. This temple is constructed by him in honour of Kṛishṇa.

C.—Rākshasa-parvata Inscription.

This inscription is cut on the top of a rocky elevation known as **Rākshasa-parvata**, lying opposite the Kēnduvalli temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line-drawing, representing a pair of human footprints enclosed within a rayed circle. The engraving of both the drawing and the writing is shallow.

[1] See above p. 240.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Strictly speaking, it ought to have been *Dēvānanda iti*, but *sandhi* has been made through the exigency of the metre. Or, the name *Dēvānanda* is used here *avibhaktika*, *i.e.*, without the case-termination.

The writing consists of three very small lines, each about eight inches long, comprising half a *ślōka*. The **characters** appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the previous two records, but belong to the same type. The **language** is Sanskrit. The **purport** of the record is the consecration of the foot-marks (at the instance of a *siddhāchārya ?*) which are engraved near by, though the text is rather obscure. The nimbus around the foot-impresses denotes the holiness of the person to whom they belong, but there is nothing to show whether the person is a god or a saint.

TEXT.[1]

1 ॐ[2] प्र[तिष्ठा]प्यमि-

2 दं प[दं] सिद्धा-

3 चार्येण वाचितं[।*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Siddhāchārya has declared this footprint to be consecrated.

No. 33.—ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.Litt., Benares Hindu University.

While on a visit to Allahābād, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, B.A., LL.B., the devoted founder and maker of the Allahābād Municipal Museum, showed to me an inscribed fragmentary stone pillar, which had been acquired for the museum some months ago. This interesting monument hailed from the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District, which was a well-known and flourishing city in ancient India. Rai Bahadur Vyas kindly supplied to me an ink-impression of the inscription on the pillar, after I had read it from the original, and requested me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly.

The inscription has been inscribed on a stone pillar, which, in its original form, was obviously intended to be a *yūpa*. The pillar has been sadly mutilated ; only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left, has been recovered. To judge from the angles of these facets, it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one. It thus resembled the main shafts of the *yūpas* at Īsāpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh. For further information about the size, nature and significance of sacrificial pillars, I may refer the reader to my paper on ' Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita year 295' published *ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

As in the case of the Īsāpur *yūpa*, the inscription on this pillar also has been engraved in horizontal lines. In this respect it differs from the rather inconvenient arrangement to be seen on the *yūpas* at Nāndsā, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, where the records have been inscribed in long vertical lines to be read from the top to the bottom or *vice versâ*.[3] The extant portion of the inscription extends over 16 lines. From its concluding sentence, ' May Mahēśvara, thus honoured, be pleased over and over again ', it is clear that the record ends with the last words of the present last line.

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[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] [There are two records on the pillar of Nāndsā containing practically the identical text. One of these is written in vertical and the other in horizontal lines.—Ed.]

It may be recalled that the Īsāpur *yūpa* record also ends similarly, 'May the fires be pleased'. We may therefore confidently conclude that our record did not run into any lower line over a facet which has been destroyed.

The general arrangement of the record and the purport of the lines preserved make it further certain that the present first line was preceded by two earlier ones. which referred to the first two sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. This point will be further explained later.

The portion of the inscription that has been inscribed on the completely preserved facet of the pillar and also over a small fraction of the facet on its left, makes it clear that each facet was intended to have one quartrain of the *Anushṭubh* metre. It is thus clear that at least the metrical part of the record was inscribed over the four out of the eight facets of the *yūpa*. The same probably was the arrangement in the case of the last five lines, which are in prose.

The **characters** of the inscription, which has been engraved very carefully and beautifully, belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. The form of the letters *na*, *ṇa*, *la*, and *sa* makes it quite clear that the record is much earlier than the Gupta period. It would be instructive to compare its characters with those of the Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā *yūpas*, erected respectively in the 24th year of emperor Vāsishka, and 282nd and 295th year of the Kṛita, *i.e.*, Vikrama era. Unlike in any of the above dated records, in our epigraph, the forms of the medial short and long *i* are denoted by one and two curvilinear lines respectively, placed over the top of the letter; the later practice of using for this purpose curves turning to the left and right, which we see in Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā records, is not known to our epigraph. The central stroke of *śa* is still slanting downwards; this is an archaic characteristic and is not to be seen in any of the above records. *Na* and *ṇa* have only a slight bend in the base line; the former has not yet developed a hook, and the latter shows no tendency to develop any curve at the top. The central bar of *ka* is still a straight line; it has not become curved as at *Nāndsā* and Baḍvā. The vertical of *la* has not yet developed a curve at the top as at Baḍvā. *Ya* shows no loop in the left limb as at Nāndsā and Baḍvā. The letter *da* still retains its archaic form and opens to the left as in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Rudradāman. Palæography would therefore show that this *yūpa* inscription is earlier than the *yūpa* records, referred to above; we may, therefore, with fair certainty, place it in the first part of the 2nd century A.D., if not even a little earlier.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, but there are the following mistakes in it. *Chchh* in *uchchhritaḥ* or *samuchchhritaḥ* has been throughout represented by *chh*; see ll. 1, 2, 7. In l. 7 °*viṁśē* has been wrongly spelt as °*vīṁśē*. In l. 10 *dātvēva* is probably a mistake for *dattv=aiva*. At the end of the l. 13, there is a *sandhi* mistake; instead of *tasminn=ēv=āhani* the record reads *tasmiṁnēv=āhani*. The last five lines of the record are in prose, but its first 11 lines are in verse, the metre being *Anushṭubh*. The same probably was the case with the first two lines of the record that have now been lost.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. An *anusvāra* is indicated by a dot above the letter; it is not changed to the nasal of the class of the letter following; see ll. 6, 8. *Va* has been changed into *ba* in the word *Kaubidārikā*, l. 12.[1] Consonants are not doubled when they are conjoined with a preceding *r*; cf. [*chatu*]*rthaḥ*, l. 2, °*r=bhōktavyam*, l. 15. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed; °*dbhiḥ charakai*° (l. 15) is the only exception. There are no punctuation marks at the end of sentences or verses. At the end of l. 15, there is a small horizontal stroke which was perhaps intended to be a punctuation mark. The verses are numbered at the end. There is a separate numbering for the verses in sections A and B of the record.

[1] [See p. 249, n. 3 below.—Ed.]

Symbols for all the numerals from 1 to 9 appear in the record. They are similar to those found **in the Nāsik and Kushāṇa** inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

As regards the date, it is clear from l. 7 that the record was inscribed in the **23rd regnal year** of a certain king. But as his name is not preserved in the extant part of the inscription, we cannot utilise this information for determining its date. Palæographical evidence therefore affords the only clue; it points to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. as the probable date of the record, as shown already above.

Though the inscription is very fragmentary, its main purpose can be ascertained fairly satisfactorily. It divides itself into three parts, part A consisting of ll. 1-7, part B of ll. 8-11, and part C of ll. 12-16. Part A commemorates the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the performance of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. The sacrificer was almost certainly **Śivadatta,** who was a very trusted minister of a certain king, whose name has been lost. That he performed the various sacrifices comprised in the group of seven Sōma sacrifices becomes clear from the fact that only seven sacrifices are mentioned, and that—to judge from the wording in ll. 3 and 5—they have been counted from *Agnishṭōma*. Line 5 further shows that the 5th sacrifice in the series was *Vājapēya*. Such actually is the case with the sacrifices in *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. For the sacrifices included in this group are *Agnishṭōma*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptōryāma*, and they are to be performed in the stated order.[1]

In the Vedic age the Sōma sacrifice was very common and its most popular form was *Agnishṭōma*, so called because the last of its twelve chants was called *Agnishṭōma-sāman*. The other six sacrifices included in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*, enumerated in the preceding paragraph, differ from *Agnishṭōma* only in minor details. This group of seven Sōma sacrifices seems to have been very popular when the Vedic religion was in ascendancy, for one Dharmasūtra writer has elevated them to the status of the *saṁskāras*.[2] It is clear that the idea was that these sacrifices should be performed by every householder as regularly as the sacraments like the *upanayana* and *antyēshṭi*. As a matter of fact we sometimes find even the Gṛihya sacrifices, which were very numerous, being artificially grouped into a *sapta-pākayajña-saṁsthā* on the analogy of the *sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā*.[3] This would show how great was the importance that was attached to the seven Sōma sacrifices of this group. It is, however, interesting to note that the present is the first case of our having discovered any *yūpa* referring to their performance. The Bijayagaḍh *yūpa* and the *yūpas* of king Mūlavarman of Borneo do not mention the name of the sacrifice in connection with which they were erected.[4] The Īsāpur *yūpa* commemorates the celebration of a *Dvādaśa-rātra* sacrifice, and the Nāndsā *yūpa* of the *Shashṭi-rātra*, as would appear from the preliminary note published about its inscription by Mr. Haldar.[5] Each of the three Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions that have so far been published, refers to the *Trirātra* sacrifice and another from the place, which is published below, commemorates an *Aptōryāma* sacrifice. The present record is therefore the first one published so far that refers to the celebration of all the seven sacrifices included in the famous *Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā*.

[1] *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, X, 9, 27. In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Ukthya*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra* occupy the 2nd, 6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

[2] *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*.

[3] *Baudhāyana-Gṛihyasūtra*, I, 1, 1.

[4] [In one of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman, Bahusuvarṇaka has been taken by Kern as a synonym of Bahuhiraṇya, a Sōma sacrifice.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 53. [The sacrifice mentioned in this record is *Eka-shashṭi-rātra*.—Ed.]

Section A of the record, consisting of ll. 1-7, refers to the erection of seven pillars in connection with the seven Sōma sacrifices referred to above. The first line of the record, which has been numbered 3 at its end, begins with a fragmentary letter which was clearly *t*, and which is followed by *yō yūpa u[ch*]chhritaḥ*. It is clear that we have to restore the first word as *tṛitīyō* and that the line refers to the erection of the third *yūpa* in connection with the third sacrifice of Sōma group, *viz.*, the *Ukthya*. Of the first word in l. 2, which has been numbered 4 at the end, only two letters *°rthas=tu* have been preserved. It is however clear that we have to restore the word as *chaturthas=tu* and the line thus refers to the erection of the fourth resplendent *yūpa*. The next line in the inscription, which is numbered 5, refers to the fifth one from *Agnishṭōma*; as the sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā* were numbered from *Agnishṭōma*, its first member, the line refers to the erection of the fifth *yūpa* in connection with the Vājapēya sacrifice, which is the fifth one in the series. The next line, which contains the verse numbered 6 in the record, refers to the sixth one from the first sacrifice. Obviously when complete, it described the erection of the 6th *yūpa* in connection with the *Atirātra* sacrifice, which is the 6th member in the Sōma group. The next line, containing the verse 7, refers to the seventh *yūpa* from *Agnishṭōma*, and obviously must have referred to the *Aptōryāma* sacrifice, which was the last one in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā* group. It would now become clear from this that the original record contained two more lines in the beginning, which have been now completely lost and which must have referred to the erection of two *yūpas* in connection with *Agnishṭōma* and *Atyagnishṭōma* sacrifices, which were the first and second member respectively in the series of seven Sōma sacrifices.

Though not originally included in the group of Sōma sacrifices by the earlier Saṁhitās, the 5th sacrifice in this series, the Vājapēya, soon assumed very great importance, and became associated with royal coronation. The 6th line of our record *[pratha]mād=yajñāt pañchamō Vājapēyikaḥ* refers to something connected with this sacrifice, as its concluding adjective would show. As the record is fragmentary, we cannot be sure about the purport of this line. It is, however, permissible to conjecture that the line referred once more to the *yūpa* of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and that it is identical with the one we have discovered. It would appear that though seven *yūpas* were duly set up by the sacrificer, he decided to select the *yūpa* of *Vājapēya* sacrifice for the honour of bearing the inscription, commemorating the performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices. Other *yūpas* were probably merely erected but not inscribed. We can now understand how only one of the sacrificial pillars found at Īsāpur bears an inscription. When several *yūpas* were erected in connection with a sacrificial *sattra*, it was customary to inscribe the relevant inscription on only one of them. The *yūpas* at Baḍvā are all inscribed, because they refer to sacrifices performed, no doubt on the same day, but by different sacrificers. Each sacrificer was anxious to commemorate his sacrifice separately.

The 7th line of the record stated the time of the performance of these sacrifices. The date was given not in any era but in the regnal year of a king. Unfortunately for history, the name of this potentate has been lost. The only restoration possible of the first crucial word in the line is *[trayō]-viṁśē*; the first fragmentary letter may possibly be taken as *pā*, but it can give no word for a numeral in combination with *viṁśē* following. On the other hand it could very well have been a part of the letter *yō*. In that case the word can be restored as *trayōviṁ(viṁ)śē*, as pointed out above. The record therefore was undoubtedly dated in the **23rd year** of a king, whose name has now been lost.

Section B of the record, consisting of ll. 8-11, is again in *Anushṭubh* metre. It was intended to give us information about the honorarium paid to the Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at these sacrifices. It is almost certain from these lines that the sacrificer was not the king, but a minister of his.

His name Śivadatta appears in l. 8 and he is probably once more referred to in l. 11 as 'a friend of the king', the form *rājamitraḥ* being probably a mistake for *rājamitraṁ*.[1] The first word of l. 8 can certainly be restored as *grāmaṁ*. The line, therefore, mentioned a village given to the minister Śivadatta, obviously by the king. In l. 9 the word *grāma* occurs as an object of a sentence and l. 10 refers to the payment of *dakshiṇā*. It would therefore appear that a village, which had been originally given by the king to his minister Śivadatta, was subsequently transferred by him as *dakshiṇā* to the priests, who officiated in his sacrificial session. Each Sōma sacrifice required 16 priests; if different sets of priests had officiated at each of the seven Sōma sacrifices performed by Śivadatta, the total number of persons entitled for the sacrificial fee would have been 112. Though an entire village was thus alienated, each donee probably received only $\frac{1}{112}$th part of its revenues. The total *dakshiṇā*, which Śivadatta had to pay on the occasion, undoubtedly constituted a big amount, and it will incidentally remind us of the oft-repeated observation that the Vedic sacrifices represented the religion of rich aristocracy and were beyond the means of ordinary individuals.

Section C of the record, consisting of ll. 12-16, is in prose[2] and these lines have not been numbered. As the lines are fragmentary, their purport can only be conjectured. Line 12 describes the homage paid to *Kaubidarikā* and the first part of l. 13 refers to some merit available in this and the next life. *Kōvidāra* is the name of a tree, favourite to Śiva like Bilva.[3] It would appear that Śiva was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta and these lines refer to the planting of a Kōvidāra grove, *Kaubidārikāṁ* [*vāṭikāṁ*], apparently in the garden of a Śiva temple, and the homage paid to it on the occasion. The merit of this religious act was probably described in the greater part of the next line, *i.e.*, l. 13.

Ll. 14-16, along with the last six letters of l. 13, refer to another gift made on the same day. The last line (l. 16) expresses the hope that Mahēśvara, thus honoured, may be pleased over and over again. It would therefore appear that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple. L. 15 states that wandering mendicants should be supplied with food. It would appear that this temple of Śiva had a *sattra* attached to it, and that a portion of the donation was reserved for the expenses connected with it. Epigraphs of later days refer to several such *sattras* maintained by temple authorities, where poor men, wandering mendicants and students were offered free food.[4] L. 14 and a portion of l. 15 describe the gift given. The extant portion of the inscription does not specifically describe the object of this gift, but to judge from the expression *sarva-jāta-bhōgyaṁ* and *abhṛita-pravēśyaṁ*, it is obvious that the gift made was of a village. Whether the donor was the king or his minister Śivadatta we do not know; probably it was the latter.

Though the record is very fragmentary, we can thus ascertain its purport almost completely. The loss of the name of the king, whom Śivadatta was serving as a minister, is, however, an irreparable historical loss. Had his name been preserved, we would probably have been able to date the record and get some welcome information about the contemporary history.

The contents of the record, as made out above, would show that it is a very interesting epigraph. It not only refers to the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the

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[1] [Probably we have to take Rājamitra here as a proper name as the case termination indicates.—Ed.]

[2] [We cannot determine if the whole of this portion is in prose. The opening portion of l. 13 appears to be in *Anushṭubh* metre, while the last line decidedly conforms to *Vaṁśasthavila* metre.—Ed.]

[3] कोविदारे च बिल्वे च सदा संनिहितः शिवः ।

I am indebted to Pandit Chinnaswami Shastri, Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Benares Hindu University, for drawing my attention to this line. [Kōbidārikā and Kōśambaka, apparently as place names, occur in the Indore Plates of Pravarasēna II (above, p. 55).—Ed.]

[4] See *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 255; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 129-31, Vol. V, p. 344; *E. C.*, Vol. I, No. 45.

performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices, but also records a donation made on the same day, and probably by the same donor and of the same value, to a temple of Śiva. The record thus shows how in the everyday life of the second century Hindu community, Vedic and Paurāṇic religions were harmoniously blended together. The concluding portion of the Īsāpur *yūpa* inscription is '*Prīyant[ā]m=Agnaya[ḥ]*', and it is quite appropriate in a record describing a Vedic sacrifice. In our epigraph, however, the concluding sentence expresses the hope that Śiva may be pleased. Of course this is probably due to the last recorded donation being in favour of a Śiva temple. It would however also attest to the growing hold of the Paurāṇic religion even on the minds of those who were taking an active part in the revival of the Vedic religion.

TEXT.[1]

A

1 [हृतो[2]*]यो यूप उच्छ्रित:[3] [॥*]२[4] [॥*]

2 [चतु*]र्थस्तु[5] श्रीमान्यूप: समुच्छ्रित:[6] [॥*] ४ [॥*]

3 [त*]तो[7] विद्वानग्निष्टोमात्तु पंचमम् [॥*] ५ [॥*]

4 [त][8]तोनेन ष[9]ष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्क्र[10]तो: [॥*] ६ [॥*]

5 [कृत*[8]]वान्यूपमग्निष्टोमात्तु सप्तमम् [॥*] ७ [॥*]

6 [प्रथ[11]*]माद्यज्ञात्पंचमो वाजपेयिक: [॥*] ८ [॥*]

7 [त्रयो*][12]विंशे[13] वर्षे यूप: समुच्छ्रित:[14] [॥*] ९ [॥*]

B

8 [ग्रा[15]]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रिणे [॥*] १ [॥*]

9 [स*][16]चिवो ग्रामं राज्ञो महात्मन: [॥*] २ [॥*]

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1 From the original and ink-impression.

2 A part of the letter *tī* can be seen in the ink-impression.

3 Read *uchchhritaḥ*.

4 Read 3. The upper horizontal line in the symbol for 3 has been destroyed.

5 For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

6 Read *samuchchhritaḥ*.

7 The first letter *ta* of this line appears to have the mark of a medial *i* above it in the ink-impression. It is, however, merely a crevice in the stone, caused when the pillar was mutilated. There is no clear sign of medial *ō* also on the second letter. This letter is, however, the 6th one in an *Anushṭubh* quartrain and should therefore be a long one. The reading and restoration *tatō* seems to be very probable. Compare [*ta*]*tō=nēna* at the beginning of the next line.

8 For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

9 Read *shashṭhas=*.

10 The subscript *kra* of this conjunct has penetrated into the lower line.

11 The right portion of the circle of *tha* can be seen in the ink-impression.

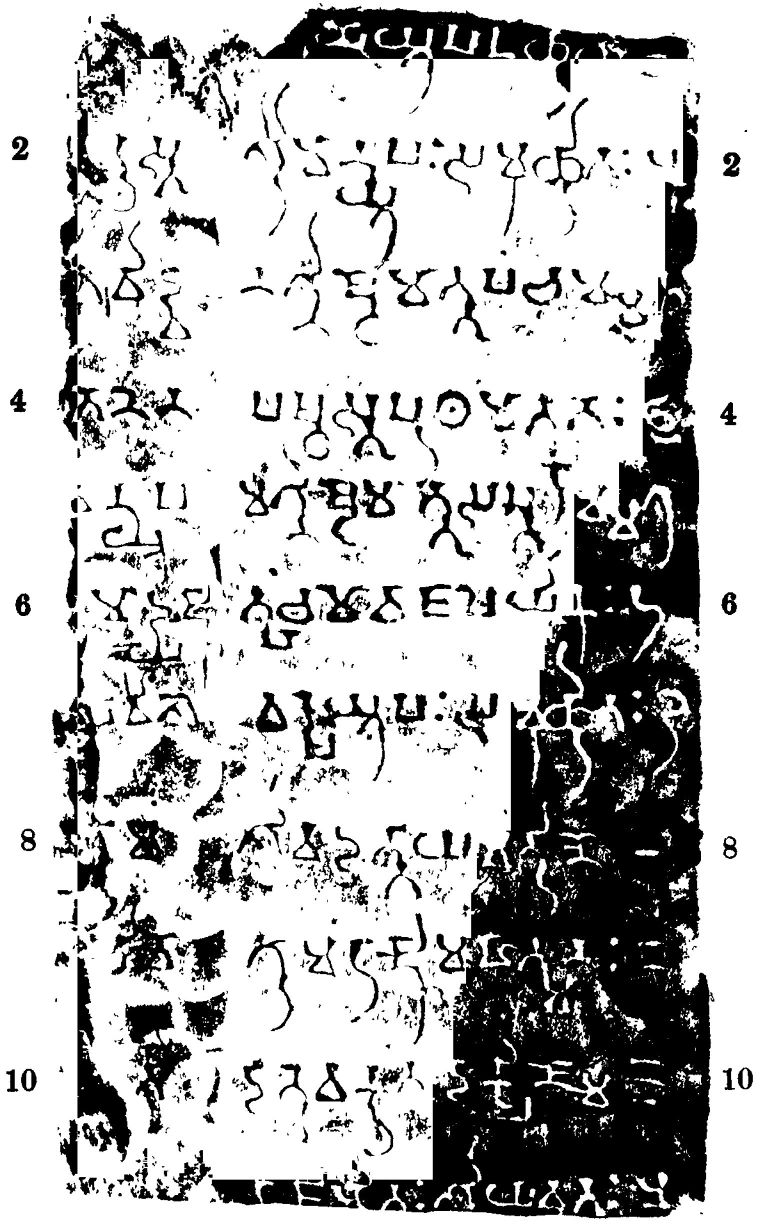
12 The first fragmentary letter of this line can also be read as *pā*, but when joined to the word *viṁśē* following, it cannot combine into any suitable word. It must therefore be taken to be the right hand portion of *yō*; *trayō-viṁśē* then is the only restoration possible.

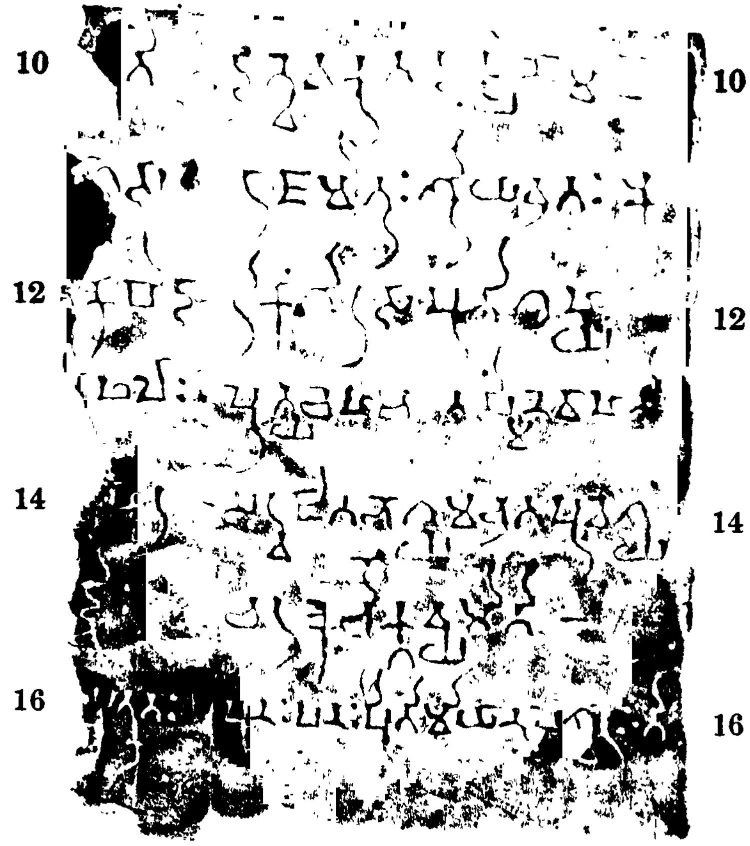
13 Read °*viṁśē*.

14 Read *samuchchhritaḥ*.

15 A comparison of the remnant of this letter with the letter *grā* occurring in the next line shows that it could have been nothing else than *grā* when in undamaged condition.

16 This restoration is rendered probable by the word *mantriṇē* occurring in the preceding line.





N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1902 E'38-275.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

10 -तिं[1] दत्वैव[2] कृतदाक्षिणाम्[3] [॥*] ३ [॥*]

11 [यश*]सा[4] राजमित्र: श्रिया वृत: [॥*] ४ [॥*]

C

12 कौविदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य

13 - फला:[5] प्रेत्य चेह च [।*] तस्मिंने[6]वाहनि

14 - हारं[7] सर्व्वजातभोग्यमभृत[8]प्रवेश्यं

15 [चाममच्छ*]द्रि:[9] [10]चरकैर्भोक्तव्यमिति ।[11]

16 स[12]त्कृत: पुन: पुन: प्रीतिमियान्महेश्वर इति [।*]

No. 34.—FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Benares Hindu University.

While editing my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛita year 295', I had observed that a fourth sacrificial pillar should have originally existed in the locality. I had thought that a Satī stone, existing not far from the locality and bearing the letters *yajñō* in the characters of about the 3rd century A.D., was probably a fragment of the fourth pillar.[13] Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, the State Historian, Kotah, however, now reports to me that a fourth *yūpa*, complete in every respect, was discovered in another part of the same village. It bears a general resemblance to the three *yūpas* already discovered, whose photographs were published along with my paper on the inscriptions engraved upon them.[14] The new *yūpa* also

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[1] The letter preceding *tiṁ* had a medial *i* mark which can be seen in the impression. It is, however, not possible to restore the word.

[2] Read *dattv=aiva*.

[3] Read *-dakshiṇām*.

[4] The first broken letter was obviously *śa*; compare it with the form of this letter in ll. 7, 8, 12, 14, etc. The restoration *yaśasā* is therefore very probable, the metrical irregularity not being a serious one. [The proposed restoration is doubtful. According to the rules of prosody the two syllables preceding *sā* in this case should ordinarily be long. In fact there seems to be a sign of medial *ē* attached to the seventh syllable of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

[5] The letters *phalāḥ* are preceded by a fragmentary letter, which looks like *ti*. *Phalāḥ* obviously must have formed the concluding part of a compound, but it is difficult to restore it with confidence.

[6] Read *tasminn=ēv=āhani*.

[7] Read *hāraṁ*. The word may have been *agrahāraṁ*.

[8] Village grants usually use the word *bhaṭa* in this connection; here its original Sanskrit form has been preferred.

[9] This restoration is conjectural, but it is rendered highly probable by the word *charakaiḥ* following.

[10] Read °*dbhiś=charakair=*.

[11] This stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke. It cannot stand for the numeral 1 here as it does in l. 8.

[12] A greater part of the letter *sa* is visible in the impression.

[13] *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-3.

[14] *Ibid.*, plate facing page 53.

bears an inscription written, as on the other *yūpas* in this locality, in a long vertical line. Dr. Mathuralal has kindly sent me an ink-impression of the record with a request to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*; I am doing so accordingly.

As in the case of other sacrificial pillars at Baḍvā, the surface of this pillar also is not properly dressed. Some of the letters of the record have not therefore come out well in engraving. The mason was also not very careful in his work. Thus in *ga* of *gava* (l. 2), he has engraved a third slanting stroke; *nu* in *Dhanuttrāta* (l. 1) has been tacked on to its preceding letter and the engraving of *sya* and *sra* is throughout very shabby. The characters of the record show a close resemblance to those on the other sacrificial pillars from this village, already published. Though the record is not dated, on palæographical grounds it can well be placed with confidence in the third century A.D., to which period the other Maukhari records of the locality belong.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Unlike the other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this inscription is composed in poetry. It consists only of a single verse in *Anushṭubh* metre. The record, though short, contains several mistakes, which will be indicated in the foot-notes.

The purport of the record is to announce that the pillar upon which it has been engraved, is a *yūpa* erected in *Aptōryāma* sacrifice performed by Dhanutrāta, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan, and that a sacrificial fee of one thousand cows was paid on the occasion to the officiating Brāhmaṇas. Unlike other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this record does not bear any date at its beginning. The name of the sacrificer Dhanutrāta, 'one protected by his bow', and of his father Hastin, 'Elephant', would suggest that the family was of the Kshatriya stock. Neither the sacrificer nor his father bears any feudatory or military titles like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati*. It may be that the family of Hastin had not yet risen high in the military or administrative hierarchy like that of Bala, who was a *Mahāsēnāpati* or a commander-in-chief in 239 A.D. Or, it may be that in the short space of a single *Anushṭubh* verse, this information could not be imparted by the versifier. The former seems to have been the probable alternative; had Dhanutrāta or his father acquired any feudatory or military rank, the versifier would certainly have been ordered to compose a second verse, announcing this distinction. Another facet of the pillar could have been utilised for this purpose, as has been done in the case of the *yūpa* of Balasiṁha from this locality.

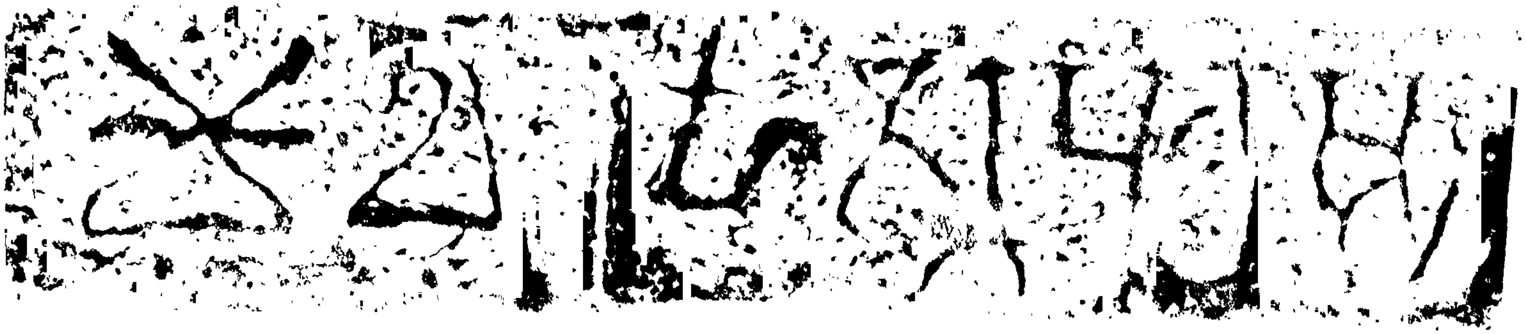
The Baḍvā *yūpa* records would show that there were several Maukhari families settled in the locality during the 3rd century A.D. They were probably the scions of one and the same stock. Records discovered so far do not establish any blood relationship between the families of Bala and Hastin, apart from the suggestion conveyed by their surname. All the Maukhari families were following the military profession and some of them like that of Bala had risen very high in military hierarchy. Probably several villages, if not Tahsils, in modern Kotah state in the vicinity of Baḍvā and Kotah were assigned to them as military *jāgīrs*.

The sacrifice performed by Dhanutrāta was *Aptōryāma*. It is a variety of the one day Sōma sacrifice, but occupied, like the *Atirātra* sacrifice, a whole day and extended through the next night. It marks a further elaboration of the *Atirātra* sacrifice, inasmuch as it added four extra *stōtras* and *śastras* to it at the end.[1] It forms the last member of the famous group of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. For further information on this point see my paper on 'Allahābād Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription', *ante*, pp. 245 ff.

[1] Keith: *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, introduction, p. CXVII.

Fourth Maukhari Yupa Inscription from Badva.

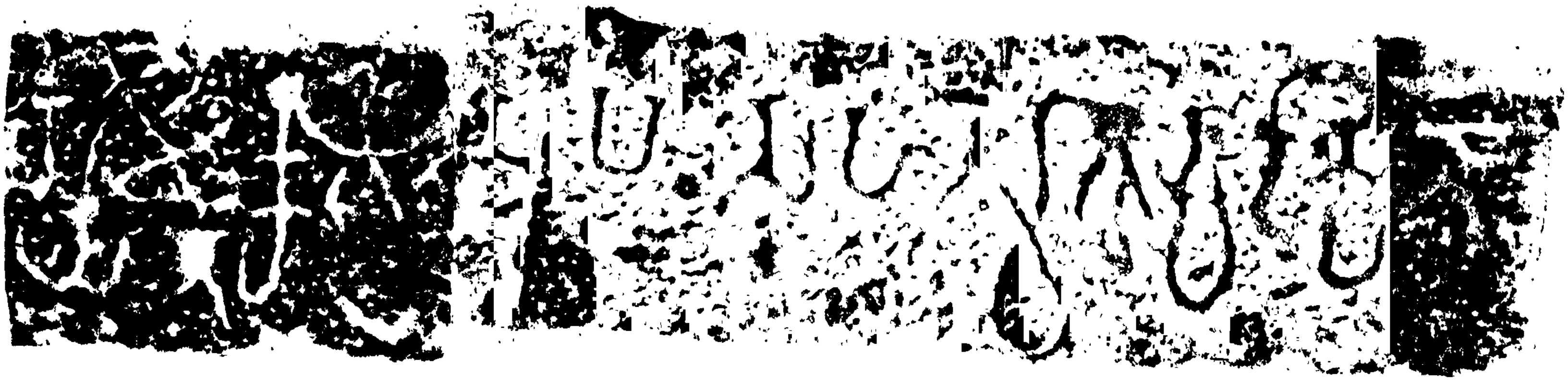
Left Section.



Middle Section.



Right Section.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1901 E'38-285

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.[1]

Mōkharēr=Hastī[2]-puttrasya Dhanuttrā[3]tasya dhīmataḥ [|*]
Aptō[r]y[ā]mṇa[ḥ] kratōḥ[4] yūpaḥ sahasrō gava-dakshiṇā[5] [|*]

TRANSLATION.

This is the *yūpa* of the Aptōryāma sacrifice performed by the wise **Dhanuttrāta**, son of **Hastin**, of the **Maukhari** clan; an honorarium of a thousand cows (*was given on the occasion*).

No. 35.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A.

This inscription which is engraved on a large slab of sand-stone, was discovered early in December 1937 in the course of an exploration of the ancient site of **Kosam** and its neighbourhood in the district of **Allahābād** by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dug out, 2 ft. below surface, from the western bank of an old dried up *nālā*, once draining into the Jumna, near the village **Nauhāi**, nearly 1½ miles north-west of the well-known Kosam Pillar. I am grateful to Mr. Majumdar for kindly supplying me with an estampage of the inscription and providing me with facilities for editing it.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The writing, which is neatly incised in two lines, covers a space of 2′ 8″ × 4″ and is engraved breadthwise at one end of the huge rectangular slab, measuring 7′ in length, 2′ 9″ in width and 6″ in thickness. The size of the letters varies in length from 1″ to 2″.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the later Kushāṇa period. The majority of the letters used are Kushāṇa while a few like *m* and *h* show advanced forms which are rare in the Kushāṇa documents but are of common occurrence in the Gupta records. The inscription, however, bears a close resemblance to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka[6] with which it also agrees in the use of *m*, *h* and *s* (*e.g. maharajasya*, l. 1) of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The signs used for representing the medial vowels—*ā* and *ē* by horizontal side strokes (*e.g. āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2 ; *savatsarē*, l. 1), *i* by a curve to left on top of the consonant (*e.g. divasē*, l. 1), *ī* by a U-shaped sign at the top of the letter (*e.g. dvitīya*, l. 1) and *ṛi* by a line, slanting from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards left (*e.g. grishma*, l. 1)—as well as the forms of the letters *n* and *ṇ* with curved base-lines (*e.g. āsana-paṭṭā* and *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *g* and *ś* with rounded tops (*e.g. grishma-pakshē*, l. 1 ; *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat angular forms (*e.g. Bhadramaghasya*, *maharajasya*, *pakshē* and *savatsarē*, l. 1) and the initial *ā* with the bar denoting its length attached lower down (*e.g. āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2)—are typical of the Kushāṇa writing. The forms of *g*, *t*, *bh* and *ś* show the pre-Gupta type inasmuch as in each case their verticals are of the same length. Similarly noteworthy is the letter *sh* with unlooped form and archaic round base. Incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to the engraver's carelessness ; the middle horizontal bar of the first *sa* in *savatsarē* (l. 1) is missing

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[1] From an ink impression.

[2] Read *Hasti-*.

[3] Owing to the carelessness of the mason, the three letters in *dhanuttrā* have been all joined together.

[4] Read °*tōr=yūpaḥ*.

[5] Read *sahasra-gava-dakshiṇaḥ*.

[6] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

and the base line of *na* in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has on either side been bent so low that it is difficult to distinguish it from *ta*; compare *ēkasiṭē* (l. 1) for the latter.

The language of the inscription is the usual mixed dialect of the Kushāṇa documents. The form *grishma* for *grīshma* is noteworthy. As regards the expressions *maharajasya* (l. 1) and *sthapata* (l. 2) we are not sure whether the shortening of the long vowels in these is due to a mistake in spelling or to Prakritism. The plural form in *āsanā-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has a parallel in *āyāga-paṭā*, occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions.[1]

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of *āsana-paṭṭas*, *i.e.* seats by a guild of stone-masons in the year 81, second fortnight of the summer and fifth day, during the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha. Judging from its shape and enormous size, its well-dressed smooth surface and the position occupied by the inscribed portion, we may safely conclude that the slab itself is being adverted to as one of the *āsana-paṭṭas*. It is interesting to note that two more inscriptions from Kosam, referring to the year 87 of Bhadramagha,[2] are incised on slabs, similarly labelled as *āsana-paṭṭas*. One of the latter epigraphs explicitly states that the *āsana-paṭṭa* was set up at a tank. The fact that the present inscription has been unearthed from the bank of what looks like an ancient canal confirms that it was customary at the time to set up *āsana-paṭṭas* at the bathing ghāts. The inscription furnishes the earliest known date for the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha, *viz.*, the year 81. So far only two dates, years 86[3] and 87, were known for the reign of this king. The inscription, therefore, shows that *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha had a reign extending over at least seven years.

The record testifies to the existence of a guild of stone-masons in the Kosam region during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is interesting to note in this connection that within two hundred yards of the find spot of the inscription there is a sandstone quarry, popularly known as Pathar Khān, with remains of ancient workings visible on the spot. It is not improbable that this quarry supplied the stone-masons with requisite material for practising their craft.

There is a striking family-likeness in point of script, language, style and the peculiar method of dating, giving in order the year, number of fortnight in the season and the day, between this and a series of dated records, coming from the Kosam region. That these inscriptions together with the present one are dated in a continuous, though unfortunately unspecified, reckoning, ranging from the year 52 to the year 130, seems probable. The inscriptions are as follows :—

1. Ginja inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna—year 52.[4]
2. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha—year 81.[5]
3. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha—year 86.[6]
4-5. Two Kosam inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha—year 87.[7]
6. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Śivamagha—year lost.[8]
7. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa—year 107.[9]
8. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman—year 130.[10]

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 397, No. XXXV.

[2] *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff., above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

[3] The year in the Kosam inscription of Bhadramagha, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III, is read by Sahni, its editor, as 88, whereas Jayaswal takes it to be 86, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 230. The latter reading seems to be preferable. Compare also Dr. Sten Konow's remarks above, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119, Pl. XXX; and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

[5] The present inscription.

[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III.

[7] *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, No. II.

[9] See above, pp. 146 ff.

[10] *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 177 ff.

The question of the attribution of the above to a known era bristles with difficulties. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni who edited Nos. 3 and 6 was inclined to refer them to the Gupta era.[1] Dr. Jayaswal, on the other hand, followed General Cunningham[2] who refers No. 1 to the pre-Gupta period and definitely held that these are to be assigned to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D.[3] This is supported by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh who refers No. 8 to the same reckoning.[4] The editor of Nos. 4-5, however, thinks that these might be attributed to the era of either 78 A. D. or 120 A. D.[5]

Now as the whole controversy mainly hinges on palæographical evidence, it is worth while to examine the exact relationship of the script of our inscriptions to that of the Kushāṇa records on the one hand and the Gupta on the other. No. 1 of our list, which bears the earliest date, is palæographically earlier than the remaining Kosam inscriptions and is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the general body of the imperial Kushāṇa documents except for the use of *m* and *h* of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which links it with the Kosam series. It is to be noted that it shows the archaic unlooped type of the dental sibilant which is invariably replaced by the looped type in all the Kosam records save the last, namely No. 8, where both forms appear side by side. At the other extreme is No. 7 of our list, which though not the latest in date, nevertheless, closely approaches the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta[6] in its comparatively mature and cursive style of writing, in the use of pronounced top-strokes and in the representation of some of the individual letters like *n* with a loop, *j* with the bent vertical, *p* with an acute angle, *v*, *d*, *dh*, *y* and *l*, besides *m*, *h* and *s* which are common with the majority of the Kosam records. While noting the likenesses we should also not ignore the points of disagreement between the two which go to show that No. 7 is not exactly as advanced as and consequently slightly earlier than the Allahābād pillar inscription. To illustrate, while the former uses the older forms of *t*, *g*, *ś*, and *bh*, with equal verticals, in the latter usually the right limb of each of these is longer than the corresponding left; the letter *sh* in the former is of the archaic unlooped variety while the latter contains the more advanced looped type; *ṇ* in the latter is invariably indicated by its cursive looped or unlooped form while the former always shows the Kushāṇa form of the letter with the curved base-line; the medial *i* in the former as in all the earlier records is represented by a curved stroke at the top of the consonant while in the latter the left limb of the curve is occasionally lengthened below the top line, a feature characteristic of the Gupta script. It will thus be seen that whereas No. 1 appears to be not much posterior to the latest records belonging to the Great Kushāṇas, No. 7 is perhaps not far removed in time from the Allahābād inscription. Within the limit set by these two may be placed the remaining Kosam records including the present one, which bear affinity to the Gupta characters in the case of a handful of signs and to the Kushāṇa in that of a larger number but whose general ductus of hand shows greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating the Gupta in cursiveness. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the Kosam records, which, as already observed above, present striking family-likeness one to the other, belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta and may roughly be assigned sometime from the third century to the first half of the fourth century A. D.

This is strikingly corroborated by the stratigraphical evidence of the Bhita sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha, which were discovered little above the Kushāṇa level.[7] The remarkable

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119.

[3] *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 229-30.

[4] *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 179.

[5] *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 106-07.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.

[7] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1911-12, pp. 32 and 51, sealings 26 and 27.

palæographical similarity between these and the Kosam records has led Dr. Jayaswal to convincingly identify Rājan Vāsishṭhīputtra Bhīmasēna[1], and Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the sealings with Mahārāja Bhīmsēna and Mahārāja Śivamagha of Nos. 1 and 6, respectively.[2] The transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam records also points in the same direction. It reveals an unmistakable tendency towards progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating the Prākrit forms and expressions. Lastly, there is no evidence to show that the peculiar method of dating uniformly adopted in the Kosam records was continued in Northern India in the Gupta period. Even in the Kushāṇa period its use seems to have been limited. From the foregoing considerations it seems unlikely that our inscriptions should refer themselves to either the Śaka or the Gupta era, as one becomes too early and the other too late. We will, therefore, be not far from right if we provisionally assign our inscriptions to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D. which strikes a golden mean between the two extremes. Referred to this reckoning the dates on the Kosam series will be equivalent to 300-378 A. D. and that on the present epigraph to 329 A. D. In this connection the possibility of our having to reckon with a local era, current in the Kosam region, as suggested by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh[3] cannot be overlooked. The final solution of the problem, however, is possible only on the discovery of fresh evidence of a more decisive character.

TEXT.

1 Maharajasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya savatsarē ēkasitē 80 1 grishma-pakshē[4] dvitīya(yē) 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

2 ētayē puruvayē Katsa-pastharika-śrēṇiya āsana-paṭṭā sthapata.[5]

TRANSLATION.

In the year eighty—one, 81, (*in the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Bhadramagha in the second, 2, fortnight of the summer, on the fifth, 5, day; on (*the date specified as*) above the slab-seats were set up by the guild of the stone-masons of Katsa.

No. 36.—DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

BY P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR.

It has been my privilege to recover within the last two years three inscribed marble pillars at Dharaṇikōṭa in the Guntur District on the information supplied by a local resident. Subsequently I brought them to the notice of the authorities of the Archæological Department, who have got them removed to Amarāvatī where other antiquities of the place are preserved. I edit below one of the three epigraphs at the instance of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, while the remaining two are dealt with by some other scholars.

The shaft or pillar on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is square at its base and hexagonal above. The base is decorated with some carvings, representing a casket and a floral design in the centre, a hooded Nāga on the left and a railing with a sun-window on the right.

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[1] [It may be mentioned here that a recently discovered inscription at Bāndhogarh in the Rewah State belonging to year 51 of the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna styles this ruler as Vasiṭhipūta—a fact which makes the identification certain.—Ed.]

[2] *Hist. of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 108, 229-30.

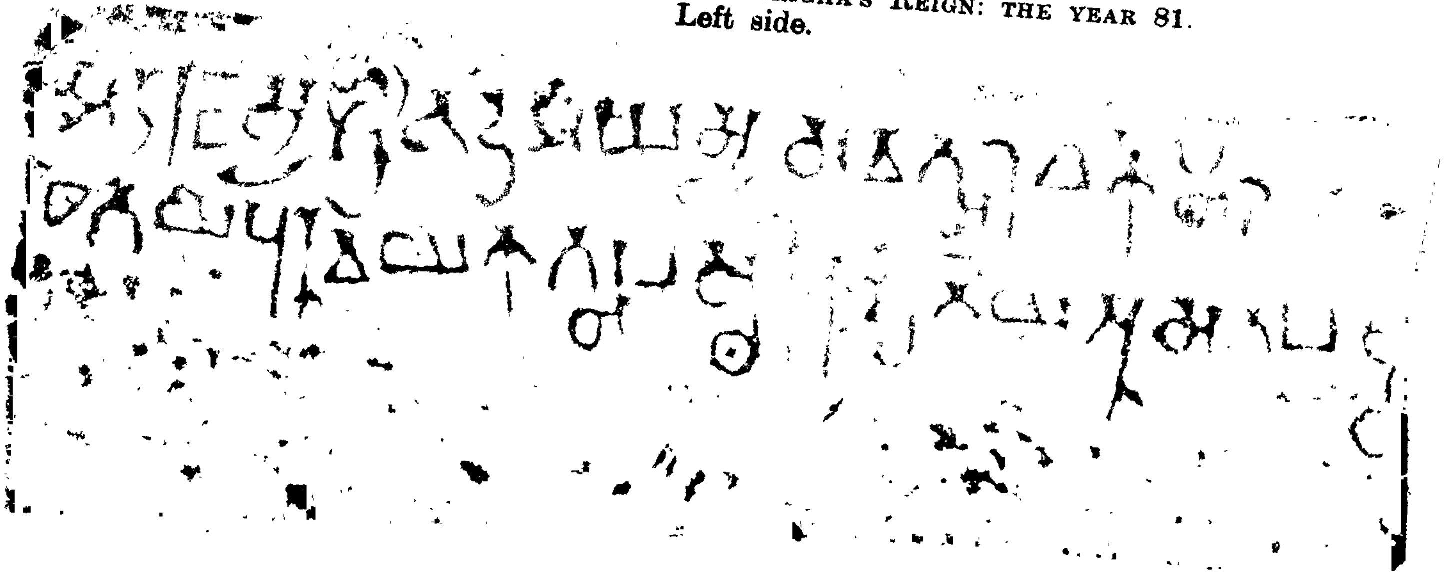
[3] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 716.

[4] Read *grīshma-pakshē*.

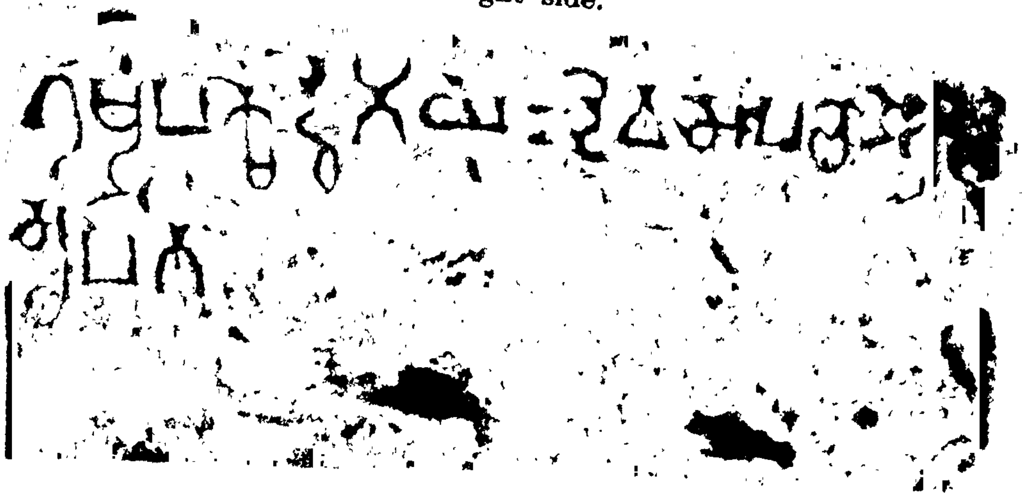
[5] Read *sthāpitāḥ*.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.

Left side.



Right side.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

REG. No. 1940 E'39 — 275.

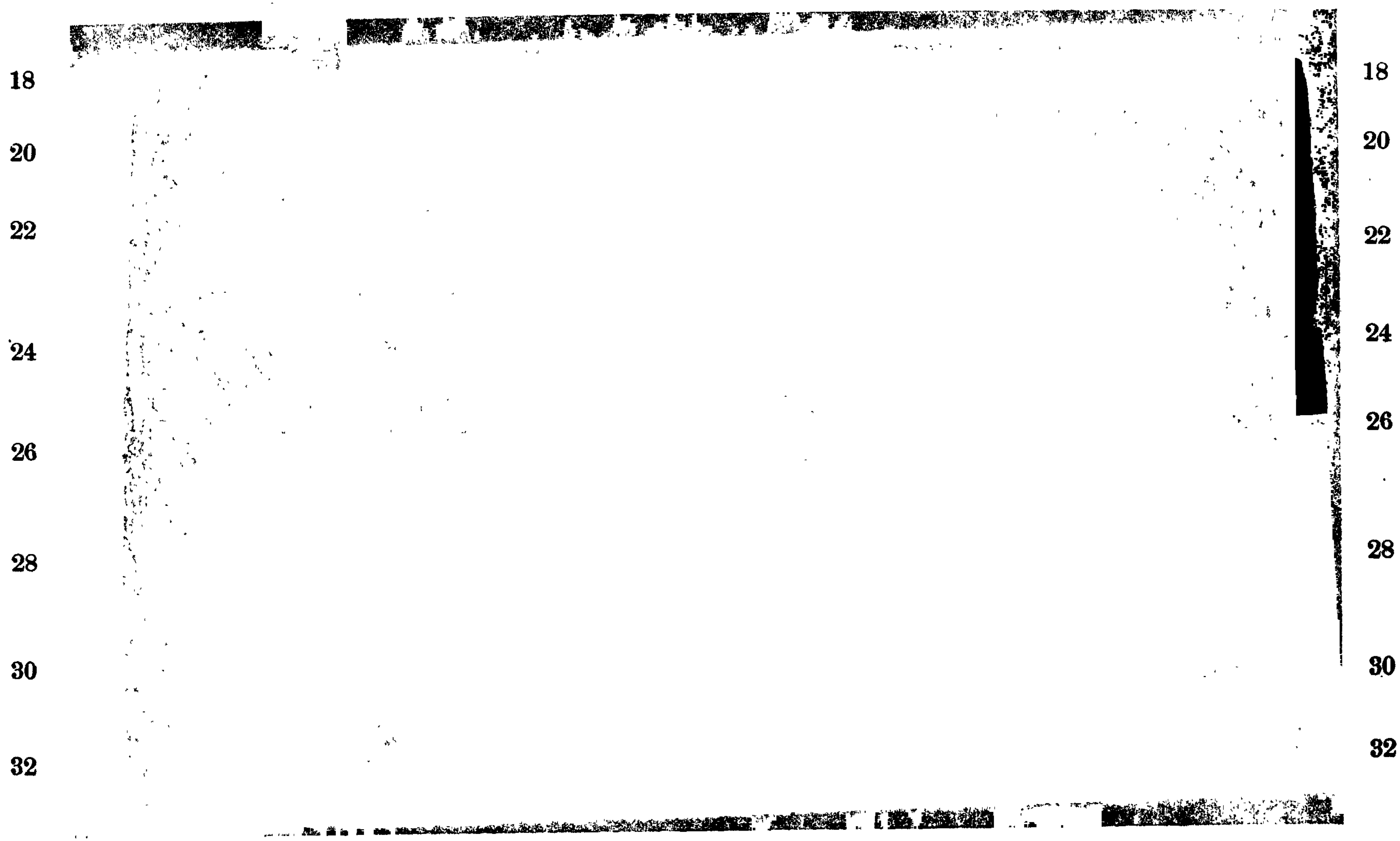
SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II: [VALABHI-] SAMVAT 254.

Plate II. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 180-181).

(From a photograph).



SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

The pillar is called in the inscription *Dhamachaka-dhaya* (Skt. *Dharmachakra-dhvaja*) from which it is evident that it originally had a sculptural device of the *Dharmachakra* on its top. Several *Dharmachakra*-pillars of this type have already been discovered at the ancient site of Amarāvatī.[1] From a sculptured slab representing a *stūpa* we get some idea of the position which such posts used to occupy. There two very elaborately carved *Dharmachakra* columns are shown flanking an entrance to the *stūpa*.[2]

Unfortunately, a part of the present pillar is broken off at the top and is missing. As a result thereof a considerable portion of the inscription has been lost to us in the beginning which evidently contained the name of the ruler of the locality as well as the date of the record. Some details of the donor's description are also lost in the missing portion. Besides, a few letters in l. 4 have been obliterated and cannot be restored. The rest of the epigraph, though blurred at places, can be made out fairly.

The alphabet is Brāhmī of about the second century A.D., and resembles that found in many an early inscription from Amarāvatī. The **language** is Prākrit of the same type as is used in most of the Amarāvatī records.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Dharmachakra-dhvaja* at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at **Dhañakaḍa**,[3] the modern Dharanikōṭa. The Mahāvihāra is stated to have been in possession of the Buddhists of the **Pūrvaśailīya** school, about whom we shall discuss more below.

The name of the donor or the individual who set up the pillar has apparently been omitted in the record. He is, however, stated to be son of Vīraskanda (?) and described as an Agalokaka Atapora minister[4]. As to whose minister he was is not explicit. Nor is the reading of his father's name *Viyakhada* free from doubt. The epithet preceding this name must have referred to the donor, as is obvious from its case-termination in the instrumental. Before this occurs the name Khadanāga (Skandanāga). This person is said to be a householder (*kōṭubika*, Skt. *kauṭumbika*), but his relation with the donor cannot be ascertained owing to the gap. The meanings of the terms *Agalokaka* and *Atapora* are not clear. As both of them are attributes of the donor, they probably refer to his original home and to his place of residence respectively unless they have been used in some technical sense.

Atapora, as already remarked, perhaps indicates the donor's place of residence. A similar instance is furnished by a short votive inscription from Sānchi, which calls the donor there *Adhaporika*.[5] This term has been explained as 'inhabitant of Adhapura', while the Sanskrit equivalent for *Adhapura* has been suggested to be *Ardhapura*. The place has, however, not been identified.

[1] Cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXVIII, 1; Pl. XL, 3, 4; etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. I, the frontispiece. Compare also E. B. Havell's *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 61, Pl. XII, fig. A.

[3] The same place is mentioned under its variant names such as *Dhamñakaḍa, Dhamñakaṭa* and *Dhamñakakaṭaka* in other inscriptions of about the same period; see Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1205, 1225 and 1271; above, Vol. XV, pp. 262-263, Nos. 4 and 5. See also N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, s.v. Dhanakaṭaka, where it is stated to be a corruption of *Sudhanyakaṭaka*. Hiuen Tsiang mentions T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakaṭaka) as the name of a country (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). T. Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 216) restores the name to Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka on the evidence of the Tibetan rendering of it. In later inscriptions the name of the place is spelt as *Dhānyaghaṭaka* and *Dhānyakaṭapura*; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 261-262. Prof. Vogel suggests that "the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakaṭaka (above, Vol. XX, p. 9).

[4] See below p. 259, n. 10.

[5] Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 600; above, Vol. II, p. 112, No. 13.

I would rather restore *Adhaporika* to *Ārddhapaurika* and explain it as 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'. This place seems to be identical with the modern Rithpur which is well known to the Indian archæologist as the provenance of a copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā.[1] It is situated in 21° 14′ N. and 77° 51′ E. in the district of Amraoti, Berār, and is reputed to be an old city of importance.[2] It is not unlikely that *Atapora* of the present record is likewise to be understood as *Ārddhapaura*, meaning 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'.

A pillar inscription from Amarāvatī[3] reads *Chetikiyānaṁ* (Skt. *Chaitikīyānām*) where our inscription has *Puvasel[i]yāna* (Skt. *Pūrvaśailīyānām*). In explaining the import of the former, Burgess has pointed out that 'the Stūpa belonged to the Chaitika school, otherwise called the school of the Pūrvaśailas, a subdivision of the Mahāsaṁghikas'.[4] Mention is made of these ascetics also in a fragmentary Prākrit inscription from Allūru in the Nandigāma *taluk*, Kistna District, the last line of which reads as follows: *ayirāna Puvaseliy[ā]na nigāyasa*.[5] In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya are mentioned[6] among the different sub-sects of the Mahāsāṁghika school. Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, renders the two terms as 'the first Seliya.., the other Seliyā,' whereas the words *pubba* and *apara* of the original evidently refer to 'east' and 'west' rather than to 'first' and 'other'. In fact, Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the country of Dhanakaṭaka, informs us that 'to the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvaśilā' and 'to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avaraśilā'[7] In this connection we may cite Prof. Vogel's following remark: "Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means "stone".[8] It becomes thus clear that the two sects Pūrvaśailīya and Aparaśailīya were so called after the two congregations of monks, one residing in a monastery on the Eastern Hill and the other dwelling in a convent on the Western Hill.[9] Among the localities mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription referred to above, we come across 'the name Purvasela which is clearly a Prākrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila' and possibly refers to the very mountain on which the Pūrvaśailīya monastery was situated. As regards the location of the two mounts, Burgess and Fergusson identified the Amarāvatī tope with the Pūrvaśilā and the Aparaśilā respectively, but their identification has been questioned.[10] There can, however, be little doubt that the situation of the two hills is to be sought in that very neighbourhood.

As has been pointed out above, the record contained a date in the beginning; but its details are mostly lost in the damaged portion. From the preserved letters we gather that it was dated the first day evidently of the sixth fortnight. While the name of the season cannot be restored at all, an attempt has been made with the help of the surviving portions of the words in that connection to read the year conjecturally as *panatrisa*, *i.e.*, thirty-five. This in all probability referred to the regnal year of the king whose name is again missing. In the *Dharmachakra* pillar ins-

[1] Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1706.

[2] See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under Ritpur.

[3] *Arch. Surv. Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also p. 24 where the name of the school is given as *Chaityika* and *Chaityaśaila*.

[5] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97 and Pl. *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, for 1923-24, p. 93.

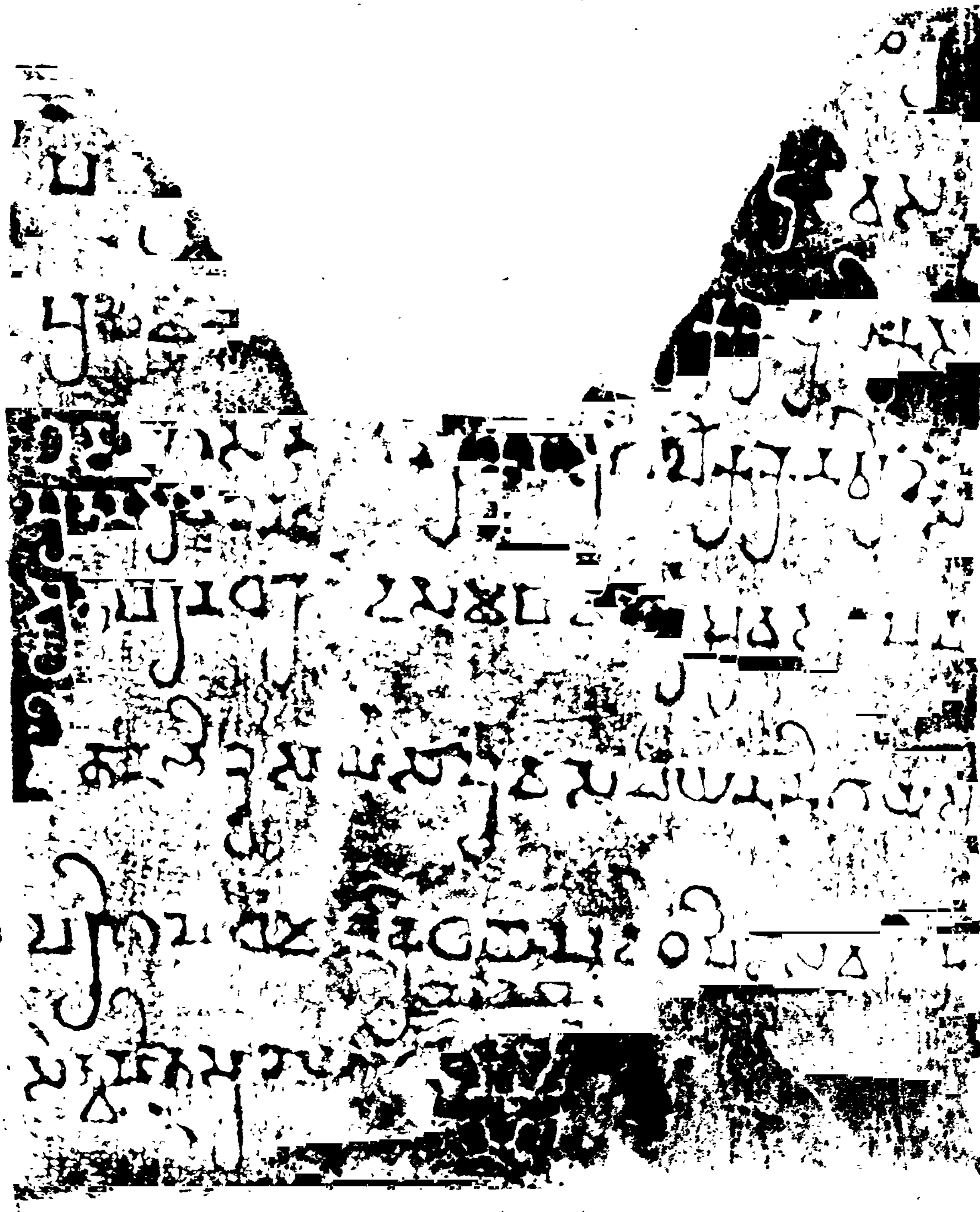
[6] *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 12. In the *Dīpavaṁsa* (V, 54) they are referred to as *Pubbāparaseliyā*.

[7] *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, p. 221.

[8] Above, Vol. XX, p. 9.

[9] Compare *The Life of the Buddha* by Rockhill, p. 184. See also G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, *s.v.* Aparaseliyā and Pubbaseliyā, where it is stated that 'according to the Kathāvatthu commentary they belonged to the Andhaka school'.

[10] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 1915 E'38-275.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

cription of Amarāvati referred to above, while the date portion is completely lost except the only word *savachhara*, the name of the ruler is fully preserved, and it is the king Vāsiṭhiputa (Vāsishṭhīputra) Pulumāvi. Judging from the proximity of the two localities Amarāvatī and Dharanikōṭa, the resemblance between the scripts of the two records and the high regnal year, it seems very likely that the present record also referred itself to the reign of the very same Āndhra king Pulumāvi of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The latest known regnal year of this monarch is twenty-four.[1] If the reading *panatrise* proposed in the present record be correct, then we have to conclude that Pulumāvi's reign extended over at least thirty-four years.[2] The inscription contains the numerals 1 and 6 in l. 3 and l. 2 respectively.

TEXT.[3]

1 . . . . chhara[4]

2 pana[5] . . . . 6 divasa

3 prathame 1 . . . . [6]ka-koṭubikasa

4 Khadanāgasa a[7] . . . . r[i]kena Agalokakena Virakha . . sa[8]

5 putena amachena[9]

6 Ātaporena[10] Dhañakaḍasa Mahāvihāre puva-dāre pava-

7 jitāna bhikhu-saghasa Puvasel[i]yāna nigāyasa

8 parigahe dhamachaka-dhayo padiṭhapito sava-loka-

9 satya-hita-sukhāya[11]

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[1] See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. XXXVII.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. LXVI, where Purāṇic lists of Andhra kings are given. It will be seen there that No. 15 Pulōmävi, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ruled for 36 years and No. 24 Pulōmā for 28 years.

[3] From ink impressions.

[4] Restore the word as *savachhara* (*saṁvatsara*). The preceding portion, comprising about eighteen syllables, is lost. It might have contained the name of the king to whose reign the inscription was referred.

[5] After *pana*, the lower part of the third syllable is visible, which is most probably a subscript *r*, judging from the formation of *pra* in the beginning of the next line. We may restore this word as *panatrise* (*pañchatriṁśē*). The following letters, which are now missing, obviously contained the name of the season and then probably such words as *pakhe chhaṭhe*, as is suggested by the numeral 6 before the word *divasa* in the end of this line.

[6] The syllable preceding *ka*, only a lower portion of which is now preserved, may have been *ri*. The word however, cannot be restored.

[7] The right-hand portion of this letter is effaced. It has been read as initial *a*, but the curl at its lower end forms almost a circle, and as such it differs from that found in *a* of *Agaloka*° l. 4 and *Ataporena* l. 6.

[8] The reading of this name is doubtful. The letter *ra* shows on its top something like a hook opening to the left. If that is meant to be the sign for medial *i*, we have to read the syllable as *ri* and not as *ra*. Moreover, the impression shows some faint traces of a letter between *kha* and *sa*. The last syllable appears a little below the line, making it difficult to ascertain whether the intervening letter is conjoined with *sa* or whether it stands independently. The latter is most probably the case, as the word is required to be in the genitive. Thus *Virakhadasa* may have been the intended reading.

[9] This partial line of writing was inserted later, as is clear from its position. Obviously, the two words contained herein were first left out by the engraver through oversight, who discovered the omission after having incised the whole record and then could do nothing but supply the omitted matter in the manner he has done. The latter *che* in *amachena* was imperfectly formed due to the insertion between the narrow space below the downward curl of *a* in l. 4. Hence it is read as *amachena* and not *amakhena*. If we adopt *amakhena* it would be a proper name.

[10] The reading is probably *Ātaberena*, Atabera being a personal name.

[11] There is an ornamental design carved here, which marks the conclusion of the record.

plates[1] the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna[2]. It has been suggested that Divākarasēna, when he came of age, assumed the title of Pravarasēna.[3] In that case the regnal years of Pravarasēna II would have to be reckoned from his accession as boy-prince. The second grant edited here, which is dated in the eleventh regnal year and was made by **Pravarasēna** himself, clearly shows that he is different from Divākarasēna who had not begun to rule independently even in the thirteenth year since his accession. Pravarasēna evidently succeeded Divākarasēna, but how long the latter continued to reign after the issue of the Poona plates cannot be determined unless fresh records bearing on the point come to light.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown, but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire, etc., are generally specified.[4] No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This, therefore, raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A, so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākāṭakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till the 18th year at least of Pravarsēna II's reign.[5] The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmaṇa donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.[6]

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[1] *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

[2] According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Pravarasēna was another name of Dāmōdarasēna. See his *History of India 150-350 A.D.*, p. 63.

[3] *J. R. A. S.* (1914), pp. 327 ff. In fairness to Vincent Smith who makes this suggestion, it must be said that he thought it more likely that Divākarasēna died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother.

[4] See *e. g.* the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 76.

[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 240.

[6] [As the difference in size between the two sets of plates is very little it does not seem impossible to me that three out of the four plates, *viz.*, plates I and II of Set A and plate III of Set B, were meant to form a complete grant of Pravarasēna II. It may be that the grant of two villages in plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and this plate was meant to be replaced by plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. This view gains some support from the ornamental work found after *atisṛishṭaḥ* in plate II, Set A, which was apparently engraved with a view to stopping any unauthorised addition in the blank space which could not be utilised by the engraver. But even if this surmise is correct, it is not understood why plate II of Set B was not removed before handing over the charter to the donee unless it is to be assumed that the document for some reason or other did not leave the Secretariat. And as it was not formally issued it was not considered necessary to remove the unwanted plate, or to attach a ring and the royal seal to the document.—Ed.]

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** from which the plates of the first set were issued, is probably identical with Nagardhan (also called Nandardhan) near Rāmṭēk as has already been suggested by Hiralal.[1] The place is described as a holy *tīrtha* in the *Sindūragiri-māhātmya*[2] and retained its ancient name down to the time of the Bhonslas[3]; for it is mentioned in the Sanskrit play *Purañjanacharita* of Krishṇadatta, which was staged at Nāgpur in the 18th Century.[4] As already stated, both the grants edited here were made at the king's place of religious worship (*dharmasthāna*), and consequ ntly at the royal capital; for this expression is not found in the Tirōḍi plates which, as shown elsewhere[5], register a grant made at a holy *tīrtha* outside the capital. It may be noted in this connection that the earlier Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, the earlier capital of the Vākāṭakas.[6] Later on Pravarasēna II removed the seat of his government to **Pravarapura** which he seems to have founded and named after himself. Several subsequent charters of Pravarasēna II granted at the capital were issued from Pravarapura. The earliest of them is the Chammak grant dated in the 18th regnal year. Unfortunately the date of set A is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to fix the limits between which the Vākāṭaka capital was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura. **Mahalla-Lāṭa** or **Mahallama-Lāṭa** which seems to mean the larger Lāṭa may be represented by Lāḍki or Ghāṭ Lāḍki in the Mōrsi *tālukā* of the Amraoti District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā.[7] **Mahalla-Lāṭa** lay on the road to **Śailapura** which may be identical with Sālbarḍi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lāḍki.[8] **Asi,** the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāṭa was situated, may be identical with Ashṭi which lies only 10 miles south-east of Bēlōrā. **Dīrghadraha** is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardhā about 30 miles south of Ashṭi. The name of Pravarēśvara-shaḍviṁśati-vāṭaka which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called Pravarēśvara installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself.[9] This place as well as **Pākkaṇa**, the headquarters of the *rāshṭra* (division) in which Dīrghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.

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[1] See above, Vol. IX, p. 43.

[2] Sindūragiri is another name of the hill near Rāmṭēk. It was probably the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

[3] Nandivardhana is also mentioned in the Dēoli plates of Kṛishṇa III. See above, Vol. V, p. 196.

[4] Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Marāṭhī), p. 148.

[5] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

[6] This suggestion was first made by me while editing the unfinished Vākāṭaka plate from Drug; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 209. It is corroborated by the present plates. The Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman who belonged to the Nala dynasty were also issued from Nandivardhana, which indicates his temporary occupation of some Vākāṭaka territory. See *loc. cit.* p. 210.

[7] There is another and smaller village called Lāḍegaon on the left bank of Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā.

[8] Sālbarḍi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.

[9] Compare the name Vaṅkō-Tummāṇa of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattīsgarh (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV. p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vaṅkēśvara which it contained.

TEXT.[1]

SET A.

First Plate.

1 द्रिष्टम्[2] [।*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [।*] ना(न)न्दिवर्द्धनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यति-
रात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसव-

2 साद्यस्क(स्क्र)चतुरश्व(श्व)मेधयाजिनः[3] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[4] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि-
(श्री)प्रवर-

3 सेनस्य सूनो[ः*] सूनोः अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-
लिङ्गो-

4 द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजल-

5 मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)भवनागदौहित्रस्य[6]

6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।[5] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व[8] धीम[त्व*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-

8 धर्म्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्मल्यादिगुणै[ः*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोषद-

9 ण्डसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)रवृत्ते[ः] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथि-
वीषे-

10 नस्य[7] सू(सू)नोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेः प्रसादोपा[र्ज्जि]तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।[9] महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-

11 स्य सू(सू)नोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोः प्र-

12 सादधृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य[10] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

---

[1] From the original plates.

[2] Read दृष्टम्.

[3] Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[4] Read सम्राजो.

[5] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[6] Read [illegible]. This word does not occur in other Vākāṭaka grants.

[7] Read श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य.

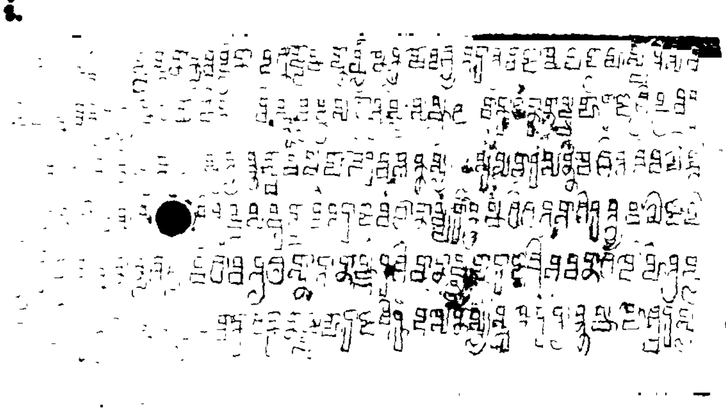
[8] The subscript *j* is incompletely incised and looks like *d*.

[9] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

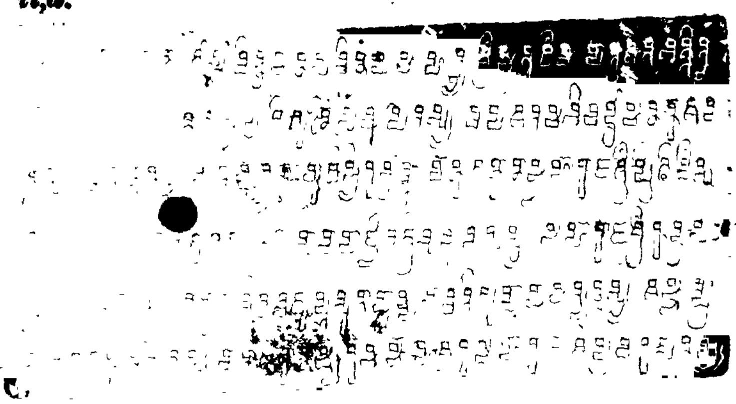
[10] Read धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य.

Two Incomplete Grants of Pravarasena II—(set A).

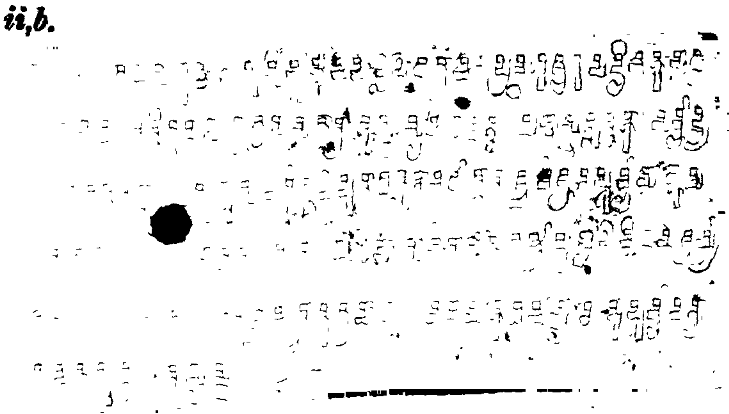
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 वचनात् [।] शैलपुरमार्गे[1] असिभुक्तिमहल्ललाटग्रामेः(मः)[2] प्रवरेश्वरषड्विंशकवाट-

14 कवस्तव्याय[3] ॥[4] तै[त्ति]रियाय[5] ।[4] काश्यपसगोत्रशूर्य्यस्वामिने[6] दत्तः [।*] यतोस्मत्सत्त-(न्त)काः सर्व्वा[ध्य]-

15 क्षनिया(यो)गनियुक्ताः आज्ञासचारि[7]कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञय-(या)-

16 ज्ञापयितव्याः [।*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुव्बल[8] विजयैश्वर्य्य-

17 व(वि)वृद्धये ।[9] इहामुत्र हितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥[9] वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या-(त्त्या)

18 उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः [॥*][10]

SET B.

Second Plate ; First Side.

7[11] सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(त्म्य)धीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्म-

8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म्म)ल्यादिगुणै[:*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसा-

9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसेनस्य[12]

10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवतः[13]चक्रपाणेः प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य म्महाराज[14]श्रीरुद्र-

11 सेनस्य सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः[15]प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य

12 शम्भोः प्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तसुतस्य[16] ।[17] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

[1] Read शैलपुर as in l. 13 of Set B, below.

[2] In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लमलाटग्रामः.

[3] Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरषड्विंशतिवाटकवास्तव्याय is the correct reading.

[4] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

[5] The subscribed *t* of *tti* is not completely incised. Read तैत्तिरीयाय.

[6] Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने.

[7] Read चाटभटसञ्चारि-

[8] Read र्म्मायुर्ब्बल-.

[9] The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

[10] An ornamental figure is incised here.

[11] As the first plate, like the others of this Set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7.

[12] Read श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य.

[13] This *visarga* is superfluous.

[14] Read महाराज-.

[15] Read सुतायाम्प्रभावति-.

[16] Read धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य-.

[17] The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्*] । पाकनराष्ट्रे दौग्वंद्रईनाम[1] ग्राम[:*] । श्रेवपुरमार्ग्गे पसि-
भुक्ति-

14 महसमलाटग्रामश्च एवं ग्रामद्वयं ।[7] प्रवरमरणङिवतिवाटकवास्तव्य[2]- ||[7]

15 तैत्तिरिय[3]काश्यपसगोत्र[सु[4]]र्य्यस्वामिन दत्त[म्*] । यतोस्मन्तकाः सर्व्वाध्यक्ष[5]नियोग-

16 नियुक्ताः आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटाश्चावाच्य विधृ(श्रु)तपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञा-[6]

17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु वः [।*] यथै(थे)हास्माभिराज्ञो सर्व्वायुर्व्वलविजय(यै)श्वर्य्य-
विद्धये ।[7] इहा-

18 मुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके[8] वर्षस्त्वानि अपूर्व्वदत्त्वा[9] उदकपूर्व्वमति[स]ष्टः[10] [।*]

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 उचितायास्य[11] पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादाग्वितराम[12]स्तथा अकरदायि

20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रवेश्य[म्*] अपारम्परगोवलवदः[13] अपुष्पचिर[14]सन्दोह[म्*] अधारासनच-

21 र्म्माङ्गार[म्*] अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेनिखनकः[15] सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः[16] सनिधिः[17] सोप-

---

[1] Read दौग्वंद्रई नाम.

[2] Read प्रवरेश्वरवरिङ्ग्रतिवाटकवास्तव्य-.

[3] Read तैत्तिरीय-.

[4] The engraver at first incised सु and then altered it into सू. Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने.

[5] Read सर्व्वाध्यक्ष-.

[6] Read पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञा-.

[7] The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

[8] Read वैजयिके.

[9] Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्या.

[10] This should be °मतिसृष्टम् so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयं in l. 14 above.

[11] Read उचितां चास्य.

[12] Read मर्य्यादां वितराम-.

[13] Read अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्दम्. In this and some expressions below the writer has blindly copied the masculine form from the usual draft, referring to the donation of one village (ग्रामः). Here the neuter form is requred so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्.

[14] Read अपुष्पक्षीर-.

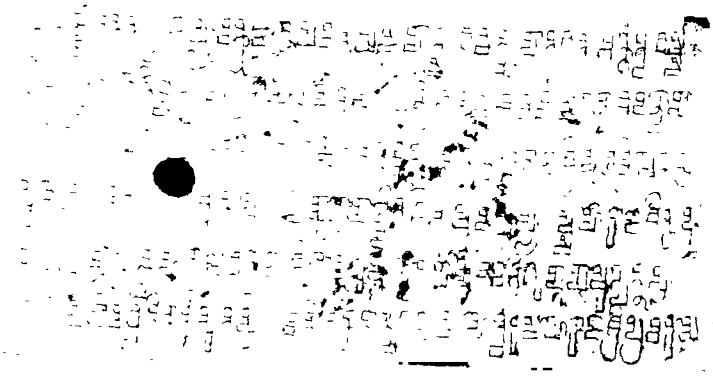
[15] Read क्रोणिखनकम्.

[16] Read सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्.

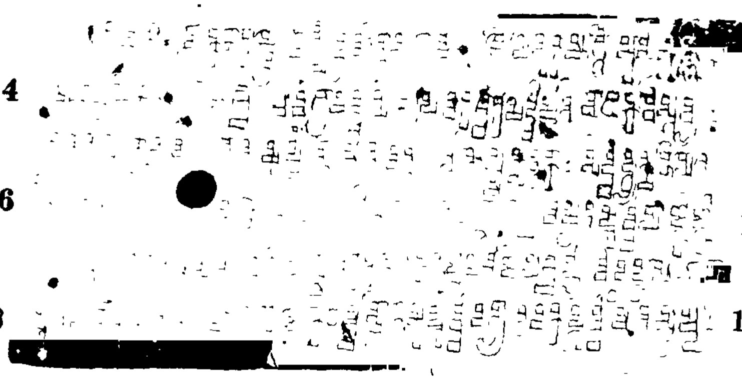
[17] Read सनिधि.

Two Incomplete Grants of Pravarasena II—(set B).

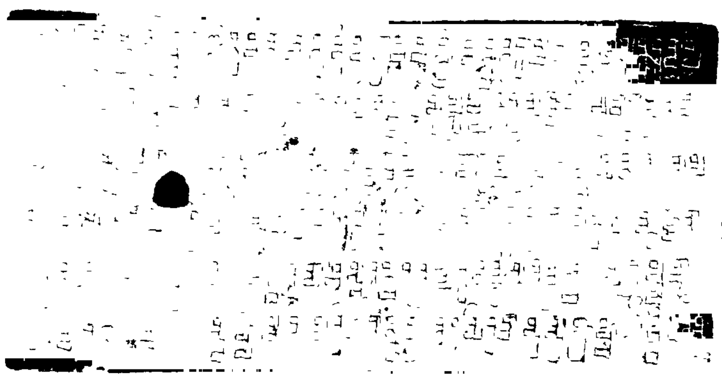
ii,a.



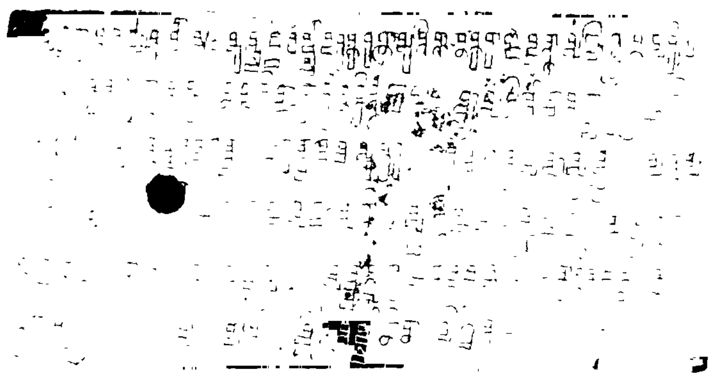
ii,b.



iii,a.



iii,b.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No. 1923 E'39- 275.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

22 निधिः[1] सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप[2] अचन्द्रादित्यकालीय[:][3] पुत्रपौत्रानुगामिक:[4] भुञ्जता(तो)

23 न केनचिद्व्याघात[ᳵक][5]र्त्तव्य: सर्व्वक्रियाभि[6]स्स(स्सं)रक्षितव्यᳶपर(रि)वर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
(श्चा)स्मच्छा-

24 सनमगणयमान: स्वल्पामपि परिबाधान्कुर्य्यात्कारयिर वा[7] अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य

Third Plate ; Second Side.

25 सदण्डनिग्रह(हं) कुर्य्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मिं)श्च धर्म्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तासंश्चिन्त्य-
न[8]परिपा-

26 लन(नं) कृतपुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थ(त्थ) न कीर्त्तयाम: [।*] व्यासगीतौ
चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-

27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा[9] हरेद्वा[10] वै वसुन्धरा[म् ।*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य ।[11]
हन्तुर्ह-

28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*][12] ।[।१॥*] षष्ठि[13] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[:*] । आच्छेत्ता
चा-

29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२॥*]] सव्वत्सरे एकादशमे[14] १० १ कार्त्तिक-
शुक्लपक्ष-

30 त्रयोदश्या[15] १० ३[16] सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्म्मा(र्म्म)णि ना[17] लिखित[म्*]।[18]

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1 Read सोपनिधि·

2 Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तम्.

3 Read आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयम्·

4 Read गामिकम्.

5 The subscript *ka* is not completely incised, so that the whole *akshara* appears like *mū*.

6 Read सर्व्वक्रियाभि-.

7 Read परिबाधां कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा.

8 Read राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन·

9 Read °म्परदत्तां वा·

10 Read °हरेयो·

11 The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

12 Metre of this and the next verse : *Anushṭubh.*

13 Read षष्टिं·

14 Read संवत्सरे एकादशे·

15 Read त्रयोदश्यां·

16 The symbol for 3 is unusual, but there is no doubt about its value, as the *tithi* is mentioned in words.

17 Perhaps मन्त्रिणा was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मन्त्रि by haplography.

18 There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *daṇḍas* and a horizontal stroke.

No. 38.—MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

BY B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first noticed by the late Robert Sewell when it was found lying in the record room of the District Court of Kistna at Masulipatam.[1] It is not known where the plates were originally discovered and how and when they reached the District Court of Kistna. Dr. J. F. Fleet, who examined these plates at the instance of Robert Sewell, described them as follows:

"A set of five copper-plates, each about 11⅛" long by 5⅜" broad with a seal which bears the usual Chālukyan Boar, the motto *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad and a floral device . . . . The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read.[2]"

These plates came to be included in the collection of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1908, and marked as C. P. No. 8 of 1908-09.[3] The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri described the plates thus: They consist "of five copper-plates (with raised rims) of which the two exposed sides are blank. They are strung on a massive ring whose ends are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal which bears in high relief on a countersunk surface the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āṅku]śa*, the standing boar, the elephant-goad, two fly-whisks, the sun and the moon and the lotus flower. The writing on the plates is much worn out and where it is clear the rust has so firmly settled down in the depths of the letters that even the process of allowing the plate to boil in a thick solution of tamarind and salt has not effectively removed it". I now edit this inscription from the ink impressions and photographs supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The inscription on these plates is written in the **Telugu** characters of the tenth century. The letters are beautifully engraved; and the plates used for the purpose of the grant are perhaps the largest ever used for the charters of Ammarāja II. The writing on the plates is for a greater part not well preserved; particularly on plates *ii-b, iii-b, iv-a* and *iv-b*. Some of the characters employed call for a few remarks. Special signs are used for the final *n* (in *māsān*, ll. 9, 15 and 17), but no special sign is employed for the final *t*, which is, however, denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it. Initial vowels *a* and *ā* (ll. 56 and 57), *i* (ll. 32-34 and 42), *ī* (l. 60) and *ē* (l. 17) also appear in the record and they represent the forms of the transitional period. Orthographical mistakes are few and in one or two cases they appear to be due to the scribe. Thus we find in *śiśyō* (l. 52) the palatal sibilant used for lingual, and in *śadṛiśau* (l. 47) the palatal sibilant used for the dental. Signs for both the *jihvāmūlīya* and the *upadhmānīya* are found in the present record, the former in l. 11 and the latter in l. 38.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit**, partly in prose and partly in verse; and there are altogether twenty-one stanzas including the usual imprecatory verses in lines 65-68 at the end. The inscription also contains some archaic Telugu words, *e.g.*, *ḍibba* (l. 57), *paḍuva* (ll. 56 and 60), *prānta-parti* (l. 58) and *yisupakaṭṭa* (l. 57), the exact meanings of which are not quite clear. These words occur in the description of the boundaries of the village granted.

The inscription consists apparently of two parts; and though it records a charity to the Jaina religion, it opens with an invocation to the god Vishṇu, the wielder of the fierce *Śārṅga* bow which

[1] *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, Vol. II, p. 13; No. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1909, pp. 10 and 108.

protects the three worlds, unlike the Maliyapūṇḍi grant which opens with an invocation to the Jaina religion, being a charity made for the Jaina faith.[1] Lines 2-22 contain the usual *praśasti* and genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, beginning with **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,** the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra down to **Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II,** the donor of the grant The genealogical portion does not give us any more historical particulars about the kings that preceded Amma II, than we know from the other records of the family. As usual Jayasiṁhavallabha I is given a period of 33 years, which Dr. Fleet, however, considered to be incompatible with his adjustment of the reigns of the other kings of the dynasty.[2] I do not think that Dr. Fleet was justified in reducing the period of Jayasiṁhavallabha I from 33 to 30 years; and his reasons for so doing are not convincing. There is only a single record which gives the king a reign of 30 years while the entire range of the family charters, which number about fifty, are unanimous in giving him a period of 33 years. Dr. Fleet's calculations and computations are made, as I have shown elsewhere[3], upon certain misconceptions. The only record that gives 30 years' reign to the king is the Paḍaṁkalūru grant of Ammarāja II[4] which was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. The scribe who engraved the charter on the plates must have committed an obvious error in omitting the word *trayas* before *triṁśatam*, for the edict on the Guṇḍugolanu plates of the same king, which was also the composition of the self-same poet Mādhavabhaṭṭa, gives Jayasiṁhavallabha a reign of 33 years, which is in conformity with the statements of other records.[5] Similarly, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II is stated to have reigned for 40 years in the present inscription; and this length seems to be the correct period as shown by me in my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings*[3], as against the period of 44 years which was allotted to him in Dr. Fleet's computation.[6] It is, however, needless to repeat here my reasons for accepting the period of 40 years, which I have stated at length in my *Revised Chronology*; but I consider it necessary to give a summary of the chronology of the kings as fixed by me—from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana to Chāḷukya Bhīma I, for whose coronation we have a recorded date—alongside with Dr. Fleet's scheme of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology for easy reference.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY. Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME. Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
1. Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana	18 : 624—641	18 : 615—633
2. Jayasiṁhavallabha I	33 : 641—673	30 : 633—663
3. Indrabhaṭṭāraka	7 *days* : 673	7 *days* : 663
4. Vishṇuvardhana II	9 : 673—682	9 : 663—672
5. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja	25 : 682—706	25 : 672—696
6. Jayasiṁha II	13 : 706—718	13 : 696—709
7. Kokkili	6 *months* : 718—719	6 *months* : 709

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 50 ff.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 10 and 12.
[3] "The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings" in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 17 and 27 and chart on p. 30A.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, text, line 7.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 12-13.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY. Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME. Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
8. Vishṇuvardhana III	37 : 719—755	37 : 709—746
9. Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka	18 : 755—772	18 : 746—764
10. Vishṇuvardhana IV	36 : 772—808	36 : 764—799
11. Vijayāditya II (Narēndramṛigarāja)	40 : 808—847	44 : 799—843
12. Kali-Vishṇuvardhana	1½ : 847—849	1½ : 843—844
13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III	44 : 849—892	44 : 844—888
14. Chāḷukya-Bhīma I	30 : 892—921	30 : 888—918

Apart from what has been stated already, the above table shows also that Chāḷukya-Bhīma I's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 888 as stated by Dr. Fleet, for we have a record of the king that gives the date of his coronation as Ś. 814 (expired), (Mēsha) *Chaitra ba. dvitīyā, Śaśi-dina*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitra (Anurādhā), which has been equated to Monday, 17th April, 892 A.D.[1] Thus the whole scheme of Dr. Fleet's arrangement falls to the ground.[2]

Vijayāditya (IV) is given the title *Kaliyattigaṇḍa*, " the hero who raised the sins of the Kalī Age". Dr. Fleet who examined these plates read the term as *Kaliyarttigaṇḍa*. The epithets *Kaliyattigaṇḍa* and *Kaliyarttyaṅka*, which occurs in the Iḍēru plates of Amma I,[3] have the same meaning, for *aṅka* and *aṅkakāra* are the Telugu-Kannaḍa synonyms of the Sanskrit word *gaṇḍa*, which means 'a hero,' 'a champion' or 'a warrior'. The clue for the correct interpretation of these terms is found in the phrase *aṅkakāras=sākshāt*, which occurs in a passage describing Guṇaga- or Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III in the Kaluchumbarṟu grant of Amma II.[4]

Of the several enemies whom Chāḷukya **Bhīma** (II) is said to have conquered or killed before he became king according to the other records of the family, only four, namely, **Mallapa**, his son, **Rājamārtaṇḍa** and the **Rāshṭrakūṭas** are mentioned in the present charter. The inscription states that king **Bhīma**, the son of **Mēḷāmbā** and **Kaliyattigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, who was endowed with truthfulness, liberality, pride and majesty and all other virtues, conquered in battle Rājamārtāṇḍa, defeated the fierce Mallapa and his son, and then, having dispelled the darkness (*that overwhelmed the realm*), *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, reigned in glory for twelve years. Till now Rājamārtāṇḍa has not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that Rājamārtāṇḍa might be the same as Rājamayya[5], and the identification may be for the present

[1] C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1918, App. E, p. 126; also see *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

[2] [But it is not impossible that, though he was actually crowned in A.D. 892, his regnal year was counted from the date of his accession which might have taken place some years earlier. This custom was widely prevalent in South India.—N.L.R.]

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 36, pp. 36-43, text, line 49.

[4] Above, Vol. VII, p. 180.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

accepted as correct. Rājamārtaṇḍa would appear to be one of the foremost opponents of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, for he is mentioned in the latter's own Kōlavennu plates[1]. Rājamārtāṇḍa might be a younger brother of Yuddhamalla II or more probably a son of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhigaṇḍa or Kaliyattyaṅka-Vijayāditya IV, who reigned for eleven months after destroying Tāḷa. If so Rājamārtaṇḍa would be a *dāyāda* of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, being his cousin in the same degree. Mallapa and his powerful son may be identified with Yuddhamalla II and his eldest son *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Āruṁbāka plates.

Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II is said to have conquered several of his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*) before he became the lord of the country or soon after he had ascended the throne. Verse 6 describes the important event thus : " Having been crowned (as the lord of) the kingdom of Vēṅgī, having conquered his enemy, the rising and powerful Vijayāditya, who had vanquished on numerous battle fields his own adversaries and whose neck was adorned with the fillet (*kaṇṭhikā-dāma*) (of the dignity of *yuvarāja*),[2] having defeated the group of his treacherous kinsmen, by the prowess of his arm (or his rays) and having pleased the goddess Lakshmī (or the lotus) by dispelling the darkness *viz.* his opponents, the sun of the Kshatriya race shines in all splendour ". That Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, the son of Ammarāja I, was one of the opponents of king Amma II is not known from any of the records hitherto published. It now appears that Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya returned to the country, appeared once more as a claimant to the throne on the death of his father's step-brother, Chāḷukya-Bhīma II. and opposed the accession of the boy king Amma II. Among the other rival claimants whom Amma II had conquered might be the children of Yuddhamalla II, who was driven away into exile by Chāḷukya-Bhīma II. The rest of the passage which describes Ammarāja II (ll. 30-35) is merely in panegyrical style and does not contain anything historical. The present record is **not dated** ; it does not also mention the occasion on which it was issued.

The second part of the inscription (ll. 39-51) opens with a description of a family of feudatory chieftains, who professed the Jaina religion and who flourished during the reigns of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II and his son Ammarāja II. There was born in the great family known as *Triṇayana-kula*, a nobleman called **Naravāhana** (I), an officer of the Chāḷukya kings. He belonged to the *gōtra* called *Grēvya* ; he enjoyed the privilege and honour of sitting on *siṁhāsana* or a ' lion seat ' like a crowned prince. Prince Naravāhana, like the preceptor of the gods, was a master of the science of Polity. He outshone the glory of Naravāhana, the Regent of the Northern quarter (**Kubēra**). His eldest son was **Mēlaparāja,** who was an embodiment of virtues like liberality, pride and praiseworthy conduct. He, therefore, bore the epithet *Mānavadēva*, ' god amongst men'. He was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the Blessed Lord Jina. His wife was **Mēṇḍāṁbā**, who was a *pativratā* (devoted wife) like the epic princess Sītā. She was a fervent follower of the teachings of Lord Jina (*Jainavrata*). To them, Mēlaparāja and Mēṇḍāṁbā, were born two sons, **Bhīma** or Rāja-Bhīma and **Naravāhana** (II). The former would appear to have been named after Chāḷukya-Bhīma II[3] and the latter after his own grand-father. Both these princes were intelligent and renowned. They were masters of all *śāstras* and skilled in the use of various weapons. They resembled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (in personal charm), Bhīma

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43ff., text, line 18 ; see also above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

[2] Compare this passage with *Vijayādityaṁ krita-kaṇṭhikā-paṭṭabandh-ābhishēkaṁ* which occurs both in the Masulipatam plates of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II (above, Vol. V, p. 136) text-lines 15-16 and note 2 on p. 138 and in the Pāganavaram grant of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213f, text-line 25).

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 177ff., text, line 41.

and Arjuna (in might and prowess), Baladēva and Vāsudēva (in strength and wisdom), and equalled Nakula and Sahadēva (in valour and bravery) respectively. They were devoted to the *Jaina-dharma*. They obtained through the favour of Chāḷukya-Bhīma, *i.e.*, Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, the insignia of feudal chieftainship (*sāmanta*), namely, the *śvētachchhatra* (parasol), *chāmara* (fly whisk), peacock's tail, water-jars, horses, and musical instruments like *kāhala* and others.[1]

The inscription then refers (ll. 51-54) to a Jaina pontiff (*āchārya*), the preceptor of the two noblemen Bhīma and Naravāhana II. He was the renowned Jayasēna, who bore the surname Nāthasēna and was the disciple of the illustrious Chandrasēna. Jayasēna was a master of all the *śāstras*. He was well versed in the *Siddhānta*, *i.e.*, *Jaina-siddhānta*, 'the doctrines of the Jainas'. He was a man of excellent and praiseworthy conduct. He attained proficieny in *para-samaya*, that is to say, his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakas*, *kshapaṇakas*, *kshullakas* and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the celebrated Jaina pontiff, who was their religious preceptor, Bhīma and Naravāhana II, constructed two Jaina temples (*Jina-bhavana*) at Vijayavāṭikā; and for that purpose king Ammarāja granted the village of Pedda-Gālidiparru having converted it into a *dēvabhōga* and exempted it from all kinds of burdens and taxation.

Some of the names and terms that occur in the inscription are interesting. The family of the two chiefs is called the 'great *Trinayana-kula*', and their *gōtra*-name appears as *Grēvya*. Both these terms have not been met with before either in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty or in the literature of the Andhra country. The *Trinayana-kula* seems to belong to the fourth or Śūdra caste, like the Panta-kula of the Reddis of Andhradēśa, whose birth-place is said to be the Gaṅgā which sprang from the feet of Lord Vishṇu. The *Grēvya-gōtra*, too, is not a Brahmanical *gōtra*, and this fact supports the above conjecture.[2] Several orders of the Jaina ascetics and lay worshippers are mentioned in the record. The Śrāvakas, for instance are Jaina laymen; the Kshapaṇakas are Jaina *yatis* (ascetics) who received proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kshullaka* is one who is a Śrāvaka of a high order belonging to the tenth degree, the eleventh degree being that of Ailaka. These seem to correspond to the *dāsas* of the *Bhāgavata-sampradāya*. The next higher order of spiritual stage is that of *muni* or *āchārya*. The term *ajjakā* may be a Prākrit form of Sanskrit Āryakā, "a female ascetic", who, according to Jaina doctrines, wears only a white sari.[3] The expression *para-samaya* which occurs in the passage *para-samaya-paṭuḥ sanmat-ōtkrishta-vrittaḥ* (l. 53) is apparently used in a highly technical sense here as it rightly belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda Āchārya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the terms *para-samaya* and *sva-samaya* as follows :

जीवचरित्तदंसणणाणट्ठियत्तं हि ससमयं जाणीहि ।
पुग्गलकम्मपदेसट्ठियं च तं जाणीहि परसमयं ॥

" Know that *sva-samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *para-samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the *Karmic* matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the Non-self."

[1] Compare this passage (lines 49-50) with the passage in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya : above, Vol. VI, pp. 357, text, line 83 : "श्रीहारपिंछ(छ)करकातपवारणादिसर्वां विशेषणहिमा" etc.

[2] [No evidence is available to indicate that Bhīma and Naravāhana were Śūdras. The statement that they belonged to the Trinayana-*kula* may only show that they were Śaivas. The Noḷamba-Pallavas are described as born of the Īśvara-*vaṁśa* (*Īśvara-vaṁśaja*), and the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country have the epithet *Parama-vaṁś-ōdbhava*. It is also not certain that Grēvya is not a Brahminical *gōtra*. Grīva is known to be the name of a *gōtrarshi*.—N. L. R.]

[3] I am indebted to Pandit Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL.B. of Lucknow, for the meaning of these terms. [The term is more likely *ajjaka* Skt. *āryaka*.—Ed.]

The edict states that king Ammarāja II issued the command after having assembled, in the usual manner, the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* and *kuṭuṁbins* of the district of **Velanāṇḍu** and in the immediate presence of several high officials of his government. They are the entire circle of his vassal kings (*samasta-sāmanta*), the *antaḥpura-mahāmātra*, the *purōhita*, the *amātya* ; the *śrēshṭhin*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkaraṇa*, the *Dharmādhyaksha* and the twelve *sthān-ādhipatis*. In spite of his own faith, *like a true Hindu sovereign*, king Amma II was tolerant of the other faiths of his kingdom. and particularly of Jainism.

The **object** of the grant was the gift of the village of Pedda-Gāḻiḍiparṟu. situated apparently in the Velanāṇḍu-*vishaya*. It is well known in the Āndhra country that Velanāṇḍu was the ancient name of the region that is bounded by the sea on the south-east and south, and the Kṛishṇā river on the north-east and north and which is now covered by the modern tālūks of Rēpalli and Tenāli in the Guṇṭūr District. Pedda-Gāḻiḍiparṟu had changed its name during the past nine or ten centuries and is called to-day Peda-Gādelavaṟṟu. It is situated in the Tenāli tālūk. about three miles to the east of the Tsuṇḍūru railway station. The boundaries of the villages are according to the edict (ll. 57-61) as follows :—On the east : a *dūba* (probably a mound) in the centre of the tank called Yisupakaṭṭala-cheṟuvu, on the boundary of the village Maṇḍayūru. On the south-east : (probably) a cluster *Būruvu-paḍuva* of silk cotton trees (*Eriodendron anfrauctuosum*) at the meeting place (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the boundaries of the villages. Ālapaṟti and Chūṇṭūru. On the south : an irrigation tank called Kuṇḍaviḍḍi-guṇṭha situated to the north of the ancient village site (*prānta-paṟti*) of Chūṇṭūru. On the south-west : the temple (*guḍi*) of Pōṭyavva or Pōṭi-avva, the *amma* (village goddess) of Chūṇṭūru. On the west : . . . . On the north-west : a tank called Gāralaguṇṭha on the boundary of the village of Valivēru. On the north : a marshy swamp (*paḍuva*) (?) belonging to the village of Tapparāla . . . . On the north-east : an irrigation tank called Naḍupani-guṇṭha, at the meeting place of the boundaries (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the villages, Kōḍa-Gāḻiḍiparṟu, and Valivēru. All the above-mentioned localities, *viz.*, Maṇḍayūru, Ālapaṟti, Chūṇṭūru, Valivēru, and Kōḍa-Gāḻiḍiparṟu may be easily identified to-day. Ālapaṟti is known to-day as Ālapāḍu, and Chūṇṭūru is changed into Chuṇḍūru. Tapparāla had apparently gone out of existence and a new village called Parimi had sprung into existence in that neighbourhood. While all the other village names had not materially changed, the names of **Pedda-Gāḻiḍiparṟu** and **Kōḍa-Gāḻiḍiparṟu** alone had altered. And that may be explained by the fact that the hard consonant *ḻa* had merely given place to soft consonant *da* in the pronunciation during the last nine or ten centuries. Kōḍa-Gāḻiḍiparṟu is known to-day both as Kōḍe-Gādelavaṟṟu and China-Gādelavaṟṟu, the words *Kōḍe* and *Chinna* being synonymous. All the villages mentioned above are situated round about Peda-Gādelavaṟṟu.

Among the other localities mentioned in the record, **Vijayavāṭikā** is clearly identical with the modern town of Bezwāda on the Kṛishṇā river. The site or sites on which the two *Jina-bhavanas* or Jaina temples once stood cannot be identified ; perhaps an extensive exploration of the ancient sites of the locality may help us to discover the spot.

The executor of the charity was the officer known as **Kaṭakarāja.** From the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, we know that the office of *Kaṭakarāja* was held during the reign of Amma II by the General Duggarāja, a descendant of the celebrated Paṇḍaraṅga, the generalissimo of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. The engraver of the record was **Jayantāchārya.**

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 [2]व्यालम्बरत्न[3]चितायतबाहु[4]र्माङ्गपाणो यशोन्द्रकार्मुककिरीलपयोरुह(ह)स्तम् ।[5]निर्भर्त्सयन्निव विभ्रा-

2 ति सलक्ष्णकान्ति[6]र्विष्णुश्चिवन्द्रिमतु वोवहृतचिलोकः ॥[१*] स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकल-भुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-

3 नव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामि-

4 महासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहला[7]ञ्छनेक्ष-

5 ण[क्ष]णवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कु-

6 लमलंकरिष्णोस्सत्याश्रयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादशवर्षाणि

7 वेंगीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णु-वर्धनो न-

8 व । तत्सूनुर्मंगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवर-

9 जः कोकिलिष्षण्मासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाट्य सप्तत्रिंशतम् । तत्पुत्रो वि-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 जयादित्यभट्टारकोऽष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्धनष्षट्त्रिंशतम् । [8]नरेन्द्रमृगराजा[ख्यो] मृ-

11 गराज[पराक्रमः । विजयादित्य[भूपालः] चत्वारिं[शदब्दका] ⏑ — ॥[२*] त-त्सुत(:)कलिविष्णुवर्ध-

12 नो[ऽध्यर्ध]वर्षम् । तत्सु]तो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतम् । [9]तद्भ्रातुर्युवराज्ञो-ऽनतमहि-

13 [मस्तो] विक्रमादित्यभूपाज्जातश्चालुक्यभीमभूपालकगु[णोत्क]ष्टचारित्रपात्रः । दानी

14 [10]— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ रसकरः सार्व्वभौमप्रतापो ।[11] राज्यं कृत्वा प्र[या]तः त्रिदशपतिपदं

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[1] From ink-impressions and photographs.

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[3] Read खचिता-

[4] Read शार्ङ्गपाणे-

[5] Read निर्भर्त्सयन्निव-

[6] Read °र्विष्णु°.

[7] Read लाञ्छनेक्षण.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh.* The scribe apparently left out the last two syllables of the fourth quarter or *pāda* of the *śloka.*

[9] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[10] I am unable to make out any sense from the faintly visible letters.

[11] Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

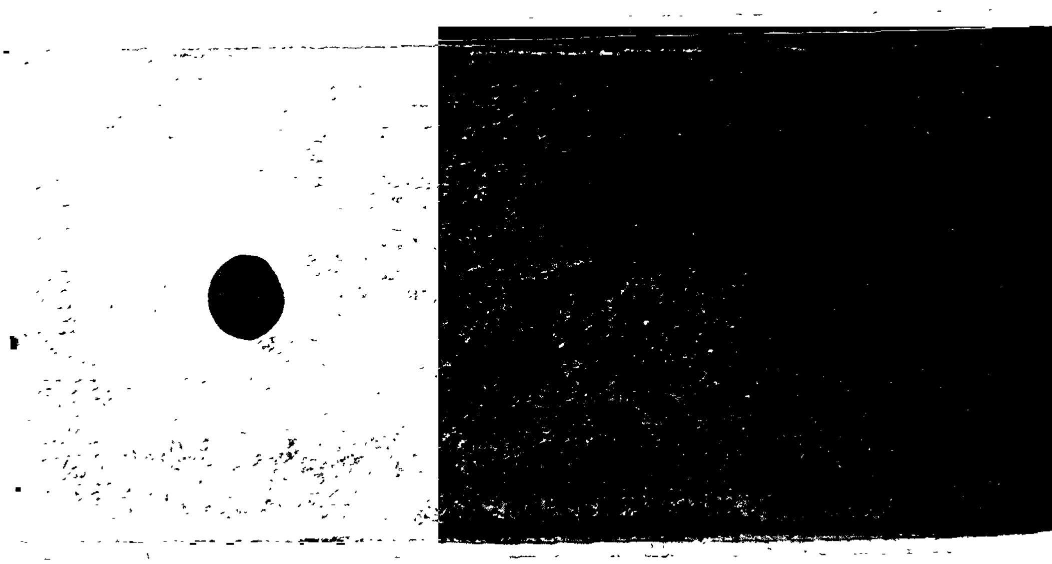
Masulipatam Plates of Ammaraja II.—(I).

(From Photographs).

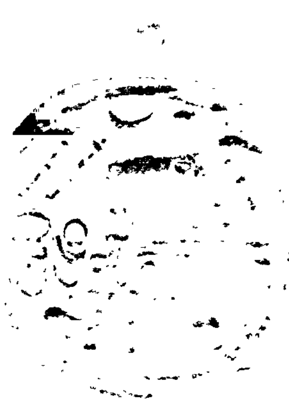
ii,b.



iv,b.



Seal.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE: ONE-HALF. Survey of India, Calcutta.

15 [1][त्रिंशदब्दा — ⏑]ण ॥[३*] तत्पुत्र: कलियर्त्तिगण्डविजयादित्यष्षण्मासान् । तत्सूनुरम्मराजस्स-

16 [प्त]वर्षाणि । तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं कण्ठिकाक्रमायातपट्टाभिषेकं बालमुच्चाट्य[2] तालराजो राज्यम्मास-

17 [मे]कं [।*] चालुक्यभीमसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तं हत्वा एकादशमासान् । विजयादित्यो वेंगीनाथ⋊कलियर्त्ति-

18 गण्डनामा धीमा[3] । न्तस्य [4]सति मेꣳंबा । तज्जश्रीराजभीमनृपतिरजेय: ॥ [5]सत्य-त्यागाभिमानाद्यखि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 लगुणयुतो सत्वमार्त्तण्डमज्जो ।[2] जित्वोग्रम्मक्षपाख्यं ससुतमधिबलं द्रोहि[णो]-प्यन्तकाभो । ह्विड्भीमो राष्ट्र-

20 कूटप्रबलबलतमस्संहरो द्वादशाब्दं ।[2] राज्यं कृत्वागमत्स: ।[2] प्रणिहित[सुयशो]. धर्म्मसन्तान-वर्म्म: ॥[४*] वि-

21 ष्णो: पद्मेव शंभोरिव गिरितनया यस्य देवी सपट्टा ।[2] संयुक्ता [हैहया]नान्निजकु-[लवि]षये पुच्छला[व]-

22 ख्यगख्या । लोकांबा तत्सुतोभूद्विजितपरबलो वेंगिनाथोम्मराजो ।[2] राजद्राजाधिराजो [जितरिपु][6]म-

23 कुटोदृष्टपादारविन्द: ॥[५*] वेंगी[राज्याभिषिक्तो] निजरिपुविजयादित्यमुद्यत्समर्थं ।[2] जित्वा[नेक्राजिरंग]-

24 प्रजितपरबलं [कण्ठिकादामकण्ठं ।] न्दा(दा)याद्द्रोहिवर्ग्गानपि सकरबल: चक्रि-[या]दित्यदे-

25 वो ।[2] ध्वस्तारिध्वान्तराशिर्व्विलसितकमलस्सप्रतापो विभाति ॥ [६*] यन्निर्म्मातु-र्व्विभिन्नं कृतमिदमखिलं विश्वपं हि

26 त्रिमूर्त्तें ।[2] रात्मानं चात्मनास्मादिह सकलगुणै [राजभी]मोद्भवोभू । स्तेजोराशि: प्रजानां पतिरधिकब-

27 [ल]स्सप्रतापोष्टमूर्त्ति ।[2] स्सोयन्देवोम्मराजो जनगुणजनकोन[न्य*]राजाग्रचिह्न: ॥[७*] स्सर्व्वाता: पूर्व्व-

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[1] Read tentatively: त्रिंशदब्दाक्रमेण. [Reading is *triṁśad-abda-pramāṇam*.—Ed.]

[2] Mark of punctuation is not necessary here. [3] Read: धीमान् । तस्य. [4] Read: सती.

[5] This verse and the following four are in *Sragdharā* metre.

[6] [Reading is राजद्राजाधिराज⋊परन्तप°.—N. L. R.]

Third Plate; First Side.

28 नाथा नलनहुषहरिश्चन्द्ररामादयोपि ।[1] प्रत्यक्षाम्ते यशोभिर्म्मुखपुरघला खेरिदानी-

29 मद्दष्टा: । यस्योच्चै: कीर्त्ति[2]रा[शिर्भ]गण इव जगत्यद्वितीयोदयोस्मिन् । राजराजा-
धिराजस्य ज-

30 यति विजयादित्यदेवोम्मराज: ॥[८*] गद्यम् ॥ स जगतीपतिरम्मराजो राजमहेन्द्रभो-
गोन्द्रसह-

31 स्रभोगोपहासिदीर्ग्घदद्विर्णीकव[3]हुसान्द्रितविश्वविश्वंभराभार: । नारायण

32 इव निरन्तरानन्तभोगास्पद: ।। विधुरिव सुस्वविराजित: । पितामह इव कम-

33 लासन: । गिविरिश[4]इव धराधरसुताराधित: । रत्नाकर इव समस्त-

34 शरणागतभूभृदाश्रय: । सुवर्ण्णाचल इव सुवर्ण्णोत्तुंगोदय: । हिमाचल

35 इव सिंहासनोल्लासितचमरीवालव्यजनविराजमानलील: ॥ स सम-

36 स्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

37 भट्टारक: । वेलनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कु[5]टिंबिनस्समस्त-

38 सामन्ता[न्त]≺पुरमहामात्रपुरोहितामात्यश्रेष्ठिसेनापति[6]श्रिकरणधर्माध्यक्ष-

39 हादशस्थान(ना)धिपतीन्समाहूयै[7]त्तमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु व: । [8]श्रीमानुदपा-

40 दि मा(म)हान्विषयनकुलसाधुर . . . शेव्याख्यो [।*] गोत्रो(त्र:) सिंहासनतो ।[1]

41 विदितो [न]रवाहनवालुक्ये[शानाम् ॥] [९*] श्रीकरणगुरुर्म्मुररिव ।[1] विबुधगुरु-

42 स्स[क]लरा[जसिद्धान्तज्ञ:] । नरवाहन इत्यासीत्प्रथितनरवाह[न:] प्रकाशित-

43 यशसा ।[। १०*] यस्याग्रसुतो गुणवान् ।[1] [9]मेलपराजो गुणप्र[भा]वो[10] दानी । मानी मा-

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1 Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

2 Read : कीर्त्ति°.

3 Read बाहु.

4 Read गिरिश.

5 Read कुटुंबिन°.

6 Read श्रीकरण.

7 Read समाहूयेत्थ°.

8 The metre of this and the following 5 verses is *Āryāgīti*.

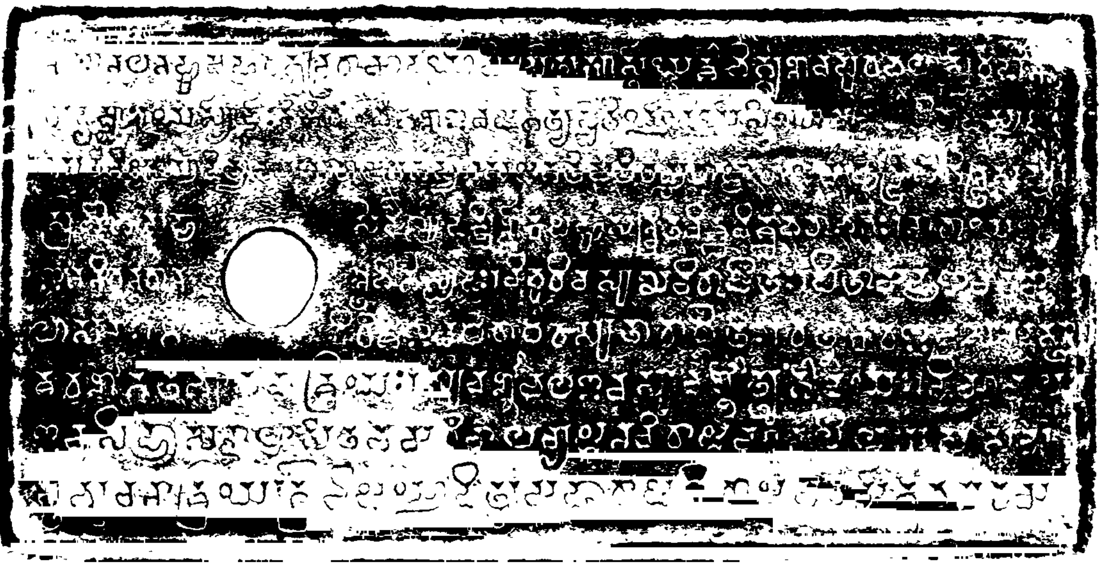
9 The letter seems to read like ल for there is a loop-like stroke at the bottom. If this is borne out by the plate, then the name of the chieftain has to be read as मेलप.

10 [Reading may be *pradhānō*.—Ed.]

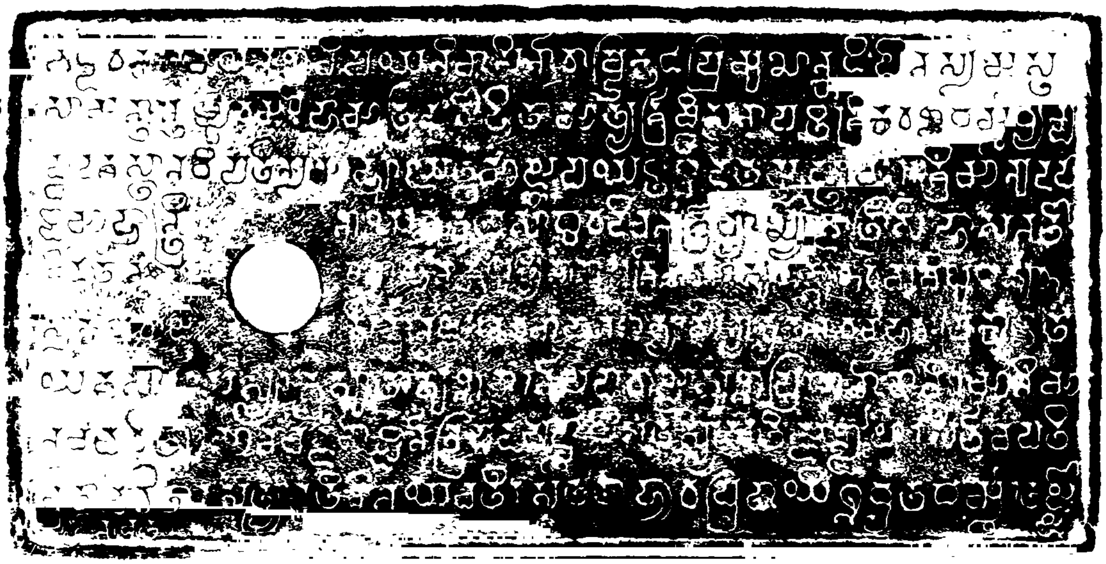
Masulipatam plates of Ammaraja II—(II).

(From impressions).

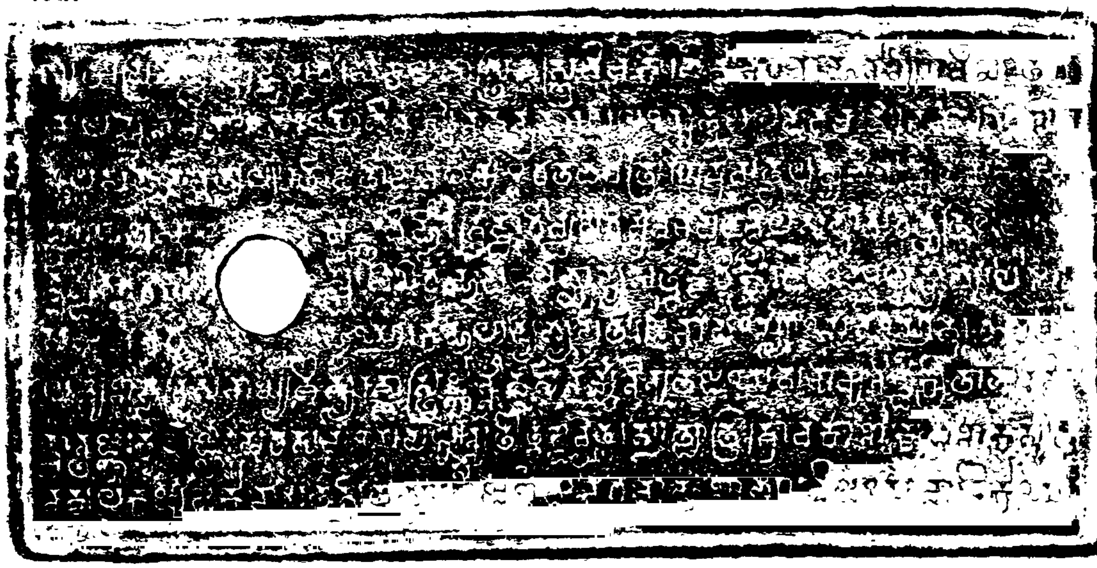
iiia.



iiib.



iva.



N. P. Chakravarti.
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SCALE: ONE-HALF.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

44 नवचरितो ।[1] मानवदेवो जिनेन्द्रपदपद्मा[र्चको][2] ॥ [११*] तस्य सतो मेण्डांबा ।[1] सीतेव पति-

45 व्रता [3]जिनव्रतचरिता । सत्यवती [वि]नयवती ।[1] सतताहारप्रदायिनी धृतधर्म्मा । [।१२*] तस्यौ-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

46 [सु]तौ प्रसिद्धौ ।[4] बुद्धिपरौ ।[4] सकलशास्त्रशस्त्रविवेकौ । भीमनरवाहनाख्यौ ।[4] विख्यातौ रा-

47 मलक्ष्मणाविव लोके ।[।१३*] यौ भीमार्ज्जुनश(स)दृशौ ।[4] बलयुतबलदेववासुदेव-[समा]नौ । [न]-

48 कुलसहदेवतुल्यौ ।[4] तौ जातौ जैनधर्म्मनिरतचरितौ ॥[१४*] [5]श्रीमत्चा[6]लुक्यभीम-[क्षितिपतितनय]-

49 या लब्धसामन्तचिह्नौ ।[4] श्रौदारौ व्वंबरष्ठीवन(?)पदविलसत्चा(चा)मरच्छत्र[लीलौ ।] —

50 — — — रिकाख्यौ शिखिरुहपटलच्छाद्यसत्कर्क्करीकौ ।[4] जातौ चालुक्य[चूलौ]

51 ◡ ◡ ◡ करिहयौ काहलाद्यभ्युपेतौ ॥[१५*] [5]जैनाचार्य्यौ यदीयौ गुरुरखि-

52 लगुणश्चन्द्रसेनाख्यशिश्यो[7] ।[4] श्शास्त्रज्ञोर्न्ना(ना)थसेनो म्मु(मु)निनुतजयसेनो मुनिर्द्दीक्षितात्मा । सि-

53 द्धान्तज्ञः कलाज्ञः परसमयपटुः [8]सन्नुतोत्कृष्टवृत्त ।[4] स्सत्पात्रः श्रावकाणां क्षपणकस्तु[ज]-

54 नस्तुत्यकार्य्या(र्या)ज्जकानाम् ॥[१६*] तस्मै ताभ्यां राजभीमनरवाहणा(ना)भ्यां विजय-वाटिकायां

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

55 जिनभवनयुगविर्म्मितमेतद्धर्म्मार्त्थमस्माभिस्सर्व्वकरपरिहारं देवभोगो-

56 कृत्य पेद्दगाl̤iḍi[9]pa.r.r.unāma ग्रामो दत्तः [।*] अस्यावधयः । पूर्व्वतः मण्डयू-

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[1] Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

[2] [Reading is पदपद्मालि:.—N. L. R.]

[3] The word जिनव्रत is written below the line; obviously the scribe inserted it in revision.

[4] *Danda* is unnecessary.

[5] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[6] Read श्रीमच्चालुक्य·

[7] Read शिष्यश्शास्त्रज्ञो·

[8] The letter न्नु is written beneath the line; it appears to have been inserted by the scribe during revision.

[9] I am inclined to read the letter as ड्डि in preference to ट्टि.

57 रिपोलगरुसुन थिलु काट्टलचेरुवुन मडिमि दूबा [।] आग्नेयत: आलपट्टिंगु जंटूरि-

58 यं मुय्यलकुडुन] दूबकु पडुव । दक्षिणत: चूंटूरि प्रान्त[पाटि]कुलचेरुवुन कुडि-

59 विड्डिगुण्ठ । नैर्ऋत्यत: चूंटूरियम्मपोल्यव्वगुडि । [पश्चिमत:] रेवि[प]डुमटि-दरि । वा-

60 यव्यत: वलिवेरिपोलगरुसुन गारलगुण्ठ । उत्तरत: तप्पराल प[डु]व । ई-

61 शानत: कोडगा[ि]डि[1]प rti यं [वलिवेरियं मु]य्यलकुडुन नडुपनिगुण्ठ ॥ [2]तस्य [स्थे]यादलं-[3]

62 ध्यं शु(सु)चिरमुरुतरं [शास]नं राजकीतं । सत्री(त्री)सर्व्वंगिपस्य प्रकटगुणनि-धेरम्मराजस्य पूज्यं ।

63 तच्चेदं शा[स]नं [पालित]जिननिमलं[4] श्रीकैंकीतान्यनाथव्राते[चो]मौलिविन्यस्तकर्णिक(का)-मकरिको[5]मल्लि-

Fifth Plate.

64 कोक्षासितांघ्रि:(घ्रे:) ॥[१७*] अस्योपरि न केन चिद्बाधा कर्त्तव्या य: करोति स पंचमहापातकसं-

65 युक्तो भवति ॥ तथाचोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता । यस्य य-

66 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[१८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं व-

67 र्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमि: ॥[१९*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविन: [6]पार्त्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो

68 भूयो याचते रामभद्र: । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो(यो) भवद्भि: ॥[२०*]

69 मद्वंशजा: परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपा: । ये पालय-

70 न्ति मम धर्म्म[मि]मं समस्तं तेषां मया विरचितोंजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥[२१*] भारति[:*] काव्यकराज: । जयन्ताचा-

71 र्य्येण लिखितम् ॥[7]

[1] See note 9 on the previous page.

[2] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[3] The dot denoting the *anusvāra* on this letter is placed by the scribe at the beginning of the next line.

[4] [Reading is शासनं च खितजिननिमलं—N. L. R.]

[5] Read मकरिका.

[6] Read पार्त्थिवेन्द्रा°.

[7] There is an ornamental design after this.

No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and K. Gopalachari, M.A., Madras.

I. '*Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions*' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(*This*) pillar (*is the gift*) of......Reti, an inhabitant of (*wife of*?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' *i.e.*, 'gift of a pillar by the wife of **Malamāvuka.**'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

Chanda reads: 'Kaṁma . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṁma have been broken off' The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were *bhayā=bhāryā*.' The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[ṁ*]ghāya' and translates '.........to the brotherhood ....chachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvatī inscriptions as part of personal names, and as Saṁgha (also Haṁgha) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '........cha Chula-saṁghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '........and to Chula-saṁgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '..........mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōvallabha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning. 'of the daughter of the *Mahā-gōvallabha*'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turuḷura'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvatī inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inscrr.*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text l. 11): **Imaṁ chetiyaṁ vihāro cha.**

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāṇu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khaṁbha* (Inscrr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṁ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : **B[o]dhisiri.**

Dr. Vogel has read it as *[E]dhısiriya*. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : **Vasasataya.**

Dr. Vogel read the term as '*vasasanaya*' in inscr. L, and as '*vasasanāya*' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya* ?'. The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvinaseliyānaṁ*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya saṁva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānaṁda Sātakaṁṇi—'*vasasatāya saṁvachhara sata[vi]* . . *maṁ* 20+7' in the former, and '*vasasatāya savachharaṁ* 10+2', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *saṁvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara, vijaya-saṁvatsara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chāḷukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. *Lüders' List No. 1078.*

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

1 Nāḍasa Va[ḍha]nāyasa.

2 Bhogavatasa gābho dānaṁ.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *ḍha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archæological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vaḍhanāya Bhogavata'.

X. *Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L.).*

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na-s* in the same inscription ; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēshu*, polishers) ; Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta-s*. What is read as *pāō* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

1 Seniye tesakare[su]

2 māse pāunaduke |

3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : "With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]

XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105* : above, *Vol. VII, pp. 64 f.* (Karla No. 19, text, l.5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, Vol. VII, p. 65). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xlix) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *vijayathasatākhe* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (*Vide* Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, Vol. VI, p. 319, n. 7.)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman.* (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42)
Mahātalavarena.

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmareḍḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultzsch read the word as '*Mahātagivarena* and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscrr. (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, n. 1), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātagivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) *i.e.*, the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultzsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II.* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4):
Videtūrapallikā.

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, *e.g.*, lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be: *Videtūrapallikā.*

XIV. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff., *the Ellore plates of Dēvavarman. J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 31 f., *the Kantēru grant of Nandivarman; ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., *the Paddavēgi plates of Nandivarman;* and *the Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Mududa(ḍa ?), Mutuda.**

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 176 *n*). Reading it as '*Mutyada*' he corrected it to '*Amātyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākrit grant of Dēvavarman, Hultzsch read it as *Muḷuḍa* and remarked :—" The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to read ....Munuḍa; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *ḷu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *ḷa* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscrr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *ḷa* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munuḍa.*

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *nu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Videtūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *da*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *da* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultzsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākrit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

Anēka-gō-sahasr-ānēka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.

Hultzsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *a[vandhya]*, and translated ; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultzsch's translation : "(and) who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into : "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. *A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.*

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dvē*, *e.g.*, *bitīye* for *dvitīyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *bitīyika* for *dvitīyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākrit.

The personal names, Jebubhūti, Miṭidasa and Bhayabhūti are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the Bhāya......of a Nānāghat relievo inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

TEXT.

1 Dhenukākaṭa Miṭidasa-vejasa
2 thabho dāna[ṁ] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
4 Jebubhūtinā [1] cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

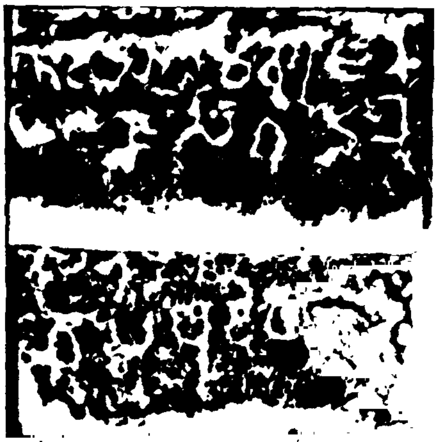
TRANSLATION.

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭidāsa, of Dhenukākaṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubhūti[1] and with Vasumitā.[2]

[1] [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubhūti*.—Ed.]
[2] She was perhaps a daughter.

XI.

Karla Inscription of the year 17.



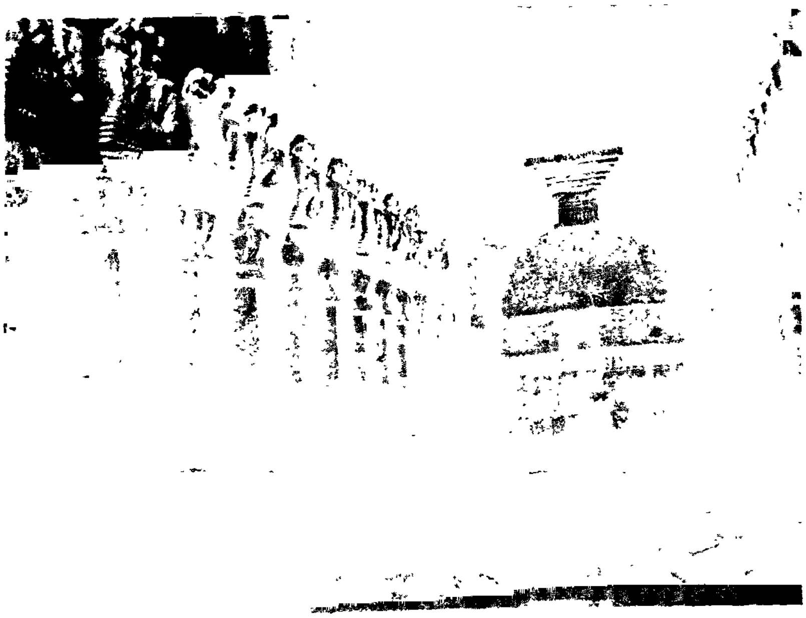
XVI.

Karla Chaitya Pillar inscription.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya showing the inscribed pillar.



(From photographs).

accession extremely doubtful.[1] Probably he was a younger brother of Śarvavarman or else predeceased his father at a young age; at any rate, it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a fraternal war after Īśānavarman.

Attempts have been made[2] to identify this Sūryavarman with the king of that name mentioned in a Sirpur inscription,[3] in which a Sūryavarman figures as a Varman king of Magadha and as the father-in-law of Harshagupta, the nephew of Mahāśiva-Tīvara of Southern Kōsala. But the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman are nowhere mentioned as a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their capital being Kanauj. Moreover, a detailed palæographical examination of the inscriptions of the Kosalan Pāṇḍavas leads us to place Tīvara at a date much later than A. D. 554, to which year the Haṛāhā inscription belongs. That, however, is a different matter and need not detain us here.

Regarding the history of Avantivarman next to nothing is known. In the present seals he is styled *mahārājādhirāja*, while the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription[4] calls him *paramēśvara.* Bāṇa describes him as the 'ornament of the Maukhari race.'[5] He seems to have continued the imperial traditions of his family.

The second of the present seals introduces us to the son of Avantivarman, only the first two letters of whose name remain and can be read as Suva...... or Sucha.....[6] This is a fact which does not readily fit in with the known facts of history. Bāṇa unequivocally states that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman[7]; as such he is expected to have come to the throne after Avantivarman. It is usually assumed by historians that when Grahavarman was killed by Dēvagupta of Mālwā, the throne of Kanauj fell vacant and was offered to Harsha, who accepted it after some hesitation. This is perhaps stating the complicated course of events too simply. It is possible that the second son of Avantivarman came to the throne after the murder of Grahavarman as the rightful owner before Harsha occupied it in the name of his sister. It is also possible that Grahavarman was still a prince when he was killed[8] and that some time elapsed between that event and Harsha's occupation of Kanauj, so that on the death of Avantivarman his younger son came to the throne and continued to rule till he was deposed by Harsha. This son, the author of the present seal, might have been the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepāl king in the eighth century.[9] In short, it seems reasonable to hold that there was a legal heir to the Maukhari throne even after the death of Grahavarman; this may explain why Harsha was hesitating to accept the sceptre of Kanauj.[10]

The text given below is transcribed from the original seals, now in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā.

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[1] *Cf.* Pires, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 512 n. 1; Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, p. 190. [4] Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 213. [5] *Harshacharita*, p. 141.

[6] The reading has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist for India. [It is curious that the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* mentions a king Suvra after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 27 §19 (*c*). Jayaswal corrects the last *pāda* of the verse as *Graha-Suvrata (a)th=āparaḥ* which according to the ordinary rules of *Anushṭubh* would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of *n* and as there seems to be a *rēpha* sign below it I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as *śrī-Sucha(ndravarmmā Maukhariḥ)*.—Ed.]

[7] *Harshacharita*, p. 141: *tatr=āpi tilaka-bhūtasy=Āvantivarmaṇaḥ sūnur=agrajō Grahavarmā nāma.*

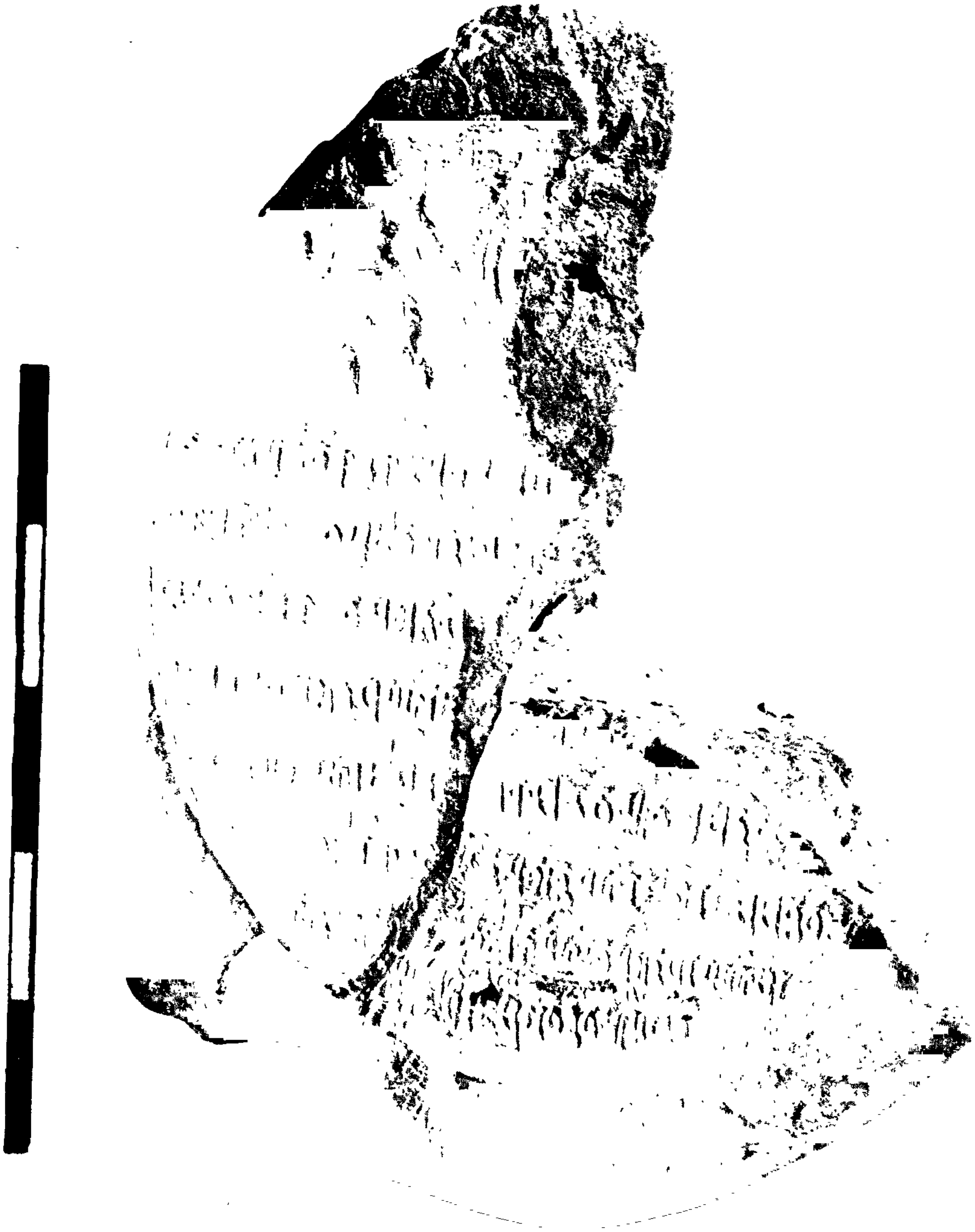
[8] Bāṇa is silent as to whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne, unless the word *dēva*, used in one place (p. 183), is taken to show his royal position.

[9] Kāṭmāṇḍu inscription of Jayadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

[10] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 211.

TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

A.



B.



TEXT.

A.—*Seal of Avantivarman* (Reg. No. 852).

1 **Chatus-samudr-ātikkrānta**-k[ī]rtt[i]ḥ prat[ā]p-[ā]nur[ā]g-ōpa[nat-ānya-rājā(jō) **varṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta***]-[1]

2 **chakkraś=Chakkradhara** iva prajānām=artti-haraḥ śrī-[mahārāja-**Harivarmmā** tasya **puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Jaya***]-[1]

3 **sv[ā]mini**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-[mahārāj-**Ādityavarmmā** tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō **Harshaguptā***]-[1]

4 **bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ** śrī-mahārāj-[**Īśvaravarmmā** tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-**dhyāta Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā*]-[1]

5 **dēvyām=utpann[ō]** mahārājādhirā[ja-śrī*]-[1] **Īśānavarmmā** tasya puttras=ta[t-pād-**ānudhyātō***][1]

6 **Lakshmīvatī**-bhaṭṭārikā-ma[hādēvyā]m=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Śarvvavarmmā**

7 **tasya puttras=tat-pād**-ā[nudhyāta **Indra***][2]-**bhaṭṭārikā**-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-**māhēśvar[ō]**

8 **[mahārā*]jādhirāja**-śrī-**Avantivarmmā Maukhariḥ.**

B.—*Seal of the son of Avantivarman* (Reg. No. 855).

1[3] ....**vyām=utpa[n]na**....

2 ....**ṭṭār[i]k[ā]**-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-**Ī**....

3 **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhi......

4 **t-pād-ānudhyātō Lakshmīvatī**-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyā....

5 **Śarvvavarmmā tasya** [pu]ttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta **Indra-bhaṭṭā**....

6 [**mahārājādhirāja**]-śrī-**Avantivarmmā** tasya pu......

7 [**vatī** ?]-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ para......

8 **rājā[dhi]rāja-śrī-Suva**......[4]

No. 41.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARAYA : SAKA 1461.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription[5] is found on the east wall of the second *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at **Śrīraṅgam,** the well-known place of pilgrimage in South India, specially sacred to the Vaishṇavas. It is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king **Achyutarāya-Mahārāya** in **Śaka 1461,** corresponding to the cyclic year Vikārin, and contains astronomical details which give the English equivalent A. D. 1539, August 26, Tuesday.

The record which is engraved in **Tamiḻ** and **Grantha** characters, contains an introductory portion in Tamiḻ which states that on the occasion of the king's performing a *tulābhāra* ceremony, his *rājamahishī* **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ** composed two Sanskrit *ślōkas*[6] and had them engraved in several holy places, Śrīraṅgam being one of them, so that the descendants of prince **Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri** may rule as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*). Then follow the two verses referred to, and the epigraph closes with an epilogic sentence in **Tamiḻ**.

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[1] Restored from the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of Śarvavarman.

[2] Restored from the seal B.

[3] Of the existing portion.

[4] [Or *Sucha*...... See p. 284, note 6 above. —Ed.]

[5] Registered as No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

[6] The *ślōkas* refer only to the gift of *Ānandanidhi* and not to the *tulābhāra*; and it is possible that both the ceremonies were performed on the same occasion at Hampi.

Several records[1] copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of king Achyuta was Varadādēvi-Ammaṉ and that the crown-prince Veṅkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsam* and *Raghunāthābhyudayam*,[2] which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevvappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing epigraphical confirmation as to the existence of this queen Tirumalaidēvi and in enabling us to identify her with Ōduva (or Vōduva) Tirumalāmbā, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse[3] commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmans at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses[4] recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455 in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Veṅkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *champū-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon[5] as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya[6] himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Veṅkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *yuvarāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.[7] Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature

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[1] She is referred to as a *paṭṭamahishī* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 245) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

[2] S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

[3] No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

[4] These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

शाके भूतशराबुधीन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनर्नन्दने
मासे श्रावणनामके च विमले पक्षे रवेर्वासरे ।
द्वादश्यां हरिसन्निधौ व्यरचयन्मुक्तातुलापूरुषं
दानं श्रीनरसाच्युतक्षितिपतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यन्तरे ॥
मुक्तातुलापूरुषदानविधौ विकीर्णा-
न्मुक्तामणीन् समधिकं वरदांबिकायाः ।
दानांबुपूरपरितान् रयतस्समेत्य
रत्नाकरत्वमभजन्नवणाकरोपि ॥
काञ्च्यां श्रीचिनवेंकटाद्रिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके
संप्रत्यारचिते द्विजास्समभवन्नर्थातिभाराकुलाः ।
यावीयं कलिकल्मषादधिमतादुर्वीन्नभारा मनी
चोवीपालकुमारका(:)स्तदितरे भाराय जाता भुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kāḷahasti, now under publication in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX.

[5] विविधविद्याप्रगल्भराजाधिराजाच्युतरायसार्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वविश्वासभुवा . . . . . तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

[6] *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

[7] The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Veṅkaṭādri was also anointed *yuvarāja* (*Achyutarāyābhyudayam*). The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1530.

of its contents[1] and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṉ-avargaḷ (Vōduva[2] Tirumalammanavaru), who, originally a 'Reader' (*Ōduva*) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.[3] It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy[4] of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Veṅkaṭādri's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sārvabhaumas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.[5] Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aḷiya-Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of the late king Kṛishṇarāya. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivarāya on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled[6] his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.[7]

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies[8] of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamiḻ, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Aṇṇigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Ānandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamiḻ portion refers to the performance of a *tulābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

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[1] The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

[2] This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

[3] See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, f.n. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champū*.

[4] Gaṅgādēvī, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampaṇa, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāṅgī, who wrote the *Mārīchīpariṇayam*.

[5] For a discussion on these points, *vide* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 *et seq*.

[6] Brigg's *Firishta*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahisūranarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Veṅkaṭādri died. (*Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

[7] No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handāḍi (South Kanara), dated in Subhakṛit, mentions that Veṅkaṭādrirāya was ruling at Vijayanagara.

[8] Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantaśayanaguḍi (Nos. 684 and 685 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvaṇagere 24); Nīrgunda (Hoḷalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Aṇṇigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannaḍa preamble of the Gadag version.[1]

> Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-pṛithvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāyaru Vijayanagariya neleviḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-iḷdu Śaka 1461 (etc.) puṇya-kāladoḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadrā-tīra Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādhava-prītyarthav=āgi Ānandanidhiy=emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisidā[2] praśastiyanu Saṁskṛita-bhāshā-kavitadalli Śārdūlavikrīḍitav=emba vṛittaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-śāsanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya praśastiya vṛittaṅgaḷa kramav=entendoḍe || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādhava and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.[3] The inscriptions engraved at Śrīraṅgam and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*[4], the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmans, after some ceremonial preliminaries, pots made of the *udumbara* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed[5] for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādhava (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvādi and Yugādi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.[6] It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

[1] No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

[2] Compare *dvijān Dhanadayann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam* of the verse.

[3] A similar preamble found in the Aṇṇigere copy states that the verses were engraved in the Amṛitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvaṇagere copy has simply the following sentence :—'Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-krita-Mahānanda-nidhi-praśaṁsā-padya-dvayaṁ likhyatē'.

[4] *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 586-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

[5] कारयेत्कार्त्तिकान्ते वा माघ्यां माधवेपि वा ।
अयने विषुवे वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥
चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे वा स्वशक्त्यौदुंबरङ्घटम् ।
पिधानं राजतं तद्वत्सौवर्णमुकुलेत् ॥
नानारत्नवरापूर्णं नानानानाभिराजितम् ।
हेमराजतताम्रोत्थैः सवित्तैरपि पूरितम् ॥

[6] तदाखिलमहीराज्यं प्राप्नोति भवसंश्रयी ।
नित्यानन्दनिधेर्दानान्नित्यानन्दोभिजायते ।
यः कुर्यात् सोऽच्युतायुःस्याद्दीर्घसन्तानमाप्नुयात् ॥

nidhi-dāna for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded[1] (*varakkāṭṭi-aruḷina*) by the king (*svāmi*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikārattil*) of **Śrīraṅgappa-Nāyaka,** son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pādasēvai-paṇṇum*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi region. He figures in another record[2] from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-paḍaivīṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirupati[3], for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Ammaṉ and prince Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri-Uḍaiyar.

Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṉ, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,[4] from the time of Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar *alias* Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.

TEXT.

1 Śubham[5]=astu [|*] Svasti śrī [|*] **Śakābdam 1461** idaṉmēl śellāniṉṟa Vikāri-saṁvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakshattu duvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṟṟa Tiruvōṇa-nakshatrattu ṉāḷ Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-**Vīra-Achchyutarāya-Mahārāyar** tulābhāra-mahādāṉam paṇṇi-aruḷiṉār [||*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamahishiy=āṉa **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṉ-avargaḷ** ślōka-dvayam śeydaruḷiṉār [||*]

2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṁgādi**-puṇṇya(puṇya)-kshētraṁgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham=āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**=ruḍaiya santānattil uḷḷavargaḷ sārvabhaumarāy pṛithuvī-rājyam paṇṇuvārgaḷ eṉṟu Perumāḷ Śrīraṁganāthadēvar saṉṉadiyilē śilā-śāsanam paṇṇiṉapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṇitē varshē Vikāryy-āhvayē-pakshē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [|*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Vishṇv-adhipatau tārē=**chyuta-**

3 **kshmāpatir**=ddatv=Ānanta(da)nidhiṁ[6] dvijān [Dhanada]yann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam ||[1||*] Puṇy-aughaiḥ paripālitasya paritō[7] bhūt-āḷi-saṁvēshṭitas=sadvarggaiś=śabaḷīkṛitasya[8] satat-ākrāntā bhujaṅga-vrajaiḥ [|*] prāptasy=āti-nava-praśastim=adhika-prakhyāta-śauryy-Āchyuta-kshmāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr[6]=ṇav[9]ā=pi nidhayaḥ kin=tē labhantē tulām || [2*||] Śubha[m=a]stu [||*]

[1] This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-saṁvatsarattu Āshāḍha bahuḷa dvādaśi-nāḷ Śrīraṅgattukku eḻundaruḷi,' the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

[2] No. 91 of 1938-39.

[3] *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* (1930), p. 245.

[4] *Kōyiloḻugu*, p. 72.

[5] Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

[6] The other copies read *Ānandanidhiṁ* and *Ānandanidhēr=*.

[7] Some of the other copies read *puratō.*

[8] The other copies read *sva-vaśīkritasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

[9] Read *nav-*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-aruḷiṉa ślōkam iraṇḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-uḍaiya pādasēvai pa[ṉ*]ṉum **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar** magaṉ **Śiraṅgappa-Nāyakkar** adikārattil śilā-śādaṉam paṇṇiṉa-paḍikku kōvil-kkaṇakku **Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapiriyaṉ** eḻuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well! Hail! Prosperity!

In the **Śaka year 1461** (*expired*) corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year **Vikārin**, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—*Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara* śrī-Vīrapratāpa **śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya** was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (*ceremony*). For (*i.e.*, in commemoration of) this,[1] the queen (*rājamahishi*) of the Mahārāya named **Ōḍuva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ** was pleased to compose two (*Sanskrit*) *ślōkas*.

(Ll. 2-3) (*In the hope that*) if this *dharmma*[2] is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as **Śrīraṅgam, Chikka-Veṅkaṭādrirāya's** descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śrīraṅganātha.

In (*the*) Śaka (*year*) counted by *chandra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Vishṇu (*i.e.*, Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (*gifts of*) *Ānandanidhi*[3] made Brāhmans like Dhanada[4] (Kubēra) and pleased (*god*) Mādhava.

Though (*themselves*) *nava* (nine)[5] how can the *nidhis* (*of Kubēra*) attain equality with the *Ānandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)[5] celebrity (or eulogy)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is coveted (*only*) by the assemblage of the good?

Be it well!

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmi* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of **Ś[r*]īraṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (*i.e.*, signature) of the temple-accountant **Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapiriyaṉ**.

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[1] The word *iḍukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Ānandanidhi*.

[2] There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śrīraṅgam on this occasion; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharmma-kīrttiya praśasti* of the Gadag and Annigere versions.

[3] The word *ananta-nidhi* means 'inexhaustible treasure', but the more technical Ānandanidhi of Hēmādri appears to have been intended.

[4] The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of Ānanda-nidhi were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis*; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outrivalled Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

[5] A pun on *nava*=nine and *nava*=new.

No. 42.—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRADEVA : V. S. 1237.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

The record edited below is found on a **single copper-plate** now preserved in the **Provincial Museum, Lucknow.** No information is available as to where it was discovered. According to the information kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, it was purchased at Lucknow from Messrs. Mata Prasad Sita Ram of Benares on the 12th October, 1935.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1′ 7″ × 1′ 2″. Its edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing. In the upper part of the plate there is a hole for the passing of the ring. Both the ring and the seal which was once affixed to the ring, are now missing. The plate contains 36 lines of writing, the letters being about $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in height. It weighs about 502½ *tolas*. A piece in the left hand corner at the bottom of the plate is broken and lost. This has caused damage to the last four lines in each of which five or six letters are lost at the beginning. One letter in l. 13 and two or three letters in ll. 16-17 are also partly damaged. But there is nothing in the plate which cannot be restored from the other known records of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj to which family the grant belongs.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. There are altogether 26 verses composed in different metres of which one is introductory in praise of Lakshmī and Vishṇu found at the commencement of almost all the Gāhaḍavāla grants, 13 are devoted to the descriptions of the different rulers mentioned in the record and the last twelve are imprecatory and benedictory verses. With the exception of these verses the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription has been carefully written and in respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) *B* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhramur=* in l. 8, e.g. *vāhu-valli-vaṁdh°* (l. 7), *=āmvu* (l. 8), *Vali* (l. 10), *vahala* (l. 14), etc. (2) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been represented by both *anusvāra* and a nasal of the same class without any discrimination, e.g. *akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *-Endra°* (l. 4), *=ōṅkitā* (l. 5), *kumbhi, maṇḍala* (l. 6), *=ānumantā* (l. 29), etc., as against *saṁraṁbhaḥ* (l. 1), *Mahīchaṁdra* (l. 3), *maṁḍalō* (l. 3), *sāṁdr-* (l. 7), *Gōviṁdachaṁdra* (l. 8), *-iṁdra* (l. 11), *maṁtri* (l. 20), etc. (3) A consonant in conjunction with a subscript *r* has never been doubled but one following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g. *dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitaṁ* (l. 4), *kīrtti, varṇṇita* (l. 10), *avatīrṇṇa* (l. 12), etc., the few exceptions being *jayārthaṁ, -ārthinī* (l. 11), *nirjhara* (l. 14), etc. (4) *S* has been wrongly used for *ś* in *anisam* (l. 4), *śatasas=* (l. 5), *vasūd=* (l. 7), *rāsēḥ* (l. 8), etc., and *ś* for *s* in *-ōllaśitaiḥ* (l. 5), *-āśṛig-*, *udbhāśitaḥ* (l. 7), *tiśṛishu* (l. 8), *yaśāṁśi* (l. 11), *sahaśraṁ* (l. 13), etc. (5) Final *m* is found only in *phalam* (l. 30), *anusvāra* being used in other places. (6) For want of sufficient space in a particular line when a part of a word had to be engraved in the next, sometimes one or two vertical strokes have been used at the end of the former to show the continuity, cf., for example the ends of ll. 21 and 33. The record contains a few other mistakes which have been corrected either in the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara* **Jayachchandradēva,** the **Gāhaḍavāla** ruler of **Kanauj and Benares,** of whom we have already sixteen records[1] dating from V. S. 1226 to V. S. 1245 (A. D. 1170-89). The present record does not contain any new information with the exception of what is imparted by the grant portion. The genealogy of the donor is given in verses 2-12 and once again in ll. 14-18 where the names of the first two members of the family are omitted. The list begins, as in the other

[1] See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 536-41.

records of this family, with **Yaśōvigraha** (v. 2) whose son was **Mahīchandra** (v. 3). The latter's son was the P. M. P. **Chandradēva,** who is stated to have acquired the kingdom of **Kanyakubja** by the prowess of his arm. He is also said to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* at **Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttarakōśala** and **Indrasthāna** (*i.e.*, Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayōdhyā and probably Indraprastha or Delhi)[1] after he had acquired them,' and bestowed to Brahmins his weight in gold in hundreds. His successor was his son the P. M. P. **Madanapāla** and his son was the P. M. P. **Gōvindachandra** who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (v. 8). Commenting on this verse Kielhorn observed: "Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning."[2] But as this verse is found in the Kamauli Plate of V. S. 1171,[3] the earliest known record of this ruler and which is separated by only five years from the last known record of his father Madanapāla,[4] it is probable that *nava-rājya* in the verse refers to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra newly succeeded. It was also this ruler who for the first time assumed the *birudas aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, originally used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī, the use of which was continued by all his successors. It is significant that these epithets appear for the first time in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of V. S. 1177[5] which records the transfer by Gōvindachandra to one Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha of the village Karaṇḍa in the Antarāla-*paṭṭalā* which was originally granted to the *Rājaguru* Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri) Yaśaḥkarṇa. As these are not found even in the two grants[6] of Gōvindachandra issued in V. S. 1176 it is obvious that shortly before the issue of the grant of V. S. 1177 the Gāhaḍavāla ruler wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by the Kalachuri kings. Gōvindachandra's son was the P. M. P. **Vijayachandra** whose son was the P. M. P. **Jayachchandra.** Vijayachandra is stated to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing*) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the wives of **Hammīra,** the abode of wanton destruction to the earth" (v. 10). There is little doubt that this passage contains a reference to some historical incident not known from other sources. As this event is referred to in the Kamauli Plate of Vijayachandra of V. S. 1224,[7] the earliest record known of this ruler, it must have taken place between this date and V. S. 1211, the last known date of his father Gōvindachandra, *i.e.* between A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1167. It is, however, difficult to identify definitely this Hammīra. The earliest numismatic reference to this title is found on the coins of Muhammad bin Sām otherwise known as Muhammad Ghūri, whose invasion of India did not take place till a later period. Probably Hammīra was a popular designation for the Muslim chiefs in India, and therefore Dr. H. C. Ray[8] may not be wrong in identifying Hammīra of these records with Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah (1160-1186), the last prince of the Yamīnī dynasty, who was noted for his weakness as a ruler[9] and who might have suffered a defeat at the hands of this Gāhaḍavāla ruler.

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, n. 46.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 102 and n. 3.

[4] *Viz.*, the Rāhan Plate of V. S. 1166 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff.).

[5] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 109 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

[8] *Dynastic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 535-36. See also *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

[9] Major Raverty notices two coins, one of Khusrav Malik and another of his father Khusrav Shāh, but the legends on them give them the titles of Sulṭān and Bādshāh respectively. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Transl. (Bibl. Ind.), footnote under p. 114.

The **date** of the record is given both in words and in decimal figures in ll. 22-23 as Sunday, the 7th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1237, when the sun had entered the **Mīna** (sign of the zodiac) and regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd February, A.D. 1181.

The **object** of the grant is to record the gift of the village **Maṁdara** with **Kaḍāhī**[1] in the **Dēhaduāra**-*pattalā* by Jayachchandradēva. The recipient of the gift, which was made by the ruler after bathing in the Ganges at **Vārāṇasī** and performing other ceremonies connected with it, was the Brahmin Paṇḍit **Brahmaśarman** of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and the five *pravaras*, **Bhārggava**, Chyavana, Apnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. He was a son of the Paṇḍit Gōtrānanda and grandson of the Paṇḍit Sarvvānanda. In l. 27 of the record, among the taxes to be paid to the donee, is found the phrase *yamali-kāmali* which is found also in some other records of this ruler in a slightly different form.[2] Its meaning, however, is not clear.

The writer of the plate was the *Mahākshapaṭalika* Ṭhakkura **Śrīpati** who figures as the writer of most of the copper-plate grants of Jayachchandradēva.

I am unable to identify the gift village and the *pattalā* in which it was situated.

TEXT.[3]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 15-23, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 26, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, 13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 25, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*; v. 10, *Mālinī*; v. 14, *Sragdharā*; v. 24, *Śālinī*.]

1 **Ōm**[4] svasti || Akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | saṁrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1||*] Āśī(sī)d-Aśī(śī)tadyuti-[vaṁśa-jā]ta-kshmāpāla-[mālāsu]

2 divaṁ gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśōvigraha** ity=udāraḥ || [2||*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahī[chaṁ]draś**=chaṁdradhāma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ(jam) | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pār[ē vyāpā]-

3 ritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3||*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṁḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-dhīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chaṁdradēvō** nṛipaḥ | yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-praj-ōpadrava[ṁ]

4 śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājyam=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitaṁ(tam) || [4||*] Tīrthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** paripālayat=ādhigamva(mya) | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) dadatā dvij[ē]-

5 bhyō yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śatasa(śa)s=tulābhiḥ || [5||*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-chūḍāmaṇir=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chaṁdraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllaśi(si)-taiḥ payōbhiḥ prakshā-

6 litaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalaṁ dharitryāḥ || [6||*] Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchaiś-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhra[ś]yan-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhina(nna)-tālu-ga-

7 lita-styān-āśṛi(sṛi)g-udbhāśi(si)taḥ Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshaṇam=asau krōḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ || [7||*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-vaṁ(baṁ)dh-āvaruddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ | sāṁdr-āmṛi-

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[1] Probably Kaḍāhī was a *pāṭaka* attached to the village of Mandara.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137 ff. (Nos. H, I, J and K) and above, Vol. IV, p. 129.

[3] From an impression which I owe to the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

8 ta-drava-muchaṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō Gōvindachandra iti chandra iv=āmvu(mbu)-rās(ś)ēḥ || [8||*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tis(ś)ṛishu dikshu gajān=atha vajriṇa[ḥ] ||(|) kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabha(bha)-

9 pratibhaṭā iva yasva(sya) ghaṭa-gajāḥ || [9||*] Ajani Vijayachandrō nāma tasmān=[na]-rēndraḥ Surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshaḥ | bhuvana-dalana-hēla-harmmya-Hammīra-nā(rī)-nari-nayana-jala-[1]

10 da-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || [10||*] Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli-visṛiṁkhalāni prakhyāta-kirtti-kavi-varṇṇita-vaibhavāni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāñji bhānti projja-(jjṛiṁ)bhayanti Va(Ba)li-

11 rāja-bhayaṁ yasāṁsi(śi) || [11||*] Yasmimś=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārthaṁ mādyat-kar-īṁdra-guru-bhāra-nipīḍit=ēva | yāti Prajāpati-padaṁ sa(śa)raṇ-ārthinī bhūs=tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivāh-ōttha-rajaś-chhalēna || [12||*]

12 Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha . Jaya[cha*]ndr-ābhidhānaḥ patir=bhūpānām=avatīrṇṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ | dvaidhībhāvam=apāsya vigraha-ruchiṁ dhik-kṛitya sā(śā)nt-āsa(śa)yāḥ sēvantē yam=udagra-

13 vaṁ(baṁ)dhana-bhaya-dhvaṁs-ārthinaḥ pārthivāḥ || [13||*] Gachchhēn=mūrchchhām=atuchchhāṁ na yadi kavalay[ē]t=kūrmma-pṛishṭh-ābhighāta-pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō namad-akhila-phaṇa-sv(śv)āsa-vā[tyā][2]-sahasraṁ(sram) | udyōgē yasya dhāva-

14 d-dharaṇidhara-dhunī-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-bhraśyad-dāna-dvip-āli-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudraḥ phaṇīṁdraḥ || [14||*] Sō=yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ [|*] Sa cha Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-

15 dhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-Paramamāhēsvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-śrī-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipati-(tya)-śrī-Chaṁdradēva-pāda[n]udhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Ma-

16 da[napā]ladēva-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āsvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-

17 śrī-[Gōviṁ]dachaṁdradēva-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āsvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vā-

18 chaspati-śrī-Vijayachaṁdradēva-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āsvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichā-

19 ra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaj-Jayachchaṁdradēvō vijayī|| ||Dēvadhāra-pattalāyāṁ | Kaḍahī-sāhā-Maṁdāra-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-

20 maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥ-purika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattanākarasthāna-gōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpaya-

21 ti vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha [||*] Viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath-ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-[3]

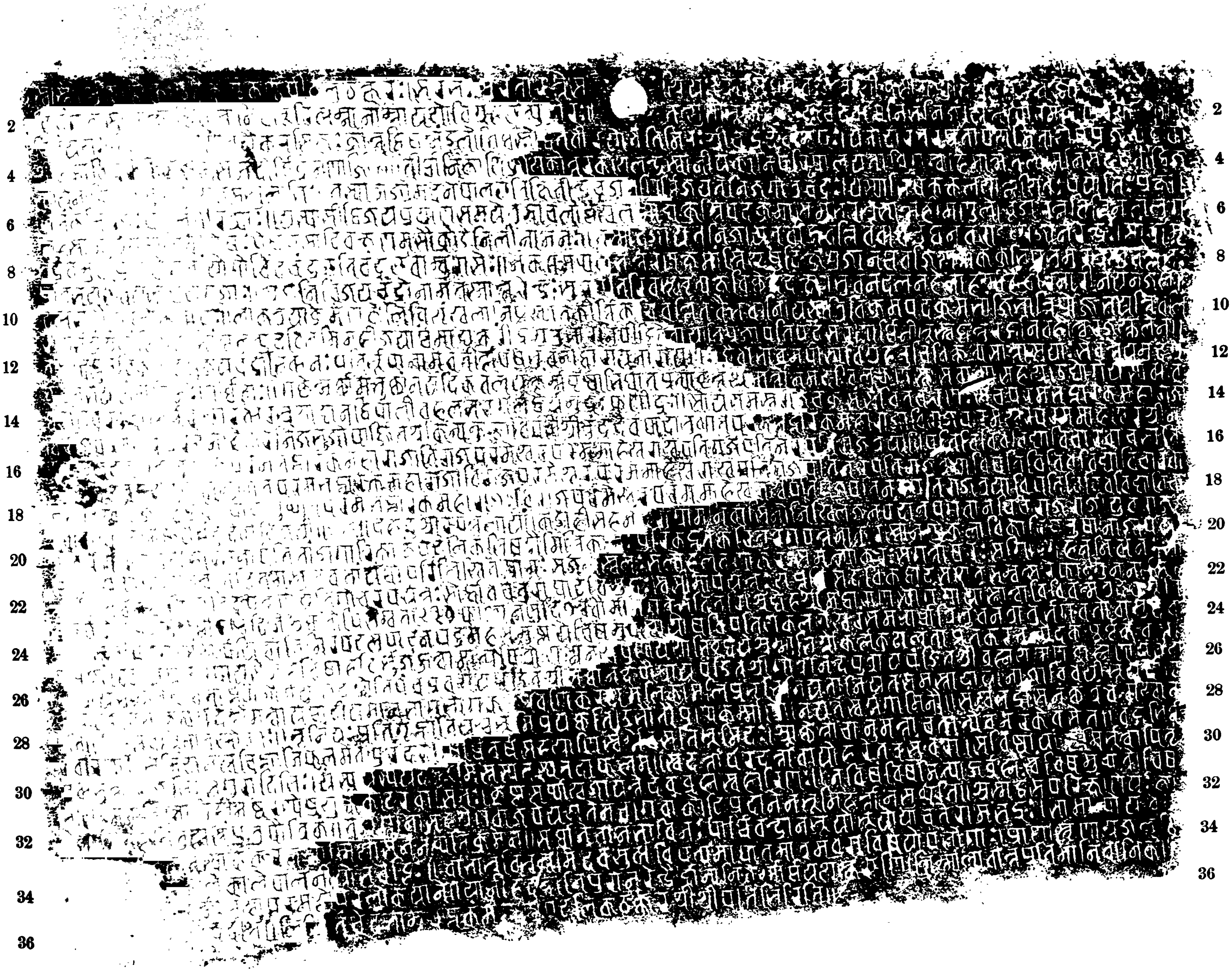
22 ma[dhuk-ā]mra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh[v*]-ādha[ś*]=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ sa(sa)pta-[triṁ]sa(śa)d-adhika-dvādasa(śa)-śata-saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsi[4]

[1] There are two *daṇḍas* here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

[2] This letter is damaged.

[3] There is a mark here to show that the phrase is continued in the next line.

[4] There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.



SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

Reg. No. 1913 E'38.—295.

23 **śukla-pakshē saptamyān**=tithau **Ravi-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1237 Phālguna-sudi 7 Ravau** Mīna-gatē savitari | ady=ēha śrīmad-**Vārāṇasyāṁ** Gaṁgāyāṁ snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-dēva-mū(mu)ni-

24 manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham =upasthāy=Ō(Au)shadhipati-śakala-śēkharaṁ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Vāsudēva-

25 sya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-[1]

26 gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya paṁḍita-śrī-Sarvvānanda-pautrāya paṁḍita-śrī-Gōtrānanda-putrāya paṁḍita-śrī-Vra(Bra)-hmaśarmmaṇ[ē] vrā(brā)hmaṇāya chaṁdr-ā-

27 rk[kaṁ] yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇi-kara-yamali-kāmali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyībhūya dāsya-

28 th=ēti || || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [15||*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)-khaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chhatraṁ var-āśvā va-

29 ra-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasva(sya) chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [16||*] Shashṭi[ṁ] varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [17||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-

30 sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [18||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛi-

31 bhiḥ saha majjati || [19||*] Vāri-hīn[ē]shv=araṇyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarppāś=cha jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [20||*] Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhur=vra(bra)hma-svaṁ visham=uchyatē | visha-

32 m=ē[kā]kinaṁ hanti vra(bra)hma-svaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ(kam) || [21||*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahaśrē-(srē)ṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati || [22||*] Asmad-vaṁsa(śē) parikshīṇē yaḥ ka-[2]

33 [ś=chin=nṛipatir=bha*][3]vēt | tasy=āhaṁ kara-lagnō=smi śāsanaṁ na vyatikramēṇ(t) || [23||*] Sarvvān=ētāna(n)=bhāvinaḥ pārthiva(v-ē)ndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō=yaṁ dha-[2]

34 [rmma-sētur=nṛipā*][3]ṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [24||*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramva(ma)-m=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātra-madhurā vishay-ōpabhōgāḥ | prāṇās=tṛiṇ-āgra-jala-viṁ-

35 [du-samā narāṇāṁ*][3] dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [25||*] Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō |[4]

36 [nāma sādhuḥ puna*][3]r=ādadīta || [26||*] Likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tām[ra]-paṭṭakaṁ mahāksha-paṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-**Śrīpatibhir**=iti ||

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[1] There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.

[2] There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

[3] The portion within square brackets is lost.

[4] *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "*Triveni*", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Bezwada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at **Vavvēru**, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchchireḍḍipāḷem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Reḍḍi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimaṭṭi* (*i.e.*, earth in the old village-site), at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only 8¾ inches in length and all of them measure 2¾ inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about 3⅜ inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring ⅜ inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular **seal** measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.[1] The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

The script of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,[2] which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māṅgaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakaṭṭu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

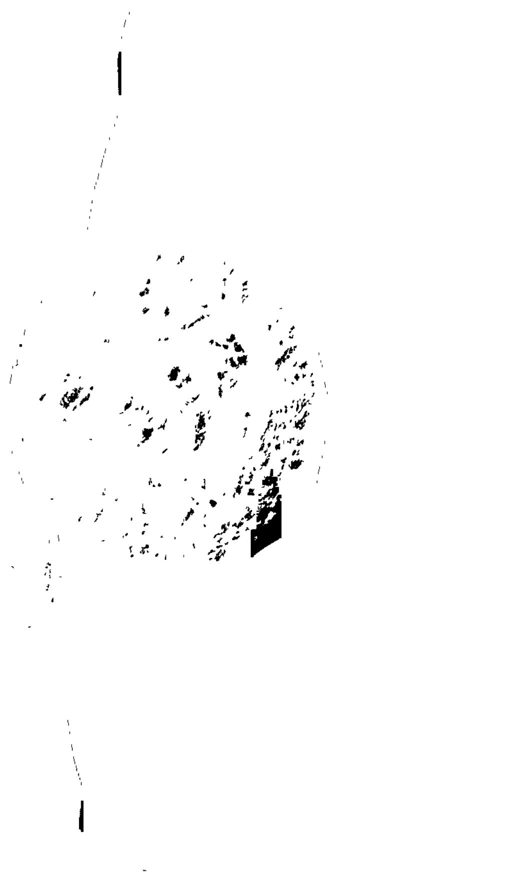
In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkira grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right

[1] I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

Seals of Three Pallava Copper-Plate Grants.

A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



B. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)



C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)



N. P. Chakravarti.

From photographs.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkira grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultzsch as *Ōṁ*[1], our grant commences with the expression *Svasti* like the two other known Pallava records, *viz.*, the Ōṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman[2] and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.[3]

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',[4] but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant[5] is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pīkira grant[6] appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṁgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a **bull**, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.[7]

In the seal of the Prākrit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī, the animal had been originally taken[8] to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultzsch.[9]

A few important **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *ī* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam=Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṁgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājinām=Pallavānām=Mahārājaḥ* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *śārīran=daṇḍam=* in l. 22, *paran=dānam=* in l. 23, *ghōran=ṅa* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādānuddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamiḻ letter for *ḷa* in *Viḷavaṭṭi* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamiḻ on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vaṭṭa* in the expression *vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamiḻ. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vaṭṭam-jāghirdār* is in vogue.

[1] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.
[6] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.
[7] *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 38.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.
[9] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

Several wrong forms, evidently due to oversight, are noticeable: e.g., *grama* for *grāma* and *grāka* for *grāsaka* in l. 15, *sumukhājñāptyā* for *svamukhā°* in l. 30 and *vasundhārā* for *vasundharā* in l. 25. The expression *kshētraṁ* in l. 14 appears to be used in the sense of a 'department' or 'committee' in charge of the village. We may compare in this connection the expression *Ōṁgōḍu-grāmaś=cha vaktavyāḥ* used in the Ōṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman.[1]

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna** by *Mahārāja* **śrī-Siṁhavarman**, son of Yuvamahārāja **śrī-Vishṇugōpa**, grandson of **śrī-Skandavarman** and great grandson of **śrī-Vīravarman**, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and the family of the **Pallavas** that had performed several *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. It registers the gift of the village **Viḷavaṭṭi** in **Muṇḍa**-*rāshṭra* together with its hamlet (*sa-grāsakaḥ*), with the several taxes (specified below) which were the property of the king, to (the Brāhman) Vishṇuśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra* and the Chhandōga(-*śākhā*).

The inscription is **dated** in the tenth year of the king's increasingly victorious reign (*samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājya*), on the fifth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (*Śrāvaṇyāṁ*).

The **main interest of the record** is in the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which are now given away by him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* (*ashṭādaśa-jātibhiḥ parihāraiḥ*) mentioned but not enumerated in the Uruvupalli grant. As regards the taxes the king's command runs thus :—" whichever taxes are payable in this village by metal-workers and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakāra*), the shop-keeping cloth-dealers (*āpaṇa-paṭṭa-kāra*), licensed spies (?) going about in loose masks or garments (*prāvārañchara*[2]), rope-jugglers or dancers (*rajjupratihāra*), shops (in general) (*āpaṇa*)[3], Ājīvikas (a class of Jaina mendicants), the taxes payable by barbarians and outcastes (*nāhala*), *mukhadharakas*[4] (mask-actors), water-diviners (*kūpa-darśakas*[5]), weavers (*tantravāya*), taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), marriage (*vivāha*) and barbers (*nāpita*), and the taxes or tithes payable by the artisans enjoying the privileges of *sarvaparihāra* (?) and such other taxes that belong to me, have been given to this (Brāhman) as *brahmadēya*. The officers of the *vaṭṭa-grāmas*[6] shall accordingly do my bidding. Others shall (duly) render and cause the dues to be rendered unto the donee. Whoever transgresses this charter of mine, that sinner will undergo corporal punishement." The order for the gift was issued orally by the king and committed to writing by the Private Secretary (*Rahasyādhikṛita*) **Achyuta**.

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 251, Text, l. 10.

[2] These probably represent the begging *buḍu-bukkis* who go about in loose and heavy garments.

[3] If *rajju-pratihār-āpaṇa* be construed as one compound, it would indicate 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers'.

[4] Alternatively we might understand this expression to refer to a particular class of self-mortifying devotees known as *mukhēnādāyin*.

[5] [Many of the terms in ll. 18-19 are met with here for the first time and are difficult to explain. It appears to me that tax levied for the maintenance of certain offices is indicated in l. 18. Accordingly, I would prefer to take *paṭṭakāra* not in the sense of 'silk-weaver' but in that of *paṭṭalēkhin* or writer of official documents. *Prāvārañchara* is probably the same as *Sañcharantaka* of the Uruvupalli grant and *Sañchārin* of other early records. I am not certain whether *rajju* is to be taken separately or to be compounded with the preceding or succeeding word. *Rajju* and *chōrarajju* are found in the *Arthaśāstra* as fiscal terms. *Rajjuka* as an official designation occurs not only in the edicts of Aśōka but also in such later records as belonging to the Āndhra and Vākāṭaka rulers (see above, p. 54). *Āpaṇ-ājīvika* has probably to be taken as one word meaning 'those who live by shops', *i.e.*, shop-keepers in general as distinguished from smiths and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakār-āpaṇa*). *Kūpa-darśaka* may be 'an inspector of wells'.—Ed.]

[6] If *vaṭṭa* is a Prākrit form of *vaṇṭa* the expression would mean *bhāga-grāmēyakas*, *i.e.*, officers of the subsidiary villages. *Cf.* also the Telugu expression *Oṇṭudāru*.

The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, *viz.*, the Uruvupalli, Pīkira and Ōṁgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmī seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Vīravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *pṛithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Vīravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Vīravarman and the latter's son Skandavaraman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Vīravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant, *viz.*, *anēka-samara-labdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-pratāpa*[1] (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalaḥ*,[2] which are applied to Vīravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Vishṇugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Siṁhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Siṁhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Siṁhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Vishṇugōpa[3] and made him Siṁhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultzsch, while editing the Pīkira grant of Siṁhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Vishṇugōpa by name Siṁhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Siṁhavarman without Vishṇugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.[4] If Vishṇugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultzsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Vishṇugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.[5] The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Vishṇugōpa did rule,[6] but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Siṁhavarman as the elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. Hultzsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Vishṇugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Siṁhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Vishṇugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Siṁhavarman

[1] In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Vīravarman's grandson Vishṇugōpa.

[2] In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Vīravarman, but in the other grants of Siṁhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

[5] See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman, above, p 139.

[6] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.

in the eleventh year of the latter's reign.[1] The Pallava genealogy for this period would therefore stand thus :—

Kumāravishṇu I.
|
Skandavarman I.
|
Vīravarman *s. a.* Vīrakōrchavarman.
|
Skandavarman II.
|
Vishṇugōpa II.
|
Siṁhavarman.
|
Vijaya-Vishṇugōpa III.

Dubreuil[2] supposes that Skandavarman of the Chendalūr plates was the father of Kumāravishṇu I of the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant. On the other hand it would be reasonable to identify him with Skandavarman II, son of Vīravarman, and grandson of Skandavarman I, because of the epithets applied to him which are mostly the same as those given to him in the Pīkira and Ōṁgōḍu grants and our present grant, though epithets alone are not sufficient for the identification of kings as the same epithets are applied to different kings, as pointed out by me above. If, however, my identification is correct, we may have, for this period, a tentative genealogy as follows :—

Kumāravishṇu I.
|
Skandavarman I.

Kumāravishṇu II.	Vīravarman.
Buddhavarman	Skandavarman II.
Kumāravishṇu III of the Chendalūr plates.	Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa.
	Siṁhavarman.

This arrangement would not only suit Dr. Hultzsch's argument about the later nature of the characters of the Chendalūr plates but also we have a clue herein to suppose that the first Kumāravishṇu of these plates was probably named after his grandfather[3] Kumāravishṇu of the earlier Ōṁgōḍu grant. This would also remove the inconsistency in Prof. Dubreuil's scheme which, while suggesting a palæographical resemblance[4] between the Uruvupalli and the Chendalūr charters, places Kumāravishṇu II of the latter on a collateral plane with Vīravarman, the grandfather of Vishṇugōpa and the great grandfather (according to Dr. Hultzsch) of Siṁhavarman of the former. With these arguments kept in our view we will have to designate Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the Chendalūr plates as Kumāravishṇu III. His father Buddhavarman is stated in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates, to have conquered the Chōḷas[5] while his grandfather Kumāravishṇu had

[1] [The conjecture seems to be rather far-fetched. On the other hand the position of Vishṇugōpa seems to have been such that he was not able to issue any document in his own name.—Ed.]

[2] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 66ff.

[3] The genealogical table given on p. 503 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, drawn up before the discovery of the Ōṁgōḍu grants, requires modification.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 67.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 502.

captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultzsch, may, I think, be safely read as Puḷḷaḷūru[1] and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.[2]

Discussing the initial date of Siṁhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Siṁhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact".[3] I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's Tables of the *Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Siṁhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants of Siṁhavarman.[4] It is evidently identical with the later Muṇḍa-nāḍu or Muṇḍai-nāḍu of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.[5] Viḷavaṭṭi, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. **Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna** from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

1 Svasti[|*] Jitaṁ Bhagavatā [|*] śrī-**Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhānē** parama-brahmaṇyasya sva-bā-

2 hu-nirjjit-ārjjita-[7]kshātra-tapō-nidhēḥ vidhi-vihita-sarvva-[8]maryyādā-sthiti-sthita-

3 sy=āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya [9]pṛithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-**Vīravarmmaṇaḥ** prapau-

4 trasy=ātyuchchita[10]-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

Second Plate; First Side.

5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānai[ḥ]

6 [11]pravṛitta-dharmma-sañchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya[12] mahā-

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[1] The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

[2] Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188. [3] Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

[5] *Nellore Inscriptions*:—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this *nāḍu* would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this *rāshṭra*.

[6] From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

[7] Read *-bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita-* as in other plates. [8] The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read *maryyādasya*.

[9] The Uruvupalli grant has *vasudhā-*. [10] The Pīkira grant reads *prapautrō=bhyuchchita-*.

[11] Read *pravṛiddha* as in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants.

[12] Read *lōkapālasya* after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-**Skandava[r*]mmaṇaḥ** pautrasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-vinō[1] vi-

8 vṛiddha-vinayasy=āneka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

Second Plate ; Second Side.

9 [2]nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-**Vishṇugōpasya** putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-

10 vasanna-dharmm-ōddharaṇē nitya-sannaddhaḥ[3] spṛihaṇīya-parākkramō rāja[r*]shi-guṇa-sa-

11 rvva-sandōha-vijigīshur=ddharmma-vijigīshur=Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭā-raka-pāda-

12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānt-ā[gdya][4]-śrī-nilayō yathāvad-āhṛit-ā-

Third Plate ; First Side.

13 nek-[5]āśvamēdha-yājinām=[6]**Pallavānām**=mahārājaḥ śrī-**Siṁhavarmmā Muṇḍa-rāshṭrē Viḷavaṭṭi-**

14 grāmē tasy=aiva grāmasya kshētrañ=cha sarvvāddhyakshāṁś=cha tat-sañchāriṇaś=ch=ājñāpayati[7] a-

15 ya[ṁ] [8]gramaḥ sa-grākas=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō [9]dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bba-

16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē **daśamē saṁvatsarē Śrāvaṇyāṁ śukla-pa-**

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[1] The Uruvupalli grant reads *-ōpachāyinō* and the Pīkira grant has *-āpachāyinō*. The Ōṁgōḍu grant reads *-ōpasēvinō* as in the present one.

[2] The Pīkira and Ōṁgōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja* Skandavarman.

[3] The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read *-dharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhasya*. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : *vide* above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

[4] Read *-ānya-nṛipa-* as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

[5] The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read *-āśvamēdhānāṁ* while the Ōṁgōḍu grant has *-anēka-kratūnāṁ Śata-kratūnāṁ* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

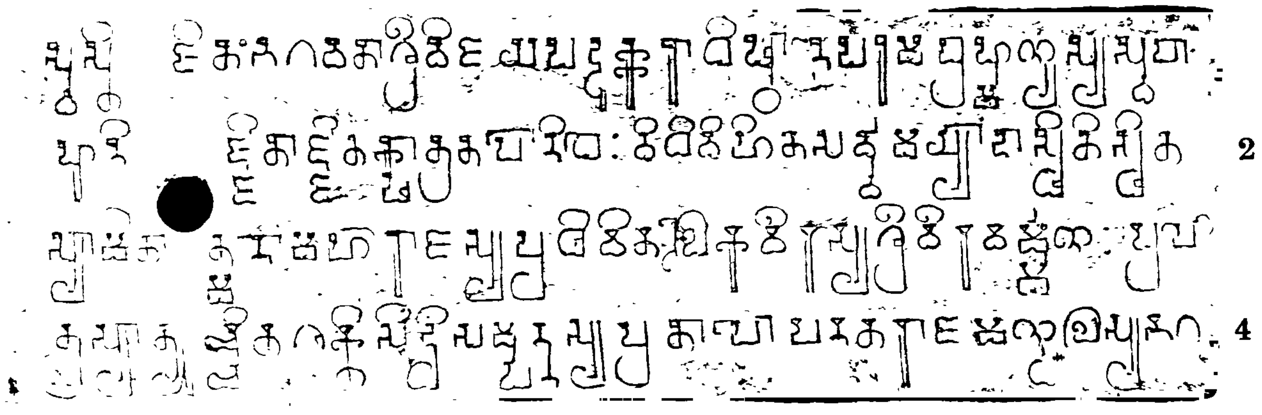
[6] The Pīkira grant has *dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-* while Ōṁgōḍu has *vallabhānāṁ Pallavānāṁ dharmma-mahā-rāja-śrī-*.

[7] The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas* at the first instance and then to the *āyuktakas*, *naiyōkas* (probably *naiyōgikas*), *rājavallabhas* and *sañcharantakas*. The Pīkira grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas*, *adhi-kṛita-sarvvādhyakshas*, *vallabhas* and *śāsana-sañchārins*, almost as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

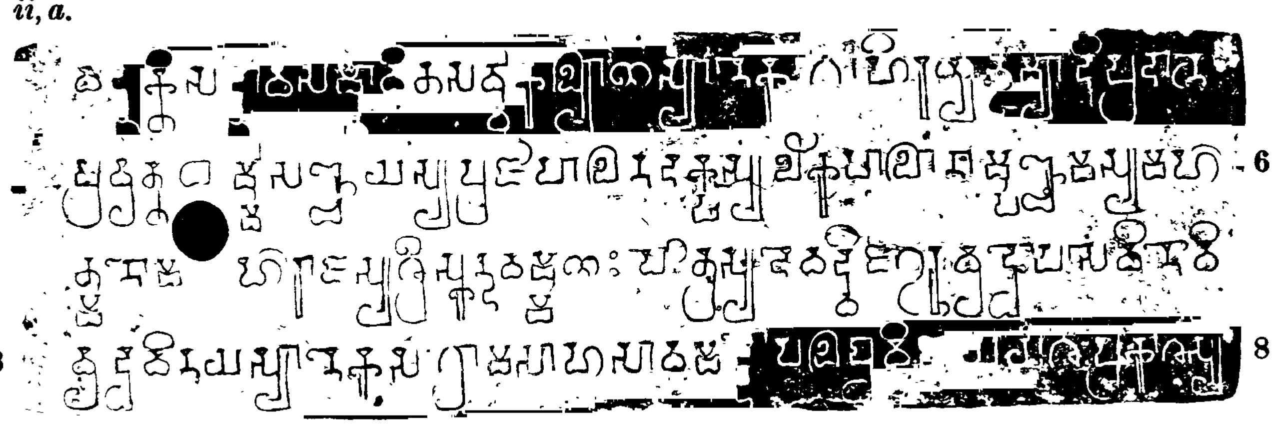
[8] Read *grāmaḥ sa-grāsakas=*.

[9] Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarmma-sēnāpati-kṛita-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākrit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhāga* in text l. 26 of the Māṅgaḷūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (*vide* his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasad-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasad-bhōgya*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasad-bhōgya-maryādayā* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* of the Tamil inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.

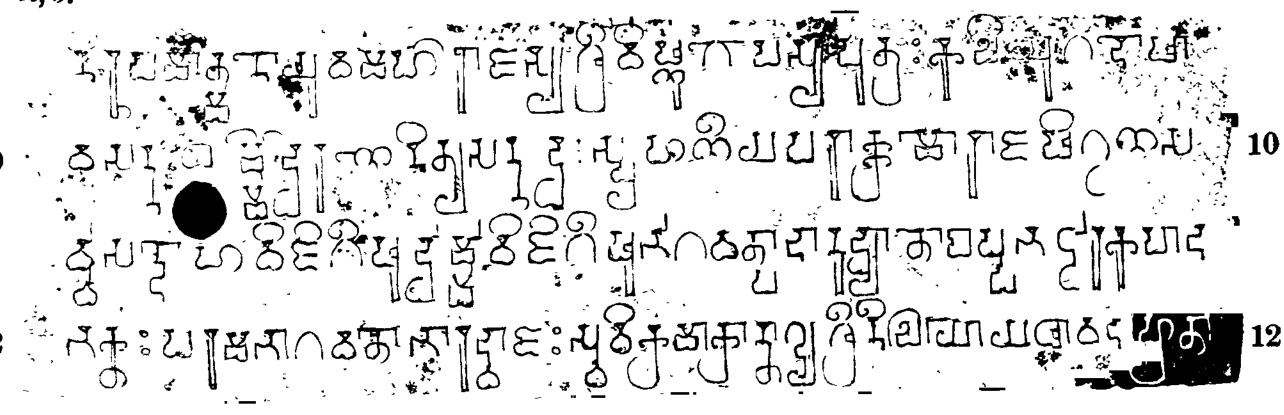
i.



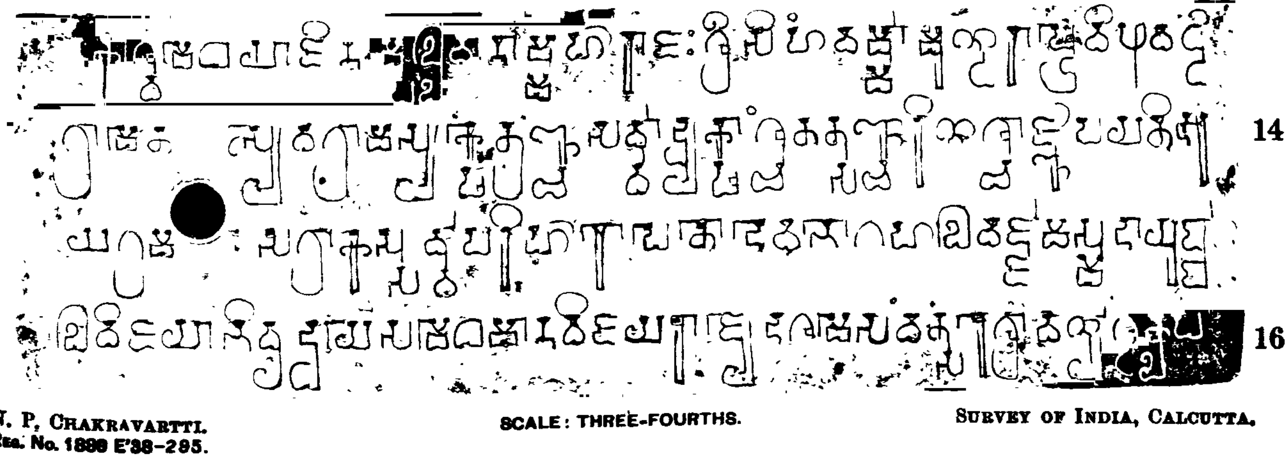
ii, a.



ii, b.

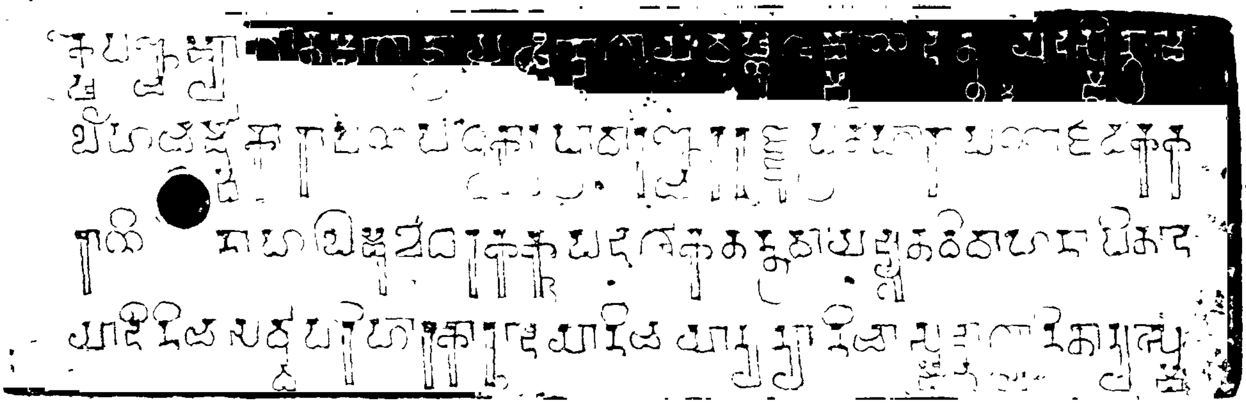


iii, a.

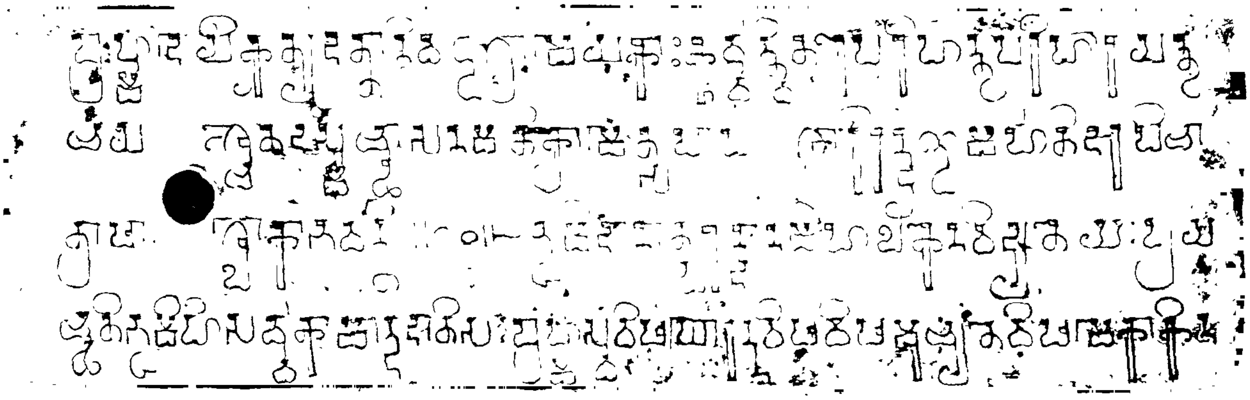


N. P. CHAKRAVARTTI. SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
Reg. No. 1899 E'38-295.

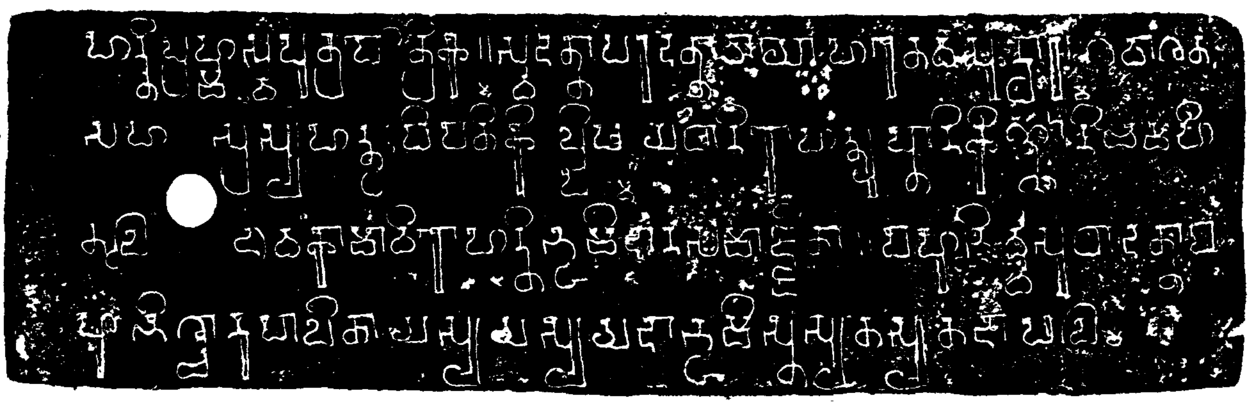
iii, b.



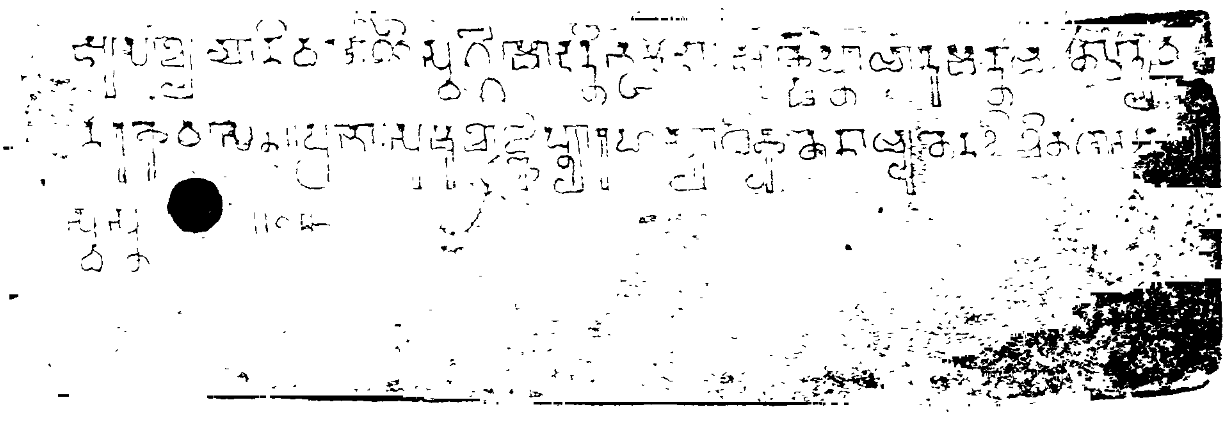
iv, a.



iv, b.



v.



Third Plate ; Second Side.

17 **kshē pañchamyāṁ** Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Vishṇuśarmmaṇē dattam(ttaḥ) [|*] yad=asmin=grāmē

18 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchara-rajju-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājīvika-ka-

19 rāṇi Nāhala-Mukhadharaka-kūpa-darśaka[1]-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-

20 y-ādīni cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

21 brahmadēyīkṛitya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñāṁ*] kurvvantv=itarē pariha[ra*]-ntu parihārayantu

22 cha[|*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ [2]śārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [|*] Api ch=ā-

23 tr=ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || O O ||—[3]Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [|*] yaḥ praya-

24 chchhati bhūmi[ṁ*] hi sarvva-kāmān=dadāti saḥ [||*] [4]Brahma-svaṁ [hi*] vishaṁ ghōran=na vishaṁ visham=uchayatē [|*] visham=ēkākinaṁ

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

25 hanti [5]prahma-svaṁ putra-[6]bautrikaṁ || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundhā-rāṁ[7] [|*] gavāṁ śata-

26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi][8]bati kilbisham [||*] [9]Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇṇāni cha mahī-

27 talē [|*] ēvaṁ kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[ḥ*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-

28 hubiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Fifth Plate.

29 [10]Asaṁkhyēyāni varshāṇi svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ [11]sumukh-ājñāptyā[12] rahasyādhikṛitēn=**Achyutēna** likhitaṁ śāsanam||

31 Svasta(sti) || ||[13] —

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[1] [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

[2] This reading is found in the Pīkira and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākrit plates read *śārī-raṁ sāsanaṁ karejāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

[3] The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pīkira grant which cites the verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman=dānam°*.

[4] This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

[5] Read *brahma°*.

[6] Read *-pautrikam*.

[7] Read *vasundharām*.

[8] The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

[9] This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

[10] This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

[11] Read *sva-mukh°*.

[12] Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chā-lukyas, have *ājñapti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñ-āptiḥ*) while *ājñaptiḥ* would strictly refer to the 'agency that commands'.

[13] There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 44.—FIRST AND THIRD SLABS OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION : V. S. 1517.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYAS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under description was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojhā in the *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1925-26. It seems to have originally been engraved on five big slabs of stone of which the fifth or the last slab has not yet been discovered. Of the second slab, only a very small piece has been found containing the words *Dvitīya-paṭṭikā* on the top to ensure its being a part of that slab. Of the remaining three slabs, the fourth one (which is the best preserved of whatever has so far been found of this inscription) has already been published[1] by R. R. Halder of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. I now take up here, at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, the first and the third slabs for edition. Both these slabs were discovered only in fragments and are, therefore, in a very damaged condition. All that has till now been discovered is deposited for preservation in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur.

The inscription belongs to a temple built by Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarṇa** on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, originally called the **Kumbhasvāmin** temple but now known as that of **Māmādēva.** The first slab is 3′ 10″ broad by 3′ 7″ high with a margin of about 2″ on all sides, and contains sixty-eight verses (1-68) with short sentences in prose in fifty lines of writing; and the third slab is 3′ 1″ by 3′ 6″ with a margin of about 1½″ on all sides containing fifty-nine verses (121-179) with some small prose sentences in forty-nine written lines. Unfortunately the slabs are very much damaged and some of the important portions of their contents have altogether been destroyed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, and *au* which are joined to the consonants are represented by both *śirō-* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. The letters are nicely cut and are on the average about two-fifths of an inch.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is, on the whole, free from errors. In the first slab, however, we find *sandhi* not observed in *śrī Ēkaliṁga-prabhuḥ* (l. 7) and *pralaya-kṛit-yō* (l. 41); and in the third slab in *°r=abhūt=śrī-Jaitra°* (l. 27). In *yad=akāri Mōkala-nṛipaḥ* (ll. 29-30, slab I) the error of syntax is obvious. Besides, there are some other minor mistakes chiefly pertaining to engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that *v* and *b* are usually distinguished, the exceptions being *Vāghēlāva-varṇṇanaṁ* (ll. 28 and 31, slab I) and *=Aṁvāprasāda-* (ll. 19 and 20, slab III). The dental sibilant is used for the palatal one in *saṁsprisaṁty=api* (l. 20) and *sad-dhairya-saurya-* (l. 39) of the first and the third slabs respectively. The sound of *sh* is twice represented in the first slab by the sign for *kh*, *e.g.*, in *-sarvaṁkakhaḥ* (l. 47) and *kalukh-āśayō=ya[ṁ*]* (l. 50). This seems to be based on the analogy of the representation of the sound of *kh* by the sign for *sh* in many of the inscriptions of this period in Rājputāna. The following other features are also to be noticed the examples for which are here drawn from the first slab only. *Anusvāra* is throughout used for nasals. *Ṇ* is almost invariably reduplicated after a superscript *r* by drawing a horizontal stroke across the body of the letter; other consonants are very often doubled, *e.g.*, *svargga-Prayāga-* (l. 12), *muktir=jjanair=* (l. 13), *°r=vvīrair=ddānava-* (l. 16), etc., as against *muni-varair=gītā* (l. 35), *garva-sarvaṁkakh(sh)aḥ* (l. 47), etc. *Jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* are sometimes used and represented by a sign which here resembles the sign for *sh* as in *=mṛitamayaḥ=khalu*

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 277-288.

(l. 2), *Takshakah=Kali-yugē* (l. 6), *pumgavaiḥ=parivritam* (l. 16), etc. The sign for *avagraha* is used thrice, only in slab I, in *saritō='syā[ḥ*]* (l. 14), *rājatē='nyō* (l. 18) and *yaśō='śramukhīḥ* (l. 28).

Before taking up the actual contents of the slabs under consideration, it may be mentioned that the present inscription, the Tower of Victory inscription and the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* have a good number of verses in common. We know for certain that all these three records were composed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa and are, therefore, contemporary records. Now the former two, *viz.*, the Tower of Victory inscription and the present record, besides belonging to two different localities far off from each other, have got the same date in all particulars which is Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in Saṁvat 1517 (=A.D. 1460, Monday the 3rd November). It, therefore, seems improbable that anything from the one may have been borrowed in the other, particularly when we consider the amount of difference found in the plan of writing followed in both of them. The text common in both these records, therefore, seems to have a different source altogether in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātyma*, the third contemporary record, which seems to have already been compiled borrowing material particularly in its Princes' chapter, from many old inscriptions, *viz.*, the Mahāsatī gate inscription[1] at Chitor of the time of Rāval Samarasiṁha dated in V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274), the Samādhīśvara temple inscription[2] of prince Mōkala of V. S. 1485 (=A. D. 1428) and others. That the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* was composed prior to the present record as well as the Tower of Victory inscription, and has an air of originality around it is also evidenced by the fact that the division of the Guhilōt family in two branches, *viz.*, the Rāval and the Rāṇā, in the reign of Rāval Raṇasiṁha or Karṇasiṁha, is first of all found mentioned only in this work where all other inscriptions, contemporary or otherwise, are silent. Although we do not know much about the Tower of Victory inscription at present, for, all other slabs containing it excepting the two, *viz.*, the first[3] and the last but one[4] (which also are in a very mutilated condition) are lost ; but so far as the present record is concerned, much of what we find in connection with the genealogy of this dynasty in its three slabs till now discovered, is almost a reproduction of the *Rāja-varṇana* of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*. Thus, much of the destroyed portion of the slabs under consideration is restorable from the aforesaid work as well as from records prior and posterior to it, as will be done, wherever possible, in dealing with the text.

Taking up the **contents** of the **first slab** we find that it mainly describes in poetical manner some important geographical places of Mewār including lakes, hills, sacred spots, people, etc. It opens with the propitiation of Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Ēkaliṅga in three small prose sentences. Then begins the *Āśīḥ Prakaraṇa* covering verses 1-14, benedictory and invocatory in nature, in praise of many a deity such as [Lambōda]ra, Gajamukha, Vindhyavāsinī, Ēkaliṅga, Pinākin, Ina and others. The deity of the first verse is, however, difficult to determine due to the initial portion of the verse being destroyed.

Then begin various descriptions the first of which is the description of **Trikūṭa.** With regard to the method of composition followed, it may be remarked here that the whole of the present inscription is distributed in various *varṇṇanas*, the commencement and the termination of each of which is indicated by *atha* and *iti* respectively. This *Trikūṭa-varṇnana* covers verses 15-17. Trikūṭa is a range of hills naturally formed into a triangle within which is situated the temple and the town of Ekliṅgajī.

[1] *Bhāvnagar Skt. and Pr. Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.
[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhav. Inscrs.*, pp. 96-100.
[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX.
[4] *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

Vv. 18-19 contain the description of a rivulet called **Kuṭilā** in inscriptions which rises in the Trikūṭa hill nearby and flows only in the rainy season. Its description as given here is simply hyperbolic.

In vv. 20-22 we have the description of the goddess **Vindhyavāsinī** whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill to the north outside the rampart round Ēkaliṅgajī's temple.

In vv. 23-24 the poet describes the god **Ēkaliṅga**. The temple of Ēkaliṅgajī is, in popular belief, regarded to have originally been built by Bāpā Rāval, which, having been damaged in course of a few centuries by the Muslim invaders, was repaired by Mahārāṇā Mōkala who also furnished it with a rampart to ensure its protection. Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the son of Mōkala, is also stated in vv. 239-40[1] in the fourth slab of this very epigraph, to have done something towards reparation to this ancient shrine. The modern structure of the temple, however, is stated to be the work of Mahārāṇā Rai Mal who laid fresh foundation and erected the new structure.

Vv. 25-28 give the description of a beautiful tank situated to the east, near Ēkaliṅgajī's temple. It is popularly known as Indra-sāgara, but it is here called **Indratīrtha-Bhōjasara**. The tank is said to have been in existence since the time of Indra who is stated in v. 8 to have meditated on the feet of Ēkaliṅga in *Kṛita-yuga*; but it was given its present shape by forming the dam, etc., by Bhōjabhūpa, one of the early predecessors of the Guhila family, and hence called after his own name.

Then come the descriptions of Kāmadhēnu (vv. 29-30) and Takshaka (vv. 31-33) who are stated in v. 8 to have attended upon Ēkaliṅga in *Trētā* and *Dvāpara* ages respectively. The city of Nāga, *i.e.*, Nāgdā, the ancient capital of Mewār, is here stated to have originally been founded by this lord of the serpents.

Vv. 34-35 describe **Dhārēśvara** whose temple is situated a few paces off the Ēkaliṅgajī temple on the base of the western range of the neighbouring hill in front. This small temple with a reservoir attached to it seems from v. 167 of the third slab of this inscription to have been built by Rāval Samarasiṁha as a deed of chartiy.

Next comes the description of **Vaidyanātha** in vv. 36-37, whose temple must have existed at Ekliṅgajī at the time. No such monument is now popularly known to exist there.

In vv. 38-40 is described another beautiful tank situated to the south of the town of Ekliṅgajī, touching the site of the ancient town of Nāgdā, popularly known as Bāghēlā Talāv but here simply called **Vā(Bā)ghēlāva**. This tank was excavated by prince Mōkala in memory of his brother Bāghasiṁha.

From here the poet takes us to the fort of Chitor and describes in vv. 41-50 the temple of **Samādhīśvara** which is situated a little way to the south-west of Kumbhā's great Tower of Victory. This temple was originally built by Bhōjarāja, the Paramāra prince of Mālwā, in the eleventh century when Chitor had already become a Paramāra possession in the reign of his uncle Muñja (Vākpatirāja). It was also called Tribhuvananārāyaṇa temple after his title *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*, and Bhōjasvāmidēva-jagatī[2]. The temple having been ruined in course of time was repaired by prince Mōkala in V. S. 1485 (=A.D. 1428) on account of which it is now generally called Mōkalajī's temple. The present inscription, however, assigns the renovation of the temple to prince Kumbhā (v. 49), but this fact is not corroborated by any other record. The poet here evidently appears to have confused this monument with the temple of Kumbhasvāmin on the fort which really was built by Kumbhā. Rai Bahadur Ojhā regards this temple as the second

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 286.

[2] *An. Rep., Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4.

ancient monument on the fort[1], the first being that of Kālikā of the seventh or the eighth century, originally dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun god. But in fact, the temple under description is the third ancient monument on the fort, the second being the temple of Kukkuṭēśvara as will be seen from the next paragraph.

Then we come to the description of **Mahā-Lakshmī** in vv. 51-54. The temple of this goddess is now generally known as that of Annapūrṇā, but what is worshipped here is the same original image of Lakshmī with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. This temple was originally built by Mahārāṇā Hammīra (A.D. 1326-1364). These verses also contain the description of **Kukkuṭēśvara** (Śiva) and **Gadādhara** (Vishṇu) whose temples are also situated near the Mahā-Lakshmī temple. The temple of Gadādhara is now generally called as that of Chārabhujā (Chaturbhuja). The three big reservoirs of water, *viz.*, *Mātājī kā kuṇḍa*, the *Kukaḍēśvara-kuṇḍa* and a third one, all in the vicinity of these three temples, are also briefly mentioned here. It may be pointed out that the original temple of Kukkuṭēśvara and the adjoining reservoir of the same name date as far back as V. S. 811 (=A.D. 755), an inscription of which date recording the erection and the excavation of the temple and the reservoir respectively was found there by Col. Tod.[2] Later on, the reservoir being damaged was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā.

In vv. 55-57 we find the description of **Kumbhasvāmin** now popularly known as Kumbhaśyāmajī, whose temple was erected on the fort of Chitor by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in V. S. 1505 (=A.D. 1448) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to Varāha or the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu as mentioned here (v. 56), but nowadays Vishṇu in his ordinary form is here worshipped. The temple Kumbhasvāmin to which belongs the present inscription, is not to be confused with the monument under description, for, the former was erected not at Chitor but at Kumbhalgarh and was later in date. Kumbhā evidently erected two temples dedicated to the same god on both the prominent forts of Mewār.

Vv. 58-68 contain the description of the country of **Mēdapāṭa** (Mewār), mentioning in general terms its cities, rivers, hills, lakes, gardens, people, etc.

Lastly is mentioned in prose the **date** of the inscription which is **Monday, the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in Saṁvat year 151[7] and Śaka year 1382,** corresponding to A.D. 1460, Monday the third November, taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. At the end of the first slab we are asked to consult the second slab for further description.

Of the **second slab,** we are in possession of a very small fragment as already stated, which is of no avail for our present purpose. It can, however, be concluded that it must have contained the description of some other important places of Mewār, for we find the central portions of the initial four lines contained in that fragment to be identical with the initial portion of an independent description of Chitrakūṭa extending over a good number of verses, found in another unpublished inscription from Kumbhalgarh whose first slab is preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum which seems to contain in an abridged form all that is found in the first and the second slabs of the present inscription with the same date. The second slab contained fifty-two verses (69-120).

As to the **contents** of the **third slab** we find that it opens with the description of Mahārāula **śrī-Bāpā** which extends over six verses (121-126) on this slab. Vv. 121-122 mention **Hārītarāśi,** but much of their text is now lost to us. In v. 122 mention has been made of a person whose surname (*apara-nāmadhēya*) reads in the mutilated text as [śrī] . . [ya]ku[bja] who appears to be the father of Hārītarāśi. What little is, at present, preserved to us of this verse

[1] *Rājaputānē kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. I, p. 354.

[2] *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1823 (W. Crooke's ed.).

clearly calls Hāritarāśi a *dvijēndra* or the best of *dvijas*. We cannot, however, fully believe in it for the date of the present record, as compared to that of the sage under description, is much later; but we can at least believe that at the time of the composition of the record, he was regarded as of Brahmin origin. Rai Bahadur Ojhā's contention that he was an ascetic of the Nātha order[1] does not necessarily contradict the present description, for he, born as a *dvijēndra* or the best of *dvijas*, *i.e.*, a Brahmin, might later on have accepted that order.

From v. 123 properly begins the description of Bāpā who is there said to be a *vipra* meditating on the feet of Hāritarāśi who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewār (vv. 124-25), and to have migrated to Mewār from Ānandapura. Verse 123 of this slab is also found in Rāval Samarsiṁha's inscription[2] at Chitor of V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274) located in the western wall of the northern gate of the Mahāsatī enclosure. In the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* we have another verse of the same import composed in a different metre, originally found in the Āṭapura inscription[3] of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977). The only difference between the two verses is that the former mentions Bāpā and the latter Guhadatta in precisely the same terms. Now, in the former record of V. S. 1331, Bāpā is mentioned as the *Purāṇa-purusha* or the progenitor of the family and Guhadatta or Guhila as his son (the same order being followed in almost all other records later to it including the one under consideration); while the latter record of V. S. 1034, which is earlier in date, speaks of Guhadatta as the founder of the family and Bāpā as one of his descendants. This shows that already in the thirteenth century people had forgotten what their predecessors knew a few centuries ago about the genealogy of the ruling family. One point, however, *viz.* these rulers being described as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva*, is common to both earlier and later records. Guhadatta's description as *mahī-dēva* in the Āṭapura inscription referred to above led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing the record, to conclude that Guhadatta was a Nāgar Brahmin of Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt and that the Udaipur dynasty had a Brāhmanic origin[4]. But instances in inscriptions where the scions of this dynasty are described as *Kshatra-kshētra* (v. 6 of the same Āṭapura inscription)[5], *Kshatriyavaṁśa-maṇḍana-maṇi* (v. 5 of the Śṛiṅgī-ṛishi inscription)[6], etc., are in no way wanting as Rai Bahadur Ojhā rightly points out[6]. The use of such terms as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva* in their connection seems to have some bearing on their habits which they might have acquired through such association as mentioned in certain bardic chronicles[7], and not on their blood. There are, again, epigraphs of various dynasties in which the ruling princes are described as born in *Brahma-Kshatriya-kula*[8] which simply hints at their being possessed of both divine and martial virtues, by habit and blood respectively. So also an inscription of the tenth century from Chāṭasū in the Jaipur state describes prince Bhartṛipaṭṭa of this very Guhila dynasty as *Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita*[9], hinting thereby at the possession of both the virtues mentioned above.

Next is given the account of Rāula śrī-[Guha]datta (vv. 127-33). He is described as the son of Bāpā and it was after him that the dynasty came to bear the title *Guhila*. He, as has already been noticed, was really the founder of the dynasty and thus an early predecessor of Bāpā. Nothing remarkable of him is mentioned here except that he had a son **Lāṭivinōda**[10] by name who

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[1] *Rāj. Itiha.*, Fasc. I, p. 337.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.
[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.
[4] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 74-78.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[6] *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, pp. 378-89.
[7] Muhaṇōta Naiṇasī's *Khyāta*, p. 10.
[8] Above, Vol. I, p. 307.
[9] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 13-17.
[10] Whether *Lāṭivinōda* is a proper name or simply an epithet is also doubtful, yet here it seems to have the plausibility of being the former.

was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. No prince of this name has been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the dynasty so far discovered. In A.D. 1869 General Cunningham had found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra[1] bearing the legend *Srī Guhila* which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Then we have the description of Rāula śrī-**Sh(Kh)ummāṇa** (vv. 134-37). He is said to have weighed himself against gold in company of his wife and children, and given away the precious metal in charity. In vv. 136-37 is mentioned his far and wide conquest (*dig-jaya*) of various countries, *viz.*, Aṅga, Ba(Va)ṅga, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga (Telugu country), Surāshṭra, Chōḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa. This description is not free from exaggeration, but the martial spirit with which the name of Khummāṇa is associated in Mewār even to this day may point to some truth therein.

It may be mentioned here that the description of the foregoing three princes, *viz.*, Bāpā, Guhadatta and Khummāṇa as found in this record contains no chronological truth.

We now come to the most **important** and also the **original portion** of the whole inscription called *Rāja-varṇṇana*. At the very outset it is professed that this portion dealing with the genealogy of the ancient rulers of the family, has been prepared after studying many old *praśastis* (v. 138). The first thing that draws our attention here is the title *Rāja-varṇṇana* which seems to have been borrowed from the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* where a whole chapter extending over 204 verses is called *Rāja-varṇana*. Although much of this Princes' chapter of the *Ēk. mht.* is contained in the present record as already mentioned above, this particular portion, at least that preceding the description of Rāval Samarasiṁha, seems to be genuine and prepared with solemn effort. Here we have another proof of the priority of the *Ēk. mht.*, for, if it had been posterior to the present record as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks[2], that portion of the *Rāja-varṇṇana* under consideration which is original, dealing with the ancient rulers of the Guhila family whose chronology was even then regarded doubtful, would have been totally incorporated in the *māhātmya* being a result of very laborious researches as professed in v. 138 of the present record. On the other hand, it may be assumed that as the genealogy of the early rulers as given in the *Ēk. mht.* was not found to be trustworthy an attempt was made in the record under discussion to make it as authentic as possible.

Now we may take up the contents of this portion. In the family of Guhila was born a prince **Bhōja** by name. From him were born **Mahīndra, Nāga, Bappa** and **Aparājita** (v. 139).

It may be noted here that the author has already mentioned Bāpā as the very founder of the family but now he takes him as the son of Nāga. Similarly he has described before Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of Bāpā, but here he evidently believes him to be the real progenitor of the family which he calls the *Guhila-vaṁśa*. This clearly shows the amount of labour bestowed on the present portion. From the Āṭapura inscription of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977) which gives a correct genealogy of the family from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, we learn that the son of Nāga or Nāgāditya was Śīla, and from the Kuṇḍēśvara temple inscription[3] of V. S. 718 (=A.D. 661) we find that the father of Aparājita was Śīla, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 703[4] (=A.D. 646) has been found and is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Thus, we find that the term *Bāpā* or *Bappa* which is now universally believed to be not a proper name but simply a title, is either here accepted by the author as the title of Śīla, or he may have used it as an independent proper name, but in either case he has been clearly mistaken.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. IV, p. 95.

[2] *Rāj Itihs.*, Fasc. II, p. 619, n. 2.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

[4] Above, Vol. XX, p. 98.

Then came **Mahindra (II)** and from him was born **Kālabhōja**. After him came in succession **Sh(Kh)ummāṇa, Mattaṭa, Bhartṛipaṭṭa** and **Allaṭa** (v. 140).

The chronology as mentioned in this verse omits between the last two princes, the names of some five princes, *viz.*, Siṁha, Khummāṇa (II), Mahāyaka, Khummāṇa (III) and Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) mentioned in the inscription of V. S. 1034. This clearly shows that the author did not possess a copy of that inscription at the time of writing this portion. He seems to have studied only some later records such as the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331, the Rāṇapura inscription of V. S. 1496, etc., which also he seems not to have studied carefully, for, the names of three princes out of five omitted here are to be found in both these records. It may also be mentioned here that *Bāpā* as a title is regarded by different scholars as belonging to the first three princes mentioned in this verse. Thus, Kavirāja Shyāmaldās takes the first prince of the verse, *viz.*, Mahīndra (II)[1], Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the third prince Khummāṇa[2] and Rai Bahadur Ojhā, the second prince Kālabhōja[3], to be Bāpā. Col. Tod, however, with the scanty material he had at his disposal, thought long ago that *Bāpā* was the title of Śīla.[4]

Then came **Naravāhana** and then **Śālivāhana**. After him was born **Śaktikumāra** and from him **Aṁv(b)āprasāda**. Ambāprasāda had three brothers **Nṛivarmā, Anantavarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** by name (vv. 141-42).

What is worthy of note here is the name **Anantavarmā** which is not found in any other record so far discovered. Likewise, the name of Śuchivarmā found in some of the other records is omitted here. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, therefore, is inclined to regard the former as identical with the latter[5]. Ambāprasāda is named Āmraprasāda in the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331. Similarly Nṛivarmā and Yaśōvarmā are called Naravarmā and Kīrtivarmā respectively[6] in other inscriptions. These three brothers of Ambāprasāda mentioned above, also seem to have ascended the throne successively as they are mentioned in order of succession in a few other inscriptions.

Then **Yōgarāja** became the ruler of Mewār whose line did not obtain royalty although he himself fully enjoyed it (v. 143). This important fact of the deprivation of throne from the progeny of Yōgarāja is known from this inscription only and is mentioned nowhere else. Rai Bahadur Ojhā gives the reading of the last quarter of this verse as *tach-chhā*..[*nō divaṁ*] *gatāḥ*[7], with his own omissions and additions and interprets that the line of this prince came to an end during his own lifetime and the throne thus passed on to Vairaṭa. He has omitted one syllable in the first word of this quarter which is distinctly visible on the slab as *shā(khā)*. The intention of the Rai Bahadur in omitting the syllable seems to be to regard the first word as masculine plural ending in °*nō*, presuming that the word might thus mean 'off-shoots of his family', for which he has also inserted *visarga* after *gatā* at the end to make it plural. But the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be *tach-chhāsh(kh)ā n-ō*[*chhṛi(chchhra)yaṁ*] *gatā* (ll. 20-21), which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne evidently due to some internal family feud and the lot finally fell on Vairaṭa, one of the progeny of Allaṭa. The word *api* in the beginning of this verse also emphasises this conclusion, otherwise there is no justification for its use here.

[1] *Vīra-vinōda*, part I, p. 250.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188.
[3] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 404.
[4] *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 270 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[5] See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 389, n. 1.
[6] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 440.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 443, n. 2.

Thus **Vairaṭa** ascended the throne after Yōgarāja and was succeeded by **Haṁsapāla** after whom came **Vairisiṁha** (v. 144). This prince erected a rampart round Āghāṭa-*pattana* (v. 145), the modern town of Āhaḍ near the city of Udaipur, also mentioned in inscriptions as Āghāṭapura or Āṭapura. He had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a *narēndra*, was the most virtuous (v. 146). Unfortunately we do not find the name of this virtuous *narēndra* mentioned here who must evidently have succeeded his father Vairisiṁha. In the Bhērā-ghāt inscription[1] of the Chēdi year 907 (=V. S. 1212 and A.D. 1155) and the mount Ābu inscription[2] of V. S. 1342 (=A.D. 1285), the son of Vairisiṁha and grandson of Haṁsapāla is mentioned as **Vijayasiṁha**, a copper-plate grant and a stone inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1164 and V. S. 1173 respectively have been found[3]. Thus, it can easily be understood that the prince who is anonymously mentioned here in v. 146 is none else than Vijayasiṁha, and the author, due to his apparent ignorance, has not mentioned this name. In the Rāṇapura inscription[4] of V. S. 1496, however, the name of Vairisiṁha's successor is given as Vīrasiṁha; and Rai Bahadur Ojhā is inclined to accept him and Vairasiṁha of v. 147 of the present inscription whom he regards as the son of Vairisiṁha, as being identical with Vijayasiṁha of the Bhērā-ghāt inscription[5]. He does not seem to have given due consideraton to v. 146 of this slab which mentions Vijayasiṁha in clear terms as *narēndra* though omitting his name, as already shown above. The present inscription appears to speak of Vairasiṁha not as the son of Vairisiṁha, but as his grandson unless *tasmāt* in v. 147 is meant to refer to Vairisiṁha which from its position and the construction seems improbable. This fact is overlooked also by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who professes to have taken the names of princes of this dynasty after Śālivāhana from this record[6]. It thus becomes almost settled from this epigraph that Vijayasiṁha's son was Vairasiṁha. This is corroborated by a small inscription which I had found engraved on the pedestal of the Haṁsapāla image at Padarāḍā which mentions Vīrasiṁha as the son of Vairasiṁha. The date of that inscription, however, presents some difficulty. I, therefore, leave this point here for further investigation. For the time being, this portion of the chronology has to be regarded as uncertain.

Thus, we find that Vij yasiṁha was probably succeeded by **Vairasiṁha** and from him was born **Arasiṁha**. His throne was occupied by **Chōḍa** (v. 147). Chōḍa had an elder brother named **Vikramakēsarī** whose son was **Raṇasiṁha** (v. 148).

Chōḍa is also called Chōḍasiṁha in the Rāṇapura inscription and nothing more is known of him and his predecessor from any other epigraph. Vikramakēsarī is here mentioned as the elder brother of Chōḍa, but in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1342 he is mentioned as the son[7] of Chōḍa which seems to be more probable. Nothing is mentioned here about Raṇasiṁha. The *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*, however, attributes to his reign the splitting up of the ruling family into two divisions, *viz.*, the *Rāval* (senior) and the *Rāṇā* (junior), ruling over Chitor and Sesodā respectively. Although our author has sometimes closely followed the *Ēk. mht.*, he has, however, not borrowed the portion dealing with this division, evidently because his object here was to prepare a chronological list of the princes of the main branch who really governed Mewār as a whole. He, as a matter of fact, is quite cautious in distinguishing the princes of the one branch from those of the other (as

[1] Above, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

[2] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 84-87; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

[3] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 445-46; Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 176 and 191.

[4] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 113-15; *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

[5] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 444, n. 3.

[6] *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, n. 7 and p. 389.

[7] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, p. 86.

will be seen later on), which knowledge he appears to have derived from a close study of the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*.

Raṇasiṁha was succeeded by Kshēmasiṁha, the younger brother of Mahaṇasiṁha who evidently predeceased his father. Then Sāmantasiṁha became the ruler of Mewār (v. 149). Nothing beyond the names of these princes is known from the present epigraph.

Sāmantasiṁha was succeeded by his brother Kumārasiṁha who turned out of Mewār one Kītū who had somehow taken hold of the country (v. 150). He also made Āghāṭapura his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarāt.

Kītū whom Kumārasiṁha had driven out of Mewār was the third son of Ālhaṇadēva, the Chauhān ruler of Nāḍōl in Mārwār. He was brave and ambitious and had acquired the dominion of Jālōr from the Paramāras through his own might, and had become an independent prince. He was the founder of the Sonagarā branch of the Chauhān race[1]. In the inscriptions and the copper-plates of the Chauhāns, his name is mentioned as Kīrtipāla but he was better known as Kītū[2] in Rājasthān. He seems to have attacked Mewār and taken hold of it in the reign of Sāmantasiṁha, the predecessor of Kumārasiṁha, when the former had become weaker owing to being at regular war with the rulers of Gujarāt in order to regain his dominions gone in their possession.[3] When Kumārasiṁha succeeded his elder brother Sāmantasiṁha, he practically seems to have nothing to govern except the fort of Chitor which the latter seems to have regained from the ruler of Gujarāt through hard struggle. One of the two 'princeships' (*nṛipatvē*, v. 151) which Kumārasiṁha is here stated to have gained was that acquired by expelling Kītū out of Mewār; the other was gained by recovering the ancient capital of Āghāṭapura which still remained in the possession of the rulers of Gujarāt.

Āghāṭapura was lost to Mewār as early as the first half of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, having been attacked by Vākpatirāja (Muñja), the Paramāra ruler of Mālwā, in the reign of Śaktikumāra, as known from v. 10[4] of the Hastikuṇḍī inscription of V. S. 1053 (=A.D. 997). Since then it became a Paramāra dominion along with the famous fort of Chitor which also seems to have been annexed thereto by the same prince, where used to live the celebrated Paramāra prince Bhōja, the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Muñja, who built there the great Tribhuvananārāyaṇa temple (now popularly known as that of Samiddhēśvara and Mōkalajī), so called after his *biruda* of *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*.[5] This Paramāra dominion of Mewār subsequently passed in the hands of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarāt in the reign of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, who, after a hard struggle extending over a period of twelve years defeated Naravarman and his son Yaśōvarman, the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā and brought the Mālwā dominion, including Āghāṭapura and Chitor, under his own control[6]. The rulers of Gujarāt enjoyed an uninterrupted authority over both these important localities of Mewār for a long time, when Sāmantasiṁha of Mewār, the elder brother of Kumārasiṁha attacked the ruler of Gujarāt who is supposed to be Ajayapāla, to regain his lost citadels. There is no explicit mention of this fight in any of the records so far discovered, but we find an indication of it in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1287 (=A.D. 1230)[7], where the ruler of Gujarāt is stated to have been assisted by Prahlādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Through this fight Sāmantasiṁha appears to have acquired the fort of Chitor

[1] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 452 and Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 382, n. 8.

[2] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 452.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 451.

[4] Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

[5] *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 435-36.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

from the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, but had been unable to take back Āghāṭapura, which task was ultimately carried out by his younger brother Kumārasiṁha as mentioned here. He was succeeded by **Mahaṇasiṁha** (v. 151) who is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mathanasiṁha.

Mahaṇasiṁha (Mathanasiṁha) was succeeded by **Padmasiṁha,** a prince of great valour whom people even now remember for his manifold merits (v. 152).

Next we come to the description of Rāula śrī-**Jayasiṁha,** also called **Jaitrasiṁha.** Though a fresh title is given to the portion dealing with this ruler it has to be regarded as a sub-division of the *Rāja-varṇṇana* which is still continued. This prince is stated to have governed the four territorial divisions, *viz.*, Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa ; and no prince on the surface of the earth is said to have ever thought of humbling his pride (v. 154). He held his court at the capital of **Nāgahrada,** the modern Nāgdā near Ekliṅgajī (v. 155).

Mēdapāṭa as mentioned here seems to have comprised the rest of Mewār excluding Chitor and Āghāṭapura, both of which are regarded as forming two different divisions. Vāgaḍa, which is described here as the fourth division, is the country to the south of Mewār, now forming two different states, *viz.*, Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā.

Rāula śrī-**Tējasiṁha** (vv. 158-159) is spoken of next. Nothing beyond his name and a poetical description of himself is given here. It may be noted that the portion dealing with this ruler has got a new title and a colophon, and has thus been made an independent description although apparently under *Rāja-varṇṇana.* The poet has evidently not been able to maintain a strict uniformity in the classification of his *varṇṇanas.*

The account of Rāula śrī-**Samarasiṁha,** the son of Tējasiṁha, which comes next extends over seventeen verses (vv. 160-176). It is worthy of note that the portion covered by these seventeen verses is nothing but a reproduction of the corresponding portion of the Princes' chapter of the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya,* in the same order. It has already been stated by me that the latter had been compiled prior to the composition of the record under consideration, borrowing verses from many old inscriptions and arranging them sometimes without the least discrimination. This being so, the present description of our record (being nothing but a copy from the *Ēk. mht.*) has naturally come to have certain verses (particularly v. 168), which, properly speaking, have no bearing on Samarasiṁha. Nothing of any historical importance is mentioned here of this prince. Simply his valour, munificence and such other virtues are poetically described. His erection of a small temple dedicated to Śiva called Dhārēśvara at Ēkliṅgajī, however, finds mention in v. 167. The remaining verses of the sub-section, borrowed as they are from other inscriptions through the *Ēk. mht.*, are primarily found in connection with the other princes of this line. In v. 176 which is the last dealing with Samarasiṁha, he is stated to have gone to heaven having appointed **Ratnasiṁha,** his son, for protecting the fort of Chitor.

The last ruler recorded on this slab is Mahārāṇā śrī-**Lash(kh)amasī** whose account is continued on the fourth slab. The author here clearly distinguishes Lakhamasī by calling him *Mahārāṇā* from the foregoing princes who are styled *Rāula,* and seems to have critically studied the *Ēk. mht.*, particularly the portion dealing with the division of the family. He has here deliberately omitted the description of all the Rāṇās found just after that of Rāval Samarasiṁha in the *Ēk. mht.*, and has taken into account only one of them, *viz.*, Lakhamasī who, although not a crowned prince of Mewār just like others of his branch, was conspicuous by his presence with his seven sons, as a gallant defender of the fort when Chitor was sacked by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A. D. 1303. In v. 177 he is stated to have bravely defended the fort as well as the honour of the family which had been cast in a critical situation when Ratnasiṁha, the ruling prince, had fled (*gatē,* v. 177) from the field of battle in a cowardly manner (*kāpurushair=vimuktāṁ,* v. 177).

This inscription does not speak of Ratnasiṁha as having bravely fought and died in the battle-field, as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks[1]. This battle is here stated to have continued for full one year (*saṁvatsaraṁ*, v. 179) before the Muhammadans could capture the fort, while the Muslim historians reduce this period to half its length, *i.e.*, six months[2]. I really could not understand why Rai Bahadur Ojhā has omitted the word *saṁvatsaraṁ* in his citation[3] of this verse, which is visible on the slab plainly enough.

Lastly, **Saṁvat 1517** is given as the date of the inscription. Other particulars of the date are not given on this slab as on others, probably for want of space.

Nothing can be said definitely with regard to the authorship of the inscription until the last (*i.e.*, the fifth) slab is brought to light. Rai Bahadur Ojhā is, however, inclined to regard the author of the Tower of Victory inscription, Mahēśa of Daśapura (Daśōrā)-*jñāti* to be the author of this inscription also, on the ground of the common text found in both these records[4]. But the occurrence of some common text in two records does not necessarily imply the identity of authorship, for some of the verses common in both these records appear to have been borrowed from other ancient epigraphs.

It hardly needs any mention that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarṇa** of Mewār whose description has been taken up towards the end of the fourth slab and must have been continued on the fifth. Though the main **object** which the inscription aims at recording, cannot be definitely ascertained till the last slab is discovered, it stands to reason that it recorded the erection of the Kumbhasvāmin temple at Kumbhalgarh.

TEXT.[5]

First Slab.[6]

प्रथमशिला १

1 ओं[7] । स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीगणेशप्रसादात् ॥(।) श्रीसरस्वतीप्रसादात् । श्री[एक]लिंग-
प्रसादात् । अथ प[द्यौ:][॥*] — — — कुंभमातंगमौलौ जगतां यस्यांघ्रिपीठे
लुठद्वंशारत्नविस्फारितमौलिविलसत्कुसुमसंरोपिते । सिंदूरारुणगंडस्थो दिग्गजविभ्र-
2 मेके[चिं]तामवित्तेर्वाम स[ह]सपत्रविभवा [दे]वांगनानां प्रभी ॥१[8] [लंबोद*][र]:
प्रथयतास्तुलां सुदं वो यस्योत्तुंगितलतलं अमिनं विघ्नघ्न । यस्ये मदा-
सतमय✕ख्यु मोदक्षोयमिदं नगत्तं गिरिजांगम-

[1] *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, p. 484. [Mr. Vyāsa's interpretation seems far-fetched. *Gatē* may mean 'having died'.—Ed.]

[2] Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. I, pp. 353-54.

[3] *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, p. 484, n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 632.

[5] Transcribed from the original stone slabs.

[6] A portion of the text now missing on these slabs has been restored from other records. We shall, for the sake of convenience, call them in the footnotes by the following abbreviations: the Chaulukya Kumārapāla inscription of V. S. 1207 at Chitor (above, Vol. II, pp. 422-24)—A; the first slab of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331 (*Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 74-77 and Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XXV)—B; the Samādhīśvara temple inscription of V. S. 1485 (above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 96-100)—C; the *Princes' chapter* of the *Ēkaliṅga-Māhātmya* of the time of Kumbhā (a fragmentary manuscript copy of which I have found in my father Saṁskriti Vyās Vishnu Ram Śāstrī's collection)—D; the first slab of the Tower of Victory inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XX)—E; and the later *Ek. mht.*, of the time of prince Rāi Mal (a manuscript copy of which written in V. S. 1754 I have also found in my father's collection)—F.

[7] Indicated by a symbol.

[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

3 रंगभूमी ॥[२][1] त्रैलोक्यातुलरचनैकसूत्रधारऽ[कल्प]ाणं प्रथयतु व[ऽपिनाकपा*]-
णिः । यद्भक्तिप्रवणधियो यदीयनाम्ना सर्वार्थाननुजगणाः क्षणाल्लभंते[2]॥२[3]
कपोलपालीदंचन्मदमधुरतालुब्धमधुपस्फुरद्गुं-

4 जागीतिः श्रवण[पुट]तालो गजमुखः । चलत्कु(च्छुं)डा[दंडा*][4]वलितकल[कंठः प्रथयता*][4]-
त्सुखं विघ्नध्वंसं त्रिभुवनमहामंडपविधौ ॥[४][5] कुटिलासरित्समीपे त्रिकूटगिरि-
गहनभूमिषु नित्यं(त्यम्) [।*] वांछितफलप्रदा-

5 त्री देवी श्रीविंध्यवासि[नी] जयति ॥५[6] उद्यदिनद्युति[भासि*][कि]रीटां तुंग ⏑ — ⏑
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [यु]क्तां(क्ताम्) । स्मेरमुखीं वरदांकुशपाशाभीतिकरां प्रभजे
भुवनेशीं(शीम्) ॥६[7] जयति जगत्र(त्त्र)यनाथो जगतीपतिपूजितस्सदा शंभुः[।*]

6 वांछितफलप्रदोयं श्रीमा[नि]त्येकलिंगाख्यः ॥७[8] इंद्र[: स*]र्वसुरेश्वरः [कृ][तयुगे भक्त्या
समाराध*][9]यत्त्रेतायां [स]कलाभिलाषफलिनी धेनुस्तथा द्वापरे । नागेशः किल
तक्षकऽकलियुगे हारीतनामा मुनिस्सोयं सर्व-

7 जगद्गुरुर्विजयते श्री[10]एकलिं[गप्र]भुः ॥८[11] जयत्येक[श*][12][र]ाघातविदारि[तपुरत्रयः । धनु-
र्धराणां धौ*][12][रे]यः[13] पिनाकी भुवनत्रये ॥९[14] त्रैलोक्यं त्रिपुरांतकोवतु सदा
यन्मौ[15]लिमूले जटाजूटार्चिऽपरिपिंजरे परिगता भात्युच्चकै-

8 र्जाह्नवी । कर्पूरामलपट्टिकेव निहिता [जांबू]नदे भाज[ने] [है]माद्रेरुदिते[व]
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ॥१०[11] क्वचिदलिपटलाभः काल-
कूटासु(नु)वेधात्क्वचिदमलतराभिर्भूतिभिः श्वेतकायः । विमल इव जलौघो यामु-

9 नः स्वार्धनद्य प्रणुदतु दुरितं वो नीलकंठस्य [कंठः ॥११[16] ज]य देवि जगन्मा[तः
.. .. ⏑ — .. .. । विदधा]नाननं दिष्ट्या प्रण-
तामरसंमु(नु)ते ॥१२[14] विष्णोऽका वल्लभा स्यात् किमु ननु गदितं वर्ष-
संघेष्विवीर्णं किं वा चार्थेव्ययं

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[1] This verse is no. 1 in E.

[2] Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

[3] Metre : *Praharshiṇī*.

[4] Text within these brackets is restored from E where the v. is no. 2. Here also the text is much mutilated.

[5] Metre : *Śikhariṇī*.

[6] Metre : *Gīti*.

[7] Metre : *Dōdhaka*.

[8] Metre : *Āryā*.

[9] Text within these brackets is restored from v. 39, Ch. X of F.

[10] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

[11] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] Text within these brackets is restored from v. 44, Ch. X of F.

[13] The *visarga* seems to have been added later on and hence is very faint.

[14] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[15] The vertical stroke of the *au* sign in *mau* is very faint and seems to be a later addition.

[16] Metre : *Mālinī*.

10 वा भवति निशि परं किं च रूपं तदास्य । किं सातत्याभि[धायि] स्फु[रति ननु] प[दं] [श्रे]य[से से]वका[नां दा]त[व्या]शीः का वदत मतिमता[1] कुंभकर्णाय राज्ञे[2] ॥१३[3] इनो धिनोतु नो लीलीलोलो लोलो बु(व)नोपि नो[4] । विनोदनो मनोधा-

11 [न]ाहीनोज्ञानो न नोदनो[4] ॥[5]१४[6] इत्याशीःप्रकरणं ॥ अथ [त्रि*]कूटवर्णनं ॥ शिखरेषु पुष्पगुर्वभिस्तरुभि[रु]दुपत्यकासु विमलैः सलिलैः । मृदुकुंजगुंजदलि-भि[7]र्व[8]लिभिर्हरिदैस्त्रिकूटशिखरो जयति ॥१५[9] इंदिरारचितचारुमंदि-

12 रा हेमभूमिमवमत्य तामपि । विंध्यवासरुचिरैस्त्रिकू[टि]कं स्तौमि किं कि[म]परं तमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥१६[10] यत्र शृंगविहारिहीर[11]हरितारत्नोत्थशोभासदांशत्रोत्तरभूरिभाभिर-जनि स्वर्गप्रयागभ्रमः । चित्रं तत्र विलोकयन्निरमि[तं] चेतं त्रिकूटा-

13 चले नानायासवतापि दुर्लभतरा मुक्तिर्जनैराप्यते ॥[१७][12] इति त्रिकूटवर्णनं ॥ अथ कुटिलावर्णनं ॥ पातकविमतविनाशकाशंकरमरवारिनिर्मला कुटिला । सुरसरिदिव शिवमुपनतमाराधितुमुपगता जयति ॥१८[13] क्वचित्क्षीणा मौ-

[1] Better read *matimatāṁ* as qualifying *sēvakānāṁ*.

[2] This verse, strictly speaking, should go to prince Kumbha's description, but being benedictory in nature it seems to have been included in this *prakaraṇa*. The solution to the riddle contained in this verse appears to be श्रीरस्तु सर्वदा सदा.

[3] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[4] Read *naḥ*. The intentional change of *visarga* to medial *ō* at the end of both the halves of this verse appears to be for the sake of alliteration.

[5] The meaning of this verse appears to be as follows :—

विनोदन इति वीनां पक्षाणां श्रीविवाणां पक्षिणां वा नोदनः खेषु कर्मसु प्रेरकः इनः सूर्यः । मनो-धानः सिद्धिदायकत्वेन हर्षयिता मनसः पोषकः नः अस्माकं । अलीनो न लीन इति सर्वैश्वर्यसंपन्नः, अथवा अलिः कालियस्य इनः शास्ता ईनः एवंरूपाः इनः पतिः कृष्णरूपी विष्णुरित्यर्थः । अज्ञानो न अर्थात् परम-ज्ञानवान्, लो नलौ प्रकृतार्थे दृढव्रतः, एवंभूतो लीलः श्रियां लक्ष्मीनां इनः स्वामी श्रीपतिरित्यर्थः । नोदनः जीवनस्य पथे प्रापकः वनोपि, अपिः समुच्चयार्थः, वो वायुः नः सकलप्राणिभिः स्तुतः, अस्य अनाली नमेति विशेषणसमासः, सकललोकप्रशंसाभिरामो जीवनसमेधयिता च वायुरित्यर्थः । एष सर्वोपि लीनः आभिमुख्येन वर्त-मानः सन् नः अस्मान् अम् झटिति धिनोतु मंगलादिप्रदानेन प्रीणयतु इत्यर्थः ।

[6] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[7] The syllables °*d=alibhi*- which were at first omitted by mistake are later on engraved above the line in smaller letters.

[8] The *r* over *ba* seems to have been engraved later on in a very narrow space.

[9] Metre : *Pramitākshharā*.

[10] Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

[11] The word *hīra* primarily means 'a diamond', but it is here used in the sense of 'white' which it may mean secondarily.

[12] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[13] Metre : *Āryā*.

14 मा संचरमहती मध्यजगती पतत्तीरं नीरं तटविट[पि]नो वीतविटपा: । अशक्ते[1] संसक्ते[2] नर्टति कुटि[लं म]ध्यनिकटे ततो जाता मन्ये त्रिदिवसरितोऽस्या[3] कुटिलता ।१८[4] इति कुटिलावर्णनं ॥ अथ विंध्यवासावर्णनं ॥ महेशमोहनं मो-

15 हतमोनिर्व्वासनं महः । गुंजापुंजकृतोत्तंसं विं[ध्य]वासमुपास्महे ॥२०[5] इंद्रनीलकुल-मंजुलद्युति[मौलि]या दलितदैत्यसंहति: । सप्तिकूटभुवि चारुहासिनी चंडिका जयति विंध्यवासिनी ॥२१[6] धावद्वीरर्ध(ध)नुर्धरैरपि महाकुंता-

16 सिविचासिभिर्व्वीरैर्हीनवपुंगवै ✕ परिवृतं सं[ग्रा]मरंगोद्धतं(तम्) । आ[क्रम्याव]टुमंक्रिणा समदहद्योद्दामशूला[न]लज्वालाभिर्म्महिषं जगंति सततं सा विंध्यवासावतु ॥२२[7] इति विंध्यवासावर्णनं ॥ अथ श्रीएकलिंगवर्णनं ॥ श्रीवाटे मेदपाटे

17 परिहृतकपटे प्रोच्चकूटे त्रिकूटे हारी हारीतरा[शे]राग[णि]ततपसा शंभुराविर्ब[भूव ।] यस्याद्यापि प्रसादादधिगतयशसो बप्पवंशे [न]रेशा निर्व्वैरं भूमिभारं भुजभुज-मफणामंडलेद्व[8]हंति ॥२३[9] काशीभूमौ विकाशी न भवति न गि-

18 रौ राजतं राजतेऽन्यो लंकालंकारभूयं न वहति न गत: शोणिते[10] शोणितेपि । हृत्वे[कैक'] ◡ — — f.◡ ◡ ◡ f.◡ रे संन्नयेवादिदिच्छु: प्राप्तप्रौढिस्त्रिकूटे प्रमथपतिरसावेकलिंगाह्वयोस्ति ॥२४[9] इति श्रीएकलिंगवर्णनं ॥ अथ इंन्द्र-

19 तीर्थभोजसरोवर्णनं ॥ विराजते तत्र च पूर्व्व[सं]श्रितं सरस्सुरेंद्रस्य शशांकसुंद[रं-(रम्)]। श्रीभोज[भूपे]न सु[केतु[11]मंडि]तं विधाय यद्भोजसर: स्फुटीकृतं(तम्) ॥२५[12] रत्नप्रदानसमये तु मया विषेण संभावितोयमिति भोजतडागदंभात् । भीतस्त-

20 रंगचमरैरमरप्रवीरं संवीजयन्[13]ज(च्छ)लधि[रा]विरभूत्किमत्र ॥२६[14] तीरवीरुधि मरालबा-लि[का] मंजरीमधुकमा[धुरी]जुष: । संस्पृसं(शं)त्यपि न धूलिधूसरं केसरं सरसि भोजसंज्ञके ॥२७[6] सरसी सुरेशदिशि शंकर[15]तो विम-

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1 Read *aśaktēḥ* (genitive singular).

2 Read *saṁsaktēr=*(ablative singular in *hētu* or cause).

3 Read *saritō'=syāḥ*.

4 Metre : *Śikhariṇī*.

5 Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

6 Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

7 Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

8 There is a medial *ē* stroke on top of the syllable *dva*, which is superfluous.

9 Metre : *Sragdharā*.

10 This word as qualifying Śōṇita or Śōṇitapura (beyond), the city of Bāṇāsura, a great devotee of Śiva, is used in the indicated sense (*lakshyārtha*) of *anurakta* meaning 'devoted'.

11 The word *kētu* here means 'shape' or 'form'.

12 Metre : *Upajāti*.

13 *Sandhi* is not observed here.

14 Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

15 The syllable *ra* has a superfluous *prishṭha-mātrā*.

21 सैरमलकमलैरुपासितैः । सुमना[भि]रुपमिव भातितरांमिह मेदपाटजगतो[सु][व*]-
तेः ॥२८[1] इति इंद्रतीर्थभोज[सरोव]र्णनं ॥ अथ कामधेनुवर्णनं ॥ यस्मो
चारु चकार विश्वजगतिं कस्मो विधातानसिं रंभारंभमुपासितुं

22 परिणुतिं कर्त्तुं विरंचो रुचिं(चिम्) । यस्यां विंध्यगिरित्रिकूटकुहरोदंचच्छ[2]वारा-
धनस्फीतो(ता)[स]म्यक्साजि सा सनुमतो धेनुर्दि[नोतु श्रि]यं ॥२९[3] उपास्य
गुहकंदराकुहरसंचरं शंकरं जगाम जगतीतलादिह हि कामधेनुर्दिवं-
(वम्) । न

23 चेदमलचंद्रिकाधवलदुग्धधाराभरैः [स्फु]टैरधिधराधरं कथमभावि विंध्याचले ॥[।]३०[4]
इति कामधेनुवर्णनं ॥ अथ तक्षकवर्णनं ॥ उ[र्व्वीमं]डलमाविभिद्य सुतला-
द्राग् त्रिकूटाचले संयम्य समुमापतिं परिगतो मे-

24 जे भुजंगाधिपः । तेनालोकित एव ना[ग]नगरं निर्माय विप्राय तद्दत्वा(त्त्वा)
सचिजकी[र्त्ति]र्कौरवकुले चंद्रायते तक्षकः ॥३१[3] शंकरं परिचचार तक्ष[क]:
स त्रिकूटधरि(र)णीविहारिणं(णम्) । पश्य तत्फलमनेन वपुसा चारुहा-

25 र इव सोपि धार्यते ॥३२[5] धर्म्मसादन[त य]: परीक्षितं भूपमप्रतिमयशरचितं-
(तम्) । त[स्य] मौर्ख्यमथ किं प्रगल्भते तक्षकस्य सुतवैरदारुणं(णम्) ॥३३[5]
इति तक्षक[वर्णनं] ॥ अथ धारेश्वरवर्णनं ॥ एकलिंगनिलयस्य सन्मु(म्मु)-
खं पा-

26 श्रिमी हरिरिति राजते हरः । संततं त्रि[पथ*][मू]र्त्तिमाहिनी वाहिनी शिरसि
येन धार्यते ॥३४[5] त्रिकूटगिरिकंदराकुहरवारिधाराभरैर्ज्जटाघटनसंपटैः शिरसि
यस्य संभूयते । यतेत मनसा परं परिचरन्न तं शंकरं चारोतु

27 सुकृती निजं त्रिदशवल्लभादुर्लभं(भम्) ।[।३५[4] इति*] धारेश्वरवर्णनं ॥ अथ
वैद्यनाथवर्णनं ॥ योनादिवैद्यपराक्रमुखभ्र(भ्र)ति न वा वैद्येन संसाध्यते
वीतरुक्कलमूलपत्रविटपव्रातैरलं योजितैः । [तं] पंचात्मकमत्मकं तनुमतामा-
मूलमु-

28 च्छेदयज्ज्ञानध्यानमहौषधेन जय[तु श्री*]वैद्यनाथो हरः ॥३६[3] अविविंध्यमंध[क]-
रिपुर्व्विपुलं यदगापयविजयगोऽयमुखी: । तदुपाचरच्चिदयभूमितसप्रतिवासिनाम-
खिलतापहर्जं(जम्) ॥[३]७[1] इति वैद्यनाथवर्णनं ॥ अथ बा(वा)-

[1] Metre : *Pramitākshartā.*

[2] The conjunct *ch* seems to be engraved later on.

[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] Metre : *Prithvī.*

[5] Metre : *Rathōddhatā.*

29 चैत्रवर्णनं ॥ धीरं नीरं कमलम[म]लं मंजुला वं[जुला]ली स्फीतं गीतं मृदु मधुरितं वीतशोकाश्च कोका: । यत्रागाधे सरसरसितं जृंभते सारसानां काम्यां याम्यां दिशमनु सर: शंकरात्तत्रकास्ति ॥३[८[1] यद]कारि[2] मोकल-

30 नृप: स[रोवरं ल]सदिंदिरानिल[य]राजिराजितं(तम्) । उपगम्य भालनयनस्तदा[श्र]यं जलकेलये श्रयति नापरं पय: ॥३९[3] हरभालभंगुरशशिद्युतिभि: कुमुदाकरं विकचमुद्वहति । दिवसे दिनेशविवशेपि सरस्तदुप[त्रिकूट]-

31 मतुलं जयति ॥४०[4] [इति] वा(बा)[घे]लावतर्णनं ॥ अथ श्रीसमाधीश्वरवर्णनं ॥ स्वा[धू(चू)]नां शकसंघतोभयचय: क्षेत्रेषु काश्यादिषु स्वैरं भक्तजनालये परिददेभीष्टं समाध्युत्सवै: ।[5] क्वेत्थं किं परिचिंत्य दुर्गमवितं श्रीचित्रकूटं नृपेर्थ्यो-

32 ध्यास्ते शकघातिभि: स ज[यताद्दे*]व: समाधीश्वर: ॥४१[6] [मौ]लौ प्रौढो जलौघो वसति हिमवपुर्वक्रदोषाकरोपि प्रोच्चस्निग्ध: कपर्द: कुटिलगतिपते[7] फूत्कृति: सत्फणानां(नाम्) । ज्वालौघो दारदोत्योधिगलमिति शिवायुक्तमेत्या-

33 स रुद्रो दिश्याद्विचित्रकूटं विभव[म]भयदं द्राक् समाधीश[तां] स:[8] ॥४२[9] तस्मिन् देव: [स]र्वलोकैकनाथो वासं प्राप्त: प्रेयसीप्रीतिहृष्ट: । दृष्टे दत्ते भुक्तिमुक्ती सुखं य: पुंभ्यो भाति श्रीसमाधीश्वर: स: ॥४३[10] यस्य ध्वजं वीच्य[11] पुमान् मनागप्यवेच्य-

34 तेसौ महिषध्वजं न । संपूजयेत्तं [वृ]षभध्वजं य: प्रपूजयेत्तं गरु[12]डध्वजोपि ॥४४[13] तं दक्षिणेन प्रकटप्रभावा श्रीजह्नुकन्याकलितस्वभावा । मंदाकिनीति प्रथितास्ति वापी यां सर्वथा पश्यति नैव पापी ॥४५[14] वापी परेयं मणिकर्णिकेव सत्का-

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[1] Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

[2] This Passive Voice Aorist form of the verb in the Active Voice construction of the sentence is grammatically incorrect. It may have been used here for the sake of the metre.

[3] Metre : *Mañjubhāshiṇī*.

[4] Metre : *Pramitāksharā*.

[5] This *daṇḍa* being omitted at first was thinly engraved later on.

[6] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] Read *-patiḥ*.

[8] There is a little obscurity in the arrangement of words towards the end of this verse. *Āpa* is to be connected with *Chitrakūṭaṁ* and *samādhīśatāṁ*, and *diśyād* with *vibhavaṁ*.

[9] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[10] Metre : *Śālinī*.

[11] Read *vīkshya*.

[12] There is a medial *ē* stroke on *ḍa*, which is superfluous.

[13] Metre : *Upajāti*.

[14] Metre : *Indravajrā*.

35 विश्वंभुः खलु विश्वनाथः । काश्यो प्र]काश्योपि च चित्रकूटः किं किंच तथात्र [म*]वेदिसुतले ॥४६[1] इंद्राणाम्व(म्ब)जटानां मरुद्गणं स्व(स्वा)त्मानमराधासदः पूजा यस्य विमुक्तिदा मुनिवरैर्गीता संमुदा कृता । यत्रास्ते भगवान् स्वयं स जगतां भर्त्ता

36 समिदेश्वरस्तस्यास्तं गुणवर्णने[न] महिमानुकोपि विज्ञायते ॥४७[2] य[स्मि]न् समिद्धरदविश्वमूर्त्तिसंस्था ध्याका(का)स्वारि निपतञ्जलमञ्जदोषा । मंदाकिनीसरिदियं सुरनिम्नगाभा स्नानावृत्तामधनुदेस्त्ववलोकनाच्च ॥४८[3] यत्र श्री-

37 मति चित्रकूटशिखरे श्रीकुंभभू[मी]पतिः प्रासादं गिरिजापतेर्व्वर[चय]न्दे(दे)वालयालीहतं(तम्) । उन्मीलत्सुपताकहैमकलशैं रत्नावलीतोरणे यत्रेभ्यः समवाप्य सौख्यमधिकं धत्ते समाधीश्वतां(ताम्) ॥४९[2] यत्प्रासादशिरो न्यस्तध्वजहस्तेन राज-

38 ते । वैसंध्यतूर्यनादेन कलिं निर्भ[र्त्सय]न्निव[4] ॥५०[5] इति श्रीसमाधीश्वर[व]र्णनं ॥ अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्णनं ॥ प्रकापहन्तृपाविते वसति चित्रकूटे शिवः शिवं प्रभजते दिशन्निति समीक्ष्य लक्ष्मीः किमु । स्थिताच्च प्रकामर्हितस्थलमस्तं विहाया-

39 स्तु सा सतां परस्पुरे द्रुतं स(सु)फलदा [श्रि]तस्य श्रिया ॥५१[6] श्रीकुकु(कु)टेश्वरगदाधरयोः पुरस्तादेश्याः श्रियोपि मधुसिंधुरैः सरोभिः । क्षीरोदधित्वमधिगंतुमिवास्तभेदः क्षारोदधिस्थितिविधमूर्तिरिहाप्युवा[7]स ॥५२[3] सौभाग्यैकमहोष-धिर्भ-

40 गवती यस्मिन् भवानी स्वयं आमर्त्ति [प्रि]यसंनिधानवसतिः सा[क्षी]जनानां गुरुः । देवश्चोपि कमलनाकरसंतानदानव्रतप्रयो(यो)तन्मकरंदबिंदुसुरभिप्रस्कारन्नृत्यांकवः[8] ॥५३[2] पाव(र्व)तीमुखपद्मस्य नेत्रभ्रमरशोभिनः ।

41 प्रबोधहेतवे नम्रः[9] कुकु(कु)टेश्वरभानवे ॥५४[5] इति महालक्ष्मीवर्ण[नं ॥*] अथ कुंभस्वामिवर्णनं ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यत्र दधाते कलशश्रियं(यम्) । प्रासादः कारितः कुंभस्वामिनः कु(कुं)भभूभुजा ॥५५[5] यत्रैलोक्यजनिस्थितिप्रलयकृत्[10]यो-(यो)

[1] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[2] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[4] This verse is found in l. 23 of A where the first half of it is destroyed.

[5] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Metre : *Pṛithvī.*

[7] The syllable *vā* is only partially engraved.

[8] This verse is no. 70 in C where variance in reading is in *saṁtāna-dāna-vraja-*. It will be seen that our author has improved the reading.

[9] The sense is *namrō bhavāmi.*

[10] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

42 ज्ञानवैराग्यतत्त्वो यो विश्वस्थितये बभार दशधा मूर्त्तिं [मु]नींद्रैर्नु[तां(ताम्) । दं]-
ष्ट्राप्रोद्धृतसाद्रिसागरधरो ध्यातश्च यो योगिभिर्विष्णुर्यत्र विराजते स भगवानाद्यो
वराहाकृतिः ॥५६[1] सत्यं संति जगत्र(त्त्र)योपरिसरे ते ते सुराधीश्वरा
येषां

43 संस्तुतिमात्रमत्र फलदं स्वर्गापवर्गादिनः । अस्माकं तु यदा[धि चि]त्तफलके[2]
संकल्पकल्पद्रुमं कुंभस्वामिपदारवि(विं)दमुदितं तेनैव सर्वाश्रयः ॥५७[1] इति श्री-
कुंभस्वामिवर्णनं ॥ अथ मेदपाटवर्णनं ॥ अथास्ति देशः प्रवरप्रदेशः

44 श्रीमेदपाटाभिधया प्रतीतः । स्वर्गोपि यं वीक्ष्य विलक्षभावाद[ल]क्षभावं प्रतिपद्य
तस्थौ ॥५८[3] तीर्थैर्मंदरकंदरैरिव मनोज्ञैः पुरैः स्वःश्रियो लावण्यैरिव विस्तृतैः
सितमणिस्वच्छैः सरोभिश्च यः । व्योमश्रीमुकुरैरिव प्रतिपदं

45 स्फीतो जयत्यंगनासौंदर्य्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभि[धः][4] ॥५९[1] उच्चैर्देवगृहैस्स-
रा(रो)भिरमलैः पुण्यापगाभिर्महावापीभिः शरदिंदुधामधवलैस्सत्तोरणै(णै)र्मंदिरैः ।
धारामैरतुलैर्विचित्रखनिभिश्चाभ्रंलिहैरद्रिभिर्य्या

46 नूनं हसतीव शक्रवसुधां सत्नायकालंकृता ॥६०[1] वाहा यत्र [वि]लोलवा इव नरा
गंधर्वपुत्रा इव स्वर्ज्जाता इव धेनवश्च सुदृशो गीर्वाणकन्या इव । पंचास्या
इव शंखिनो मणिरिव स्वच्छं मनो धीमतां देशस्सोयमनर्गलामरपुरश्री-

47 गर्वसर्वंकषः(षः)[5] ॥६१[1] प्रजवितुरगहेषारावमाकर्ण्य यस्यासहनयुवतिलोके [कान]नांतं
प्रयाति । रुचिरवसनहा[रैः] कंटका(क)ग्रावसक्तैर्धवखदिरपलाशाः कल्पवृक्षत्व-
मापुः[6] ॥६२[7] यत्र सत्रप्रपाः पांथसार्थविश्रामभूमयः ।[8] प्रति-

48 ग्रामं प्रतिपुर[9] प्रतिपत्तनमाबभुः ॥६३[10] नदीतटस्थास्तरवोध्वचारिणां श्रमं क्षुधां
चापहरंति हेलया । कुलीनभावात्स्वयमेव देहिनः परोपकारे हि भवंति
तत्पराः ॥ ॥६४[11] सरसाः कवयो यत्र गुरवस्तत्व(त्त्व)वेदिनः । बुधाः संति
प्रमाण-

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over *kē.*

[3] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[4] This verse is no. 6 in B.

[5] This verse is no. 7 in B where variance in reading is in °*marapurī-śrī-garva-*.

[6] This verse is no. 16 in B and belongs to the description of prince Bhōja of the Guhila family.

[7] Metre : *Mālinī.*

[8] This mark of punctuation is incomplete.

[9] Read °*puraṁ.*

[10] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[11] Metre : *Vaṁśastha.*

49 प्रासादर्शं सर्गसंख्यैः ॥६५[1] सुधा च वसुधा यत्र संमे विमाहता क्षते ।
तयोर्वर्णविशेषेण परत्वं विविच्यते ॥६६[2] मानवा मानवा यत्र प्रमदाः
प्रमदाः सदा । केवलं केवलं प्राप्य तापसास्तापसा न हि ॥६७[3] बालाक[2]लाप-
प्रथि-

50 ताखभूपा जना न षीणाः कलयापि यत्र । तत्तत्कलाभिः सकुसा(मा)[ध]योध[6]
तुलामसंकातुमुपैति चंद्रः ॥६८[4] एतदनंतरवर्णनं [द्वितीय*][5]पट्टिकाया पंक-
क्रमेण वेदितव्यं ॥ संवत् १५१[७] वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्ग-
शीर्ष वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः [॥*]

Third Slab.

[तृतीयपट्टिका ३]

1 हारीत[रा]शिमु[निपुंगव] — ◡ — — —[से] ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ सादय — ◡
— — [।*] — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ [मि]विष चिरा[य] — — — — ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — [प्रभूतैः ॥१२१[6] श्री] — [थ]ा[जापरना][मधे-
यात्तपो*]-

2 निधाना[कु]लभूमिवेंद्रः ॥(।) [हारी][तराशि ◡ ◡ गि*][ ]णो ◡ णा ◡ —
— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [॥१२२][4] श्रीबाप्प[ा]सम्मु[खं तदिह सुपमिला]खंड-
[सौंदर्य*][7][प्रोभि] [चोचौ][पठ*][7][क][मिव*][7] [वि]व[मधुरसभो(सः) कु][वंदुचे*];[7]

3 [स]बद्धा ॥(।) यस्मादाग[त्य विप्रच][तुरुदधिमहीवेदि*][7][निचितयूपो व][प्पाख्यो
वीतरागचरच*][7][युगमु]पासीत[8] हारीतराशिः[9] ॥[१२३][10] सं[प्राप्याद्भुत]मेक[लिं]ग-
[चर]णाम्भोजप्रसा[दा]त्पु[रा] [यस्*][11]

4 [दि]व्यसुवर्णपादक[टकं हारीतराशिर्द्वि]जो [॥(।) बप्पाख्यः][स पुरा पुराणपुरुषः*][11]
[प्रा][र*][11][ब्धो][]नियो[12]हवातु[खोमाह]तु[पी] बभूव [ज]ग[ति श्री]मेदपाटाधिपः
॥१२४[13] [सदैक*][14]

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] There is a superfluous medial *ē* stroke over this *ka*.

[3] Read °*śayō=yaṁ*.

[4] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[5] Due space for these three syllables is left on the slab.

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 9.

[8] Read °*m=upāsishṭa*.

[9] This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojhā (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 380, n. 2).

[10] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[11] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 10 and 29 respectively. The difference in reading in the former is in *purāṇa-purusha-prāraṁbha-* and in the latter in *upbalaṁ chāmoni and babhūva nripatiḥ*.

[12] First *ryā* was engraved which was afterwards turned into *rvvā*.

[13] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[14] Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

5 श्रिं धर्मानन्दनाभो[वसं]प्रा[त]सा[युज्य*][1][महोदयस्य][। हारीतराशेरसमप्र*][1]सादादवाप बप्पो
नरनाथ[लक्ष्मी](क्ष्मीम्) ॥१२[५][2] बप्पे शि[वे] लयमुपे[युषि] नीलकंठ[प्रौढप्र*]-[3]

6 [सादम]प[सा]दमवाप्य त[स्य] ॥(।) [वंशो] [जगत्त्रय*][3][प][वित्रचरित्रपात्रमद्याप्यखंड*]-[3]
महि[मानं] जगतीं प्र[शास्ति] ॥१[२६][4] इति म[हारा]उ[ल]श्रीबापावर्णनं ॥ ॥
अथ राउलश्री[गुहद*]-

7 [त्तव]र्णनं ॥ तस्यात्मजः [स नृप]तिर्गु[हि][लाभिधानो धर्मोच्छशास वसुधां
मनु*][5][वितप्रभावः] ॥(।) यस्मा[द्द]धौ गुहिलवर्णनया [प्रसि]द्धां गौहिल्य[वं]श-
[भव]राजगणोत्र जातिं(तिम्) ॥१[२७[4] य*]

8 [त्रा]नंदपु[रे] पूर्वं गुह[द]त्ता[भिधो द्विजः] ॥(।) स ले[मे .. ◡ — — .. ..
— ◡ .. .. .. ◡ — ◡ .. ।*]॥१२८[6] [गु]हिलधरणिनाथोत्तुंगरंगः[7] [प्र]ताप-
प्रसरदरनिरि[व क्ष्मा]पयन्वैरिचंद्राम् ॥(।) व्यचरद[तिविचि*]-[8]

9 [त्रं सं]ततं यत्पृथि[व्या]मदहद[रिवधूटीपद्मिनी][नां मुखाब्जं(ब्जम्)*][8] [॥१२९*][9]
— — ◡ — [वा*][सि]तश्नुबंधुः प्रतापसंतर्ज्जितपद्मबंधुः ॥(।) [गां]भीर्य[दू]-
रीकृ[त]सप्तसिंधुर्यशोभर[व्य] ◡ ◡ — ◡

10 [सिंधुः] ॥१३०[2] य[स्मा]दभू[द्भू]रितर[प्रता]पो [भूपालमौ][लि*] ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
[।*] — — ◡ — — रघुव[त्सु]ध[न्वा यस्मा]त्प्र[सि]द्धो गुहिलान्ववायः
॥१[३]१[2] [गुहप्रदाना]द्गुहदत्तनामा वंशो[यमुक्तो

11 गुहिल]श्च कैश्चित् ॥(।) स एव गांभीर्य[वशाद्बिभर्ति रत्ना][कर*] — ◡ ◡ —
◡ — — [॥१३२][2] [ला]ढीजनेन मधुरस्वरगीत[के]न पीनस्तनेन रति[काल-
विचक्षणे]न ॥(।) सार्द्धं विनोदितदिनो [ग-

12 ति]मंथरेण लाढीविनोद इति तस्य ब[भूव सू]नुः [॥१३३][4] [इति राउलश्री-
गुहदत्तवर्णनं*] ॥ ॥ अथ राउलश्रीपु(खु)म्माणवर्णनं ॥ ह[र्षा]द्योतोल[य]त्स्वं
निजसुतगृहिणीसंयुतं कांच[नेन प्रा-

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[1] Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

[2] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[3] Text within these brackets is restored from D and E where the verse is no. 30 and 7 respectively.

[4] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[5] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 13 and 17 respectively. The difference in reading in the latter is in *Śrīmān=abhūt=sa.*

[6] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Better omit the *visarga* and read °*raṁga-pratāpas=.*

[8] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse no. 18 where the difference in reading is in °*tuṁga-raṁga-*.

[9] Metre : *Mālinī.*

13 दा]त्तद्याचकेभ्यः कनकमिति लस[त्कल्पवृक्षोपमा][नः । कीर्त्तिं विस्तारयन्त्यां तु*][1]
हिनदधिसुधाक्षीरडिंडीरवदातां स श्रीबु(खु)म्माण[नामा] स[म]भवदवनेर्नायको
भूरिभा[ग्यः ॥

14 १]३४[2] विलंघयंती सकलं महीतलं [दि]गं[तरं चारि][णिकोन् गिरिव्रजं(जम्) ।
बु(खु)*][3]म्माणरा[जन्यशिरोम]णेरसावसौ [न]न[र्त्ताद्भुतकीर्त्ति]नर्त्तकी ॥१३५[4] [भंगाः
संग्राम]भंगा[ः सम][रभु*][5]

15 वि परं दत्तनाशाः कलिंगा [बं(वं)गा नष्टाखिलांगा[6] अ][स्तानि हृ]तिभिः पाति-
तांगा*][5]खिलिंगाः ॥(।) सौराष्ट्रात्त्र(स्त्र)स्तराष्ट्रा [न]रपतितिलकप्रस्थिते दिग्जयार्थं
[चौ]डाः सं[त्य][क्तचूडा*][5]

16 स्खरस[पट]वो द्राविडा [श्चैव गौडाः] ॥१३६[2] प्रा[प्ता] ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —
[दक्ष]वक्रो दाक्षिणात्योभवद्यो वाक्यैर्निंदितां नरपतेरोड्डीयकोप्यादरे ॥(।)
प(पा)श्चात्योपि न [भू][पवानि*]

17 [वितर]न्पाश्चा[त्त्यभावं दधौ तस्मि]न्दि[ग्विजयोद्यते न][रपतौ*] — — ⏑ — [त्वंजसा]
॥१३७[7] ॥ इति राउलश्रीबु(खु)म्माणवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ राजवर्णनं ॥ अतः श्री-
राजवंशोत्र प्र[व्यक्तः] [प्रो][च्यते*][5]

18 [धुना] ॥(।) चिरंतनप्र[शस्तौ]नाम[नि]श्चा[मा]म[तः(वे)]द्यथा[त् ॥१३८[8] तस्मिन् गुहि-
लवं]शेभूच्छीभोजनामावनीश्वरः ॥(।) तस्माच्च[श्री]ट्टनागाह्वौ[9] बप्पाख्यश्चापराजितः ॥१३९[8]
महीं[द्रभट्ट(ट)सं-

19 पाला]त्कालभोजस्ततोजनि ॥(।) बु(खु)[म्माणो मत्त]टश्चा[सौभ्रट(र्तृ)पट्ट(ट्टो)]थ[10] प(च)-
[ट्टटः] ॥१४०[8] नरवाहनसंज्ञश्च शालि[वाह]न[भूप]तिः ॥(।) [ज]ज्ञे शक्तिकुमा-
राख्यस्तस्मादंवा(बा)प्रसादतः[11] ॥[।१४१][8]

20 [5][न्टव]श्चानंतवर्म्मा च यशोवर्म्मा महीपतिः ॥(।) ततो[म्बा(बा)]प्र[सादस्य जन्नि]रि
[भ्रा]तरौस्य च ॥१४२[8] ततश्च योग[12][रा]जोभू[च्चे]दपाटे महीपतिः ॥(।) अपि
राज्ये[13] स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाखा(खा) नो[कृ(च्छ)यं]

[1] Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 32.

[2] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[3] Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 33.

[4] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[5] Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no 34.

[6] Read °*khilaṁgāḥ.*

[7] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[9] Either read *Mahīndra-Nāg-āhvau* or *Mahīndrō Nāg-āhvō.*

[10] *Sandhi* is not observed here.

[11] Read -*prasādakaḥ.*

[12] Space for one letter between these two syllables seems to have originally been defective on the slab, and hence not used for engraving.

[13] Read *rājyē.*

21 गता ॥१४३[1] पश्चादल्लटसंताने वैरटोभू[न्न]रेश्वरः ॥(।) ततः [श्रीहंसपालश्च] वै[रि]-
सिंहो [नृपाग्र]णीः ॥१४४[1] स्थापितोभि[न*]वो येन श्रीन(म)दाघाटपत्तने ॥(।)
प्राकारश्च चतुर्दिक्षु च[तुर्गोपु][र*]-

22 भूषितः ॥१४५[1] द्वाविंशतिः सुतास्त[स्य] बभूवुः सगु(द्गु)णालयाः ॥(।) तेषां मध्ये
बभूवैको नरेंद्रः पुण्यभाजनं(नम्) ॥[१४६[1] तस्मा]त् सुवैरसिंहोभूदरसिंहस्ततोजनि
॥(।) तत्पट्टे चोडनामा[सोहृह]-

23 वं[शु]वंशाधिपः ॥१४७[1] चोडस्याप्यग्रजो [ज]ज्ञे बंधुर्विक्रमकेसरी ॥(।) तत्सुतो रण-
सिंहाख्यो राज्ये रंजितसत्प्रजः ॥१४८[1] [श्री]मद्दणसिंहकनिष्ट(ष्ठ)भ्रातृश्रीक्षेमसिंह-
स्तत्सुतः[2] ॥(।) सा[मंतसिंह]-

24 ना[मा] भूमिपतिर्भूतले जातः ॥१४९[3] भ्राता कुम(मा)रसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्यग्राहिणं
परं(रम्) ॥(।) देशान्निष्का(ष्का)सयामास कीतूसंज्ञं नृ[पं] तु यः ॥१५०[1]
श्रीमतमाघाटपुरं गूर्जरनृपतिं प्रसा[द्य मि][श्री*]-

25 [च(चा)त् ॥(।) येन] नृपत्वे लब्धे तदनु श्रीमद्दणसिंहोभूत् ॥१५१[3] तद्भ्राता
पद्मसिंहाख्यपृथ्वीशः पृथु[वि]क्रमः ॥(।) अद्यापि संस्मरंतीह [ज]नौघा यस्य
सद्गुणान् ॥१५२[1] यः सदा शौर्य[सौं]द[र्यगांभी-

26 र्यौद]ार्यमंदिरं(रम्) ॥(।) स श्रीमान् पद्मसिंहोभून्नान्यस्तेन समो नृपः ॥ १[५३][1] अथ
राउलश्रीजयसिंहर्णनं ॥ तत्पुत्रस्तु नि[ज]प्रतापदहनज्वालासुसंधुक्षितः[4] प्रो[द्दा]म-
प्रतिप[क्षवं-

27 तति]रभूत्श्री(च्छ्री)जैत्रसिंहो नृपः ॥(।) यस्याकारि न [कु]त्र[चित्क्षि]ति[भुजा के]-
नापि भूमंडले नित्यं देशचतुष्टयीं विलसतः सन्मा(न्मा)नभं[गे] मनः ॥१५४[5]
दुर्गं श्रीचित्रकूटं समप[रमपरं भीषणं भी-

28 मदुर्गं] घाघाटं मेदपाटं निखिलमपि वरं वागडं — ◡ — — [।*श्रीमन्नाग]-
ह्रदेशो विलसति निजदोर्दंडसा[म]र्थ्यतो यः ख्यातः सोयं [जगत्यां चिर]मिह
जयताचे(ज्जै)त्रसिंहो नर(रें)द्रः [॥१५५][6]

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] The first and the second quarters are irregular each having a syllabic instant in excess.

[3] Metre : *Āryā.*

[4] Omit *visarga* and read *-su-saṁdhukshita-prōddāma-*.

[5] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

29 [इह हि भव][ने]भूवन् भूयो नरा कृतधा(धि)या ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — —
[के] म[त]ा न हि पंचतां(ताम्) ॥(।) स्फुटमिति [कृपो] कृत्वा चित्ते
[चिरं प]रिभाव्य च स्वहितकरणे यत्नं(त्नौ) नित्यं जनाः प्रविधीयतां(ताम्)] ॥[।

30 १५६[1] न]लिनीदलजलतरलं धनयौव[न] . . . . [।*] . . . .
[णां] निजम[नसि] चिरं विचिंत्येति ॥१५७[2]॥ ॥ अथ राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्णनं ॥
धर्मे [य]स्य मतिर्नेति[गुरु]ज[ने

31 प्रोति[3] स]दा सद्गुणे वृत्तिः पात्रगणे रणे च [निष्कृतिः सद्भिः समं संगतिः ।
नीति*][4] [लौ]किककर्मनर्मसुविधौ नि[र्धूत]लोभोन्नतिस्तेज[5]सिंहनरा[धि]पो विज-
यतां तां प्रा[प्य रा]ज्यश्रियं(यम्) ॥१[५८[6] पद्मा-

32 ङ्घ्रिकर]द्वय: करिकराकारोरुजं[घा] ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
[गं ना]भिं च रोमावलीं(लीम्) ॥(।) वि[स्ती]र्णां हृदयेतुरोविकतटे सत्कंठ
श्राचूचुकात् सुसूक्ष्म(क्ष्म)ग्रुधिरा: सुतीक्ष्ण[न-

33 यनो] भ[स्त्या] युतो भूपतिः ॥१५९[6] इ[ति राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्णनं ॥ अथ
राउ*]लश्रीसमरसिंह[व]र्णनं ॥ इह हि समरसिंहस्तस्य पुत्रः [सुवा]हस्ति-
भुवनपरिसंपत्कौ(सर्पत्कौ)र्त्तिगंगाप्रवा[हः] ॥(।)

34 [ध]रति [धरणि]भारं कूर्मपृष्टा(ष्ठा)वतारं [निजकरकमलेनास्थापनाय प्रजातः*][7]
[॥१६०][8] अज[नि] समरसिंहः कौस्तुभः क्षीरसिंधाविव निधिरविधाम्नामन्ववाये च
भूपः ॥(।) अधिगतपरभागः [पुं]ड-

35 [रीकाक्षवक्ष:]स्थलप[रि]सरवृत्या प्रा[प्तसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः*][9] [॥१६१*][8] [दुर्गे श्रीचित्रकूटे*][10]
[विल]सति [नृ]पतौ सर्वसामंतचूडारत्नप्रद्योतितांघ्रावभवदिति मतिर्हृत्कथं संप्र-
याति ॥(।) सत्यं कृष्णः स कृ-

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[1] Metre : *Hariṇī.*

[2] The metre here seems to be *Upagīti* but the exact number of syllables (short and long) is difficult of determination.

[3] Read *prītiḥ.*

[4] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 52. The difference in reading is in *sadā sad-gurau, Tējaḥsiṁha* and *samprāpya rājya-.*

[5] The metre here requires a long syllable. Read *Tējaḥ°.*

[6] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 53.

[8] Metre : *Mālinī.*

[9] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 54.

[10] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

36 [श्रीमदुचितमिदं स]त्तिवा[सा: शिवौ][भूच्छौतांश्च: प्रत्यक्षं यत्[सतिमतिकलुषां*][1] [सुख]मितसमार ॥१६२[2] समरसमरजैत्रं चित्रकूटं पुरास्मिन् भवति समरसिंह(हे) प्रासति चोणिपाल(ले) ॥(।) क-

37 [लकलसमहे]षा[प्रस्फुरद्भिजा][लैर्दिनमणिकिरणालोसंप्रकाशानपेचं(चम्)*][3] [॥१६]३[4] जगति कति न संति प्रार्थितार्थप्रदानप्रकटितनिजप्रशक्तिव्यक्तकीर्त्तिप्रपंचा: ॥(।) परमिह पर-

38 [लोकश्री]प्रशोका[र]सारं [जयति] स[मर][सिंहो] दानमस्ताभिमान:*][5] [॥१६४*][4] [कश्चित्कदाचिद्दा*][6][नां]बु हस्तौ वर्षति वा न वा ॥(।) श्रीमत्समरसिंहस्य स तु सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥१६५[7] किं कौप्यहो समरसिंह-

39 [नरेश]स्य सद्वैयसौ(श्री)[यें]नयकी[र्त्ति][कलाकलापं(पम्)] । संस्थातुमत्र पटुधीर्भवि-तावकाशे तथा*][8]दलं सपनपत्रवलासनेन ॥१६६[9] विद्युद्विभ्रमचंचलं खलु नृणा-मायुर्धनं यौवनं संचिंत्येति चि-

40 [रं] चित्तसमनसा [कौ]र्त्तिः परं [स्थायि][नो] । चंद्राख्यप्रियया न्वितः स्वयमयं कारितः कारितो*][10] [स]रश्रीर्वहतीव संनिपतता धारांभसामानिशं(शम्) ॥१६७[11] कैकौ काकादेककाद्सुरवर्ति सुदं

41 [किं म]राल: क[रा]लो वाचा[लचातका:][किं किमिति तत्तमिख्यासंगतोयं बकोट: । नेता वर्षाघना*][12]लौ विलसति भुवने किंतु भोजप्रयाणे लक्ष्यं नैवांतरिचं चलितचमुरोद्भूतधू-

42 लीपटेन ॥१६८[2] तु[रंगमाला*][13]गजदान[नीरप्र][वाहयो: संगमसुदहंती । यस्य प्रयाणे निखिलापि भूमि:*][13] प्रयागलक्ष्मीं बिभरांबभूव ॥१६९[14] आकर्ण्य पन्नगीगीतं यस्य बाहुपराक्रमं(मम्) ॥(।) शिर-

43 श्चालनया चित्[चक्रे कं]पं [प]रं भुव:[15] ॥१७०[7] यं त्या[गेन मनोहरेण कृतिन: कर्णौयमाचक्षते यं पार्थं प्रथयंति वै*][16]रिसुभटा: शौर्येण सत्वा(त्त्वा)धिकं(कम्) ॥(।) यं रत्नाकरमामनंति गुणिनो धैर्येण मर्यादया

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[1] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.
[2] Metre : *Sragdharā.*
[3] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 56.
[4] Metre : *Mālinī.*
[5] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 57.
[6] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 58.
[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[8] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 59.
[9] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*
[10] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 60.
[11] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[12] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 17 and 61 respectively. It will be seen that in the former it describes prince Bhōja and not Samarasiṁha.
[13] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 34 and 62 respectively. In the former it describes prince Mahāyaka.
[14] Metre : *Upajāti.*
[15] This verse is no. 37 and 63 in B and D respectively. In the former it describes prince Khummāṇa.
[16] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 48 and 64 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Śaktikumāra is in *Tyāgēn-ārthi manō-harēṇa.*

44 यं मेरुं हि स[मा]श्रये[त] विबुधाः शंसंति सर्वोन्नतं(तम्) [॥१७१][1] [भृगुपतिरिव दृप्तः[2] क्षत्रसंहारकारी सुरगुरुरिव शश्व*][3][न्]नी(नी)तिमार्गानुसारी ॥(।) स्मर इव सुरतेषु प्रेयसीचित्तहारी शिबिरिव स बभूव सर्वस-

45 त्वो(त्त्वो)पका[री] ॥१७२[4] यस्य धनुर्गुणकिणवति [बिभ्रति विश्वंभरां भुजादंडे । क्लेशविशेषमशेषं शेषः परिहृत्य मु*][5]दितोस्ति ॥१७३[6] योर्थान् पुपोषार्थिजनार्थमेव सतीतिदक्षो व्यसनैर्विहीनः ॥(।) विहीनसं-

46 स[र्गप]राङ्म(ङ्मु)खस्य श्रीसंग्रहो यस्य सुता[र्थमासीत्*][7] [॥१७४][8] [तस्यामतिरतिरभवत्तस्य सतीष्वपि वधूषु रम्या*][9]सु ॥(।) धन्यास(सु) पुण्यजातिषु जात्यां खलु मधुकरस्येव ॥१७५[6] स रत्नसिंहं [त]नयं नियुज्य स्वं

47 [चित्र]कूटाचलरक्षणाय ॥(।) महेशपू[जाहृतकल्मषौघ इलापतिः स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव*][10] [॥१७६[8] अथ म*]हाराणाश्रीलष(क्ष)मसीवर्णनं ॥ धुं(खुं)माणवंशः[11] खलु लक्ष्मसिंहस्तस्मिं[12] गते दुर्गवरं ररक्ष ॥(।) कुलस्थि-

48 [तिं] कापुरुषैर्विमुक्तां न जातु धीराः [पुरुषा][स्त्य]जंति[13] ॥१७७*][8] [छित्त्वा श*]-[14] [स्त्रा]णि श[स्त्रैर]थ रथनिकरैर्घातयित्वा रथौघानश्वानश्वैर्निहत्य प्रबलतरगजान् पातयित्वा गजैश्च ॥(।) हत्वा योधांश्च योधैरतिश-

49 कनिधनाकालकालोपमेयो लक्ष्मीसिंहश्चकारातुलतुमुलम[लं] संगरं सं[गरज्ञः] ॥१७८[15] इत्थं म्लेच्छच[यं] ज्ञात्वा संख्ये संव[त्सरं नृपः] ॥(।) चित्रकूटाचलं रक्षन् शस्त्रपूतो दिवं ययौ[16] [॥]१७९[17]॥ सं १५१७ व[र्षे] ॥[।*]

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[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Better omit *visarga* and read *dṛipta-kshatra-*.

[3] Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 50 and 65 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Āmraprasāda, is in *rati-lōla-prēyasī-chitta-chārī.*

[4] Metre: *Mālinī.*

[5] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 66.

[6] Metre: *Āryā.*

[7] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 67.

[8] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[9] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68. The verse obviously seems to contain a partial description of some royal damsel. It is indiscriminately fitted in both these records successively, having been borrowed from some other record.

[10] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 69.

[11] Better read *Khummāṇa-vaṁśyaḥ.*

[12] Read °*s=tasmin.*

[13] This verse is no. 77 in D.

[14] Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 78.

[15] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[16] This verse is no. 79 in D.

[17] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

No. 45.—KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nāgpur.

Kāman, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the State of Bharatpur in Rājputāna, is situated in 27° 39′ N. and 77° 16′ E. about 35 miles North by West from Bharatpur and about 40 miles from Mathurā. There are several derivations given of the place-name. According to one account the old name of the place was Kadambavana from the numerous Kadamba trees found there; another account traces the present name to a mythical Rājā Kāmasena[1], while according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji it is derived from Kāmavana[2]. In the middle of the town there is an old fort which contains a mosque called Chaurāsi Khambā built with materials from Hindu temples. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars built into the inner side of the court-wall of this mosque has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is undated, but according to the Pandit it can be referred to about the eighth century A.D. It records the building of a temple of Vishṇu by a prince of the Sūrasēna dynasty.

The present inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was brought to my notice by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra, who kindly furnished me with two excellent estampages and a photograph of it. The stone which bears this record is said to have been obtained from a large well situated about half a mile outside Kāman. It is now at Gokul in the possession of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj Gosai who very kindly allowed Mr. Agrawala to copy it. Kāman is one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Maṇḍala and is also one of the headquarters of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj. The same stone contains another record in Persian embossed letters on the reverse side.[3] I feel deeply grateful to the Gosai Maharaj for permission to edit the present record.

The writing covers a space 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 8½″ high. There are twenty-four lines in all, of which the last is only one-third of the rest. The inscription has been very badly mutilated especially in lines 1-12 where only about a dozen *aksharas* at either end are now legible. Even in the lower half of the record where the writing is better preserved, a few aksharas here and there have been completely damaged, while some others can be read only with patience and perseverance from the faint traces which can still be marked on the back of the impressions. The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. They are very beautifully written and skilfully incised, the strokes for medial vowels being ornamentally treated as in the Jhālrāpāṭan inscriptions.[4] Especially noteworthy are the signs for the medial *ā*, *i* and *ī* and the diphthongs. These appear in many

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[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputāna*, pp. 338-39.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

[3] [This record was copied by me in January, 1937, and has been noticed in the *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1936-37. The stone, I was told by the Gosai Maharaj himself, came out of the well which was re-excavated at his instance. A number of broken Hindu images also came out of it some of which were seen placed near the well when I visited Kāman. The inscription seems to have been deliberately damaged, probably by the Muslim invaders. Mr. G. Yazdani has kindly sent me the following translation of the Persian record which is incised on the other side of the stone:

"The well was originally excavated some 50 years ago; but was filled up with stone and earth during the governorship of Muḥammad Hājī. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people the well was re-excavated in the month of Ramzān 669 H. (A.D. 1271) during the reign of Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Balban, and the government of Nuṣrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayāna."

This record is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.—Ed.]

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 ff.

cases on the top of letters and their flourishes extend to several letters on the right and left, which, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, cause not a little confusion in decipherment. Some of the letters such as *j* and *r* appear more developed here than in the other inscription from Kāman edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. It may again be noted that the signs for the medial *i* and *ī* in the latter record do not appear wholly over the top of letters as they do in the present one.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening *ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and the particulars of the dates here and there, the whole inscription appears to have been metrically composed. The verses are not numbered and in the present damaged condition of the record it is not possible to state their total number. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* and *vice versâ* (see *tritiyāyāṁ* l. 13 and *chatastriṁśan=* l. 18), of *v* for *b* (as in *Kamvali* l. 23), and of *m* for *anusvāra* and *sh* for *visarga* (see *Samvat* l. 13 and *=āvikalpatash=pratimāsaṁ* ll. 16-17), unless the latter is meant to be the sign for *upadhmānīya*.

The present record is of the same type as the Sīyaḍōṇī[1] and Āhār[2] inscriptions, being a collective public copy of a number of deeds recording donations and endowments made from time to time in favour of a deity, apparently Śiva, installed in a temple at Kāmyaka. The record itself is not dated but its preserved portion contains **seven dates** of an unspecified era ranging from the **year 180 to 299.** The month, fortnight and *tithi* were stated in each case, but some of these particulars have now become illegible in two cases. As the week-day or the *nakshatra* has not been specified in connection with any of them, the dates do not admit of verification, but the palæography of the record leaves no doubt that they must be referred to the **Harsha era**. It may be noted in this connection that Kāman is only about [illegible] miles south-west of Āhār, the stone inscription of which contains several dates of the Harsha era. If we except the date 563 of the Pañjaur inscription, the year 299 mentioned towards the close of the present record is the latest known date of this era. The dates mentioned here thus range from A.D. 786-87 to 905-06.

The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. It falls into two parts which are separated from each other by an ornamental figure in l. 12[3]. The first part, which is almost wholly effaced, probably contained a description of the person who built the temple of Śiva where the present record was evidently put up and of the Śaiva Āchāryas who were successively in charge of it, while the second part registers the deeds recording the donations and endowments made to the deity from time to time.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the record seems to have had two verses invoking blessings of that deity. The third line mentions a Brāhmaṇa (*Bhaṭṭa*) named Kakkuka, who lived in a place the name of which appears to be Rōhītaka. He is described as a destroyer of his enemies. The next line speaks of several sons, apparently of this Kakkuka, who attained noble fame by their excellent qualities. The eldest of them whose name appears to be Untaṭa[4] is described in l. 6. The next two lines speak of a temple (*maṭha*), apparently of Śiva, erected by the same person, having realized the transitoriness (of earthly fortune). The following three or four lines (9-12) mentioned some successions of Śaiva ascetics, but unfortunately almost all their names are lost[5].

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

[3] There is a similar figure in l. 11 also.

[4] One Untaṭa is also mentioned in l. 19.

[5] The name of one of them mentioned in l. 10 appears to be Guṇarāśi.

The second part of the record which begins in line 12 registers the following documents :—

Document No. I (ll. 12-13). This is undated. It records that the *Gōshṭhikas* (members of the Managing Committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity.

Document No. II (l. 13). This document is dated in the **year 22(x)**[1] on the third *tithi* of of the bright fortnight of some month, now lost. It records some donation of a merchant named Vajraṭa.

Document No. III (ll. 13-17). This is dated in the **year 229** on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha. It records the gift of two plots of land situated inside the *kōṭṭa* (fort) by some one whose name occurring in the beginning of line 15 is now missing. The first of these was bounded on the east by the house of one Kṛishṇāka, on the south by a small well and on the west and north by an old royal road. The second plot of land which was situated in the eastern part of the fort was bounded on the east and the south by a royal road and in the other directions (*i.e.*, the west and the north) by the land of the temple (*sthāna*) and a small habitation. These gifts were made in favour of a deity (probably Śiva) whose name appears to be Kāmyakēśvara. It is further recorded that a guild of potters living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one *paṇa* per wheel every month.

Document No. IV (ll. 17-18). This is dated in the **year 232** on some *tithi* now lost, in the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. It records that the guild of gardeners living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Vishṇu and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā.

Document No. V (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 233** on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pausha. It records that the guild of artisans living in the place (*i.e.* in Kāmyaka), in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan who worked in the place was to pay one *dramma* per month.

Document No. VI (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 220** on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It registers that a man named Untaṭa piously denoted three plough-measures of land in his own village, the name of which has not been preserved. The land was previously tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Sāhulla, Jajja and others and was, at the time of the gift, cultivated by one Ēḍuvāka.

It is further laid down that whatever would be produced in the case of all these permanent endowments should be added to the capital[2]; for such is the law (*śāstra*) of endowments.

Document No. VII (ll. 21-22). This is dated in the **year 180** on the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It records that two *āvāris* (enclosures), facing the west and situated outside the fort, were donated by a *śāṁkhika* (a worker on conch-shells) named Bhadra by means of a written deed.

Document No. VIII (ll. 22-24). This is dated in the **year 299**[3] on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. It records that some *drammas* were formerly (*purā*) made over by

[1] The third figure of the date is illegible.

[2] The meaning of this is not clear. Perhaps it is intended to provide that if the amount of the endowment or the property increased in value, the benefit of it was to accrue to the donee.

[3] Of the three figures of this date I take the last two as denoting 9, though they are dissimilar. Of the two figures in question the second is the usual one for 9; the first also has the same value in l. 21 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96). In the Chaulukya grant of Trilōchanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plates I and II between pp. 202-203) both the signs are used to denote 9.

Bhōjadēva to Pramāṇarāśi, which the latter gave to Chāmuṇḍāka. After his (*i.e.*, Pramāṇarāśi's) death the *āchārya* (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍāka or Chāmuṇḍakarāśi) seems to have paid the amount to the *Gōshṭhikas*. The latter purchased two *āvārikās* with these *drammas*. The *vīthis* or shops in the *āvārikās* were situated facing the south in the *Kambali-haṭṭa*,[1] which seems to mean a part of the town where a cattle-market was held. The rent of these *vīthis* was to be utilised by the *Gōshṭhikas* in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights for the temples as long as the sun and the moon would endure.

The preserved portion of the inscription does not state the name of the ruling king. If any was mentioned in the introductory part of the record, it has been lost. But Bhōjadēva named towards the close of the record is plainly identical with the well-known Emperor Bhōja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. In the year 290 of the Harsha era (*i.e.*, in A.D. 895-96) Bhōja was dead; for, the Unā plates give Valabhī Saṁvat 574 (*i.e.*, about A.D. 893-94) for his son and successor Mahēndrapāla. Bhōja I was himself a devotee of Bhagavatī and Vishṇu as is evidenced by his Barah plate[2] and the Ādivarāha *drammas*. It is therefore interesting to note that he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva *āchārya* for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple.

In view of the foregoing identification of Bhōjadēva, it may be asked if Kakkuka described in line 14 is identical with his namesake who is mentioned in the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhōja as the grand-uncle of Bhōja's grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II. He is no doubt called here Bhaṭṭa, but that does not *per se* preclude the identification; for according to the Jōdhpur[3] and Ghaṭiyālā[4] inscriptions the Pratihāras were descended from the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra and an expression in the former record has been taken to refer to the Brāhmaṇa caste of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj.[5] The description in l. 4 that Kakkuka was a destroyer of his foes shows that he was a man of warlike spirit and lends colour to his identification with the aforementioned Pratihāra prince. The damaged condition of the present record, however, makes its evidence doubtful. Besides, the subsequent portion, judging from the few *aksharas* that are still legible, does not appear to have contained the description of a royal family. I am therefore inclined to think that this Kakkuka did not belong to a royal family. As for the description that he destroyed his foes, it may have been by policy, if not by personal bravery. It is, of course, not unlikely that in that age some members of the priestly caste distinguished themselves on the battlefield, as others preferred the peaceful occupation of a farmer.

There is only one legible place-name, *viz.*, Kāmyaka, in the lower portion[6] of the record, which is evidently identical with Kāman where the inscribed stone was found. It is now clear that its modern name is not derived from Kadambavana, Kāmasēna or Kāmavana, but from Kāmyakavana[7]. As stated above, Kāman has still an old fort, which is clearly referred to as *koṭṭa*

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[1] *Kambali* means one having a dewlap, a bull.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 f.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.

[5] See Dr. D. C. Ganguli's article entitled 'Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 343.

[6] Line 4 of the present inscription mentions a place named Rōhitaka. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, 33, 4-5), Rōhitaka, which lay to the west of Delhi, was inhabited by the Mattamayūras. [Rōhitaka, evidently same as Rauhitaka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 11) and the Lakha Maṇḍal *praśasti* (above, Vol. I, p. 14), is to be identified with modern Rōhtak, 43 miles N. W. of Delhi.—Ed.]

[7] This Kāmyakavana is evidently different from the Kāmyakavana of the *Mahābhārata*, where the Pāṇḍavas sojourned for a short time during their exile; for, the latter was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī. See the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan (Bombay recension), *adhyāya* 5, vv. 1-3. Cunningham has identified it with Kāmōda near Kurukshētra. See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

in ll. 13 and 15 of the present record. The inscription edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was on a pillar of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. The present record, on the other hand, seems to have been put up in a temple of Śiva under the name Kāmyakēśvara, which must have been situated not far from the well outside the fort where the stone was found. There were, besides, two subsidiary shrines dedicated to Vishṇu and Chāmuṇḍā. These temples were evidently placed in charge of Śaiva āchāryas of the Pāśupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Gōshṭhī*) appointed for the purpose. That the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was flourishing in the north-west of India in the time of the Pratihāra Bhōja I is also shown by the Sirsa inscription[1] of his reign, edited by the late Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni.

Our inscription throws interesting side-light on some transactions of guilds in ancient India. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild. In the latter case the guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount or a particular rate of interest on the amount deposited with it. Our inscription shows that the guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality. The inscription mentions three such guilds, *viz.*, those of potters, artisans and gardeners. We find that the members of the last guild were to pay in kind, while those of the first two had to pay a small cess, probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. We notice again that the guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions; for in two cases our inscription explicitly states that every one who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka was to contribute a fixed amount. We are not told how the investments received by the guilds were utilised. But it would not be wrong to infer that they were expended on some works, religious or secular, such as those enumerated by Bṛihaspati,[2] which were regarded as useful to all the members of the guild. The guilds had evidently the necessary sanctions to secure the timely payment of the cess which they levied on their members. From the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* (XVII, 13)[3] we learn that they could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part of the agreement. Again, both the *Arthaśāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* mention *Śrēṇi-bala* or the army maintained by guilds, which even kings were not loth to use for their conquests[4]. The guilds could, therefore, be trusted to collect the stipulated amount from their members and pay it regularly to the beneficiary of the endowment.

TEXT.[5]

1 [ओं नमः] शिवाय । — — — — — ◡ — [वि*]स्तृतफण ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ —
— ◡ — — — — — — — स हस्ते ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ सुतया कंकणं भोम-
सुखैः [।*] पाणि[प्रे ?]-

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 294 ff.

[2] See the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 11 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 347-48).

[3] Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 51 ff. See also Kātyāyana cited in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (ed. by J. R. Gharpure), p. 226.

[4] Bhaṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī is, for instance, said to have obtained royal fortune with the help *inter alia* of the *Śrēṇi-bala*.

[5] From inked impressions.

2 — पर(?)वाङ्मयचकित[इव] — ◡ मनो ◡ — — — — — ◡ — — ◡
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — [1][॥*] . . . . [2]इन्दुरेः स्मितत-
रोचिष्पाल-

3 . . . सुचितशिरो . . . . [3]जटाभि[र्जट]जूटो . . . .
. . . . [4]चित्[ता]: ॥

4 [रो]हीतकंभवज्रटः ककुको[रि]विमर्द्दनः[5] ।[।*] . . . . [6]स्य वपु[र्यो]
. . . . [7]सदाः पुत्रा-

5 [स्तस्य] व(ब)भूवुरुत्तमगुणप्रख्यातसत्कीर्त्तयः[8] [॥*] . . . .
. . . [9]टका इव ॥

6 . . . [ज्ये]ष्ठो[ऽन्त ?]टो ज्येष्ठः सामान्य[प्रभु]चोद[यः ?][10] . . . . [9]त
विग्रहवेद्या-

7 न्य[स्था]ने वाभिजात्यं इति जगति वि[शुद्धं दृ]श्यते[11] . . . . [9]मवेत्य
चलामि-

8 . . हैकीं मठसिद्धं . . . . [12]मेतत् । प्रथ-

9 . . . . [12]स्थिरधीभव[त्*] . . . . . ते योध्या-

10 . . [काश्यां] गतः । नानाव . . . . [13] गुण]राशिस्त[स्थि]वः सच्च[-
[रि]तैर्यो व(ब)भूव गु-

11 णराशिः[14] । तच्छिष्यः . . . . [15]हरिः स्वयं . . . . ।
प्रेयसीमिव . . . . [स्तुता]कीर्त्तनं भव[तु तावद]क्षयं[16]॥ ⊙॥

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[1] Metre : *Sragdharā*.
[2] Unless stated otherwise, the number of dots approximately represents that of missing *aksharas*.
[3] Here about 30 *aksharas* are gone.
[4] Here about 11 *akharas* are gone.
[5] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.
[6] Here about 25 *aksharas* are gone.
[7] Here about 8 *aksharas* are missing.
[8] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[9] Here about 36 *aksharas* are illegible.
[10] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.
[11] Metre : *Mālinī*.
[12] Here about 44 *aksharas* are gone.
[13] Here about 35 *aksharas* are lost.
[14] Metre : *Gīti*.
[15] Here about 17 *aksharas* are illegible.
[16] Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

Kaman Stone Inscription.



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS.

N. P. Chakravarti.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 1932 E'39-275.

12 . . चिता[च ?] . . . . . नव . . . . सर्वसू . . . . . . सुत . . . . . [1]॥ ⊙॥ स्वयं कारित —— णां [गोष्ठि]कैर्या: पुराज्जिता: । चतुष्का ता: प्र-

13 —— —— [स्थूल ?]येच्चयनीविका:[2]॥ ए . . . . [स*][म्व]त्[3]। [२२][4]. . . . . . [5]मार्गशि(र)तीयायां प्र[ददौ] व[ज्र]टो वणिक् ॥ सं २२८ [मा]घवदि ३ श्री[का]म्यकीयकोट्टा-

14 [भ्यन्तरे प्रा*][च्यादिशि] [स्थितं ।*] [खण्ड*]इयं [भूमिरा][ग्रे*]र्यस्याघाटा व्यव-[स्थि]ता: ॥ पूर्व्वेण कृष्णाकगृहं दक्षिणेन तु कूपिका [।*] पश्चिमोत्तरयो-स्तस्य राजमार्ग्गश्चिरन्तन: ।[।*] तथान्यत्

15 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ यट[सूनु][ना । का*][म्यके]श्वरदेवा[य भूमि*]खं[डं] निवे-दितं ।[।*] पू[र्व्व]स्यां दिशि कोट्टस्य चतुराघाटशोधितं । पूर्व्वदक्षिणयोस्तस्य राजमार्ग्गस्तथान्ययो: ।[।*] दिग्भागयो[6] स्था-

16 [नभूमिस्तथा च] कुटिकापरा [ ] [त*]थैव [कुम्भका*][राणां श्रेण्या] [7]का(म्य)कस्थया ।[।*] उत्त[मं*] मूल्यमादाय प्रदत्ताक्षयनीविका [॥*] यथास्य चक्रमाह्वयति[8] तेन तेनाविकल्पतस्पृति-[9]

17 [ग्राह्या वक्तव्यं] [प*]णि(वि)क्यं तु चक्र[कं][10] ॥*] [सं*] २३२ वै[शाख]शुदि .[11] [मा*]लिकानां तथा श्रेण्या काम्यके वसमा[न]या[12]। गृहीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं [दत्ताक्ष]यनीविका ।[।*] देया कुसुममालानां

18 [...] [क्रमा] । चत[स्तृं]श[त्क]ठे[13] विचोवा[सु]च्छायास्तथा[परा]: ।[।*] सं २३३ पौष शुदि ७ तथा(ऽ)[प्रो]षितया श्रेण्या स्थपतीनाम्निहस्थया । गृ-हीत्वा ... मूल्यं प्रदत्ताक्षयनी-

[1] A verse of the *Anushṭubh* metre is almost wholly lost here.

[2] Metre from here to the end (except for a hemistich in l. 23 below): *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Read संवत्.

[4] The third figure of the date is illegible.

[5] There is space for four *aksharas* here and the last *akshara* looks like *sha*, so the month may be *Mārgaśīrsha*; or it may be *Pausha* if the name of the month formed part of the following verse.

[6] The *visarga* is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

[7] The metre requires an additional *akshara* like *cha* to be supplied here.

[8] Read चक्रं वाहयति.

[9] Read तेनाविकल्पत: । प्रति-.

[10] Probably प्रतिचक्रकम् is the intended reading.

[11] The figure of the *tithi* is illegible.

[12] This is incorrect for वसन्त्या.

[13] Read चतुस्त्रिंशत्कठे.

19 विका ।[।*] यो योऽ[त्र वर्मा कुरु]ते [illegible]पति[र्योग] [illegible]. [illegible](र्व) [illegible] प्रत्येकं सर्व्वदा [प्र]कं ॥ [illegible][1] ॥ १७० श्रावण शुदि ॥ [illegible]ज्यमानग्रामे च उत्पट: [illegible]-

20 [illegible]: । [illegible][2][वि]शति भूमिमे[क] ⏑ ⏑ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] हिज-साडुतजयादिभिरर्ं पुरा । [illegible] शासितः ॥ यद-[illegible]त्पद्यते किंचित्-

21 [illegible][चय*][नो][illegible] । ⏑ ⏑ वि ⏑ ⏑ – [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]मेव तत् ॥ संवत् १८० श्रावण शु १ [illegible] [illegible] [।*] कोट्टाद(इ)भिः मासिकेन भ-

22 [illegible] ⏑ ⏑ – [दित][4] ॥ [सम्वत][5] २८८ फाल्गुन [शु २] [पु]रा [illegible]देवेन ये द्रम्मा[illegible]सादिता: । प्रमाचरायै तेन [illegible] [illegible]र्पिता: ॥ तत-स्तस्मिन् [illegible]भू-

23 ते [illegible]चार्यो ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ नां[6] ॥ गोष्ठिकैरपि ते [द्रंमो]: [illegible]मावा[illegible]र्यं ॥ कम्व(म्ब)लिहट्टे दक्षिणवर्त्मा वीथीयुग्मं तत्संख्यं[7] ॥ [illegible]दीपार्थे[illegible]-[illegible]प्रभा-

24 टवे [।*] [illegible][न्त*][illegible][8] [illegible]ति[।] ॥

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[1] Read संवत्.

[2] One *akshara* is missing here. Read [illegible].

[3] What look like two *anusvāras* on [illegible] are probably due to faults in the stone.

[4] Some reading like भदेवैतन्निवेदित is intended here.

[5] Read संवत्.

[6] The intended reading may be आचार्यैस्तैस्तापसिनां . The medial vowels of *sā* and *yi* can be marked on the back of the impression.

[7] This is only a hemistich. Metre: *Mātrāsamaka*.

[8] See note 6, p. 335, above.

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[The figures refer to pages : *n.* after a figure refers to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; C. P.=Copper-plate; *chron.*=chronicle; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; E.=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *hist.*—historical; *ins.*=inscription; *inss.*=inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *lit.*=literary; *l.m.*=land-measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; N.=Northern; *off.*=office or official; *q.*=queen; *rel.*=religious; *ri.*=river; S.=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *t.d.*=territorial division; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; W.=Western; *wk.*=work.]

A

C

H

L

[illegible]—S1—III-10-1—[illegible]—265.